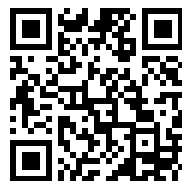

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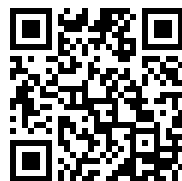
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LESSING AND "THE CORRECTIVE VIRTUE IN COMEDY"

A footnote in James Sully's chapter on *The Ultimate Value and Limitations of Laughter*¹ calls attention to "Lessing's plea in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, on behalf of a corrective virtue in comedy" as perhaps being somewhat indebted "to the reading of Shaftesbury and the other English writers." To anyone at all conversant with the continental interest in Shaftesbury's *Characteristics* and aware of Lessing's familiarity with English writings in the field of aesthetics, the plausibility of such a suggestion is at once arresting and provocative of thought. The possibility of at least an interesting parallel, if not an actual influence, would seem to justify an attempt to ascertain more in detail to what extent these writings have anything in common with Lessing's didactic view of comedy.

In a recent addition to the material available for what Mr. Morley hoped would some day be released as "Sir Austin Feverel's unpublished volume, *The Pilgrim's Scrip*"² occurs the following: "If you are sometimes in doubt as to the truth of a thing, see whether it borders on the ridiculous."³

Mr. Meredith here calls to mind, though perhaps unwittingly, the great controversy which centered around one of Shaftesbury's *obiter dicta* proposing that ridicule be made the test of truth. Although the proposition was much more heatedly discussed in the 18th Century, intimately associated as it was in the minds of many with the doctrine of deism, echoes of the argumentation are found even down to the present time as the above citation bears witness. The history of the English phase of the question has been traced by James Sully.⁴ It is sufficient for the purposes of the present discussion to note the inception of the idea in the 18th Century moralists, especially Shaftesbury and Home, and its bearing on the question of the value of comedy as a corrective medium. The names most frequently

¹ James Sully, *An Essay on Laughter*, London, 1902, p. 415.

² John Morley, *Studies in Literature*, London, 1897, p. 71.

³ E. V. Brewer, "Unpublished Aphorisms of Meredith," *The Yale Review*, XIV no. 3 (1925), p. 621.

⁴ "Ridicule and Truth," *Cornhill Magazine*, (1877), pp. 580-95.

associated with the discussion are those of Shaftesbury, Home, Warburton, and Brown. Since, however, the first two were the most pronounced and influential advocates with respect to their influence in Germany and elsewhere on the continent, we shall confine our attention to them. In so doing we purposely neglect the opponents of the idea since the affirmation of this so-called "test of truth" bears directly upon the function of ridicule in comedy.

I.

In the *Essay on Enthusiasm* Shaftesbury had advocated the use of ridicule as a means of safeguarding the interests of the body politic, as well as those of the established religion, against the extravagancies of the visionary. The assumption that ridicule was an honourable weapon for corrective purposes in such cases, naturally led Shaftesbury with characteristic optimism to extend its application to truth in general.⁵ In an *Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour* he states the principle as follows: "Truth, 'tis supposed, may bear all lights; and one of those principle lights, or natural mediums, by which things are to be viewed, in order to a thorough recognition, is ridicule itself, or that manner of proof by which we discern whatever is liable to just raillery in any subject."⁶

This statement was destined to cause Shaftesbury no end of controversy. It opened up a question which was argued pro and con, both at home and abroad, to the exclusion of much that was more useful and worthwhile in the teachings of this great exponent in 18th Century letters of what he was wont to call "the *venustum*, the *honestum*, the *decorum* of things."⁷ His recommendation in favor of the use of ridicule assumed, no doubt, in the course of the discussion a broader connotation than Shaftesbury at first intended, and was made to imply that every aspect of truth itself be forced to undergo such proof. In the same essay he cautions against so wide an application. "A man," he says, "must be soundly ridiculous who, with all the wit imaginable, would go about to ridicule wisdom, or laugh

⁵ Cf. J. M. Robertson, Introduction to Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*, London, 1900, vol. I, p. XXII.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. 44.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

at honesty, or good manners."⁸ The original sense of the passage seems not to profess a substitution for a rationalistic approach to truth, but rather to indicate a means whereby those false masks, which in the course of time, due to the force of convention and changing fashion, spread themselves over the face of truth,⁹ may be detected and their true character revealed. "For nothing," he concludes, "is ridiculous except what is deformed; nor is anything proof against raillery except what is handsome and just."¹⁰ It is this phase of Shaftesbury's proposal which bears directly upon the question of the "corrective virtue in comedy." To search out and find that which is susceptible of "just raillery" presupposes highly developed perceptive powers for all deviations from the norm, for what Jean Paul, apropos of humor, was wont to call "die krumme Linie." Some may seek to correct such eccentricities by serious appeal; others, Shaftesbury points out, should be "allowed to ridicule folly, and recommend wisdom and virtue (if possibly they can) in a way of pleasantry and mirth. I know not why poets, or such as write chiefly for the entertainment of themselves and others, may not be allowed this privilege."¹¹

II.

Before passing on to Shaftesbury's views on comedy, we shall examine Home's conception of the function of ridicule and see what its relation may be to that of the former. *The Elements of Criticism* appeared in 1762, its first German translation one year later. It has been pointed out that the *Elements of Criticism* owed little to Shaftesbury, but considerable to Hutcheson and Burke.¹² This, however, does not concern us here except as we may claim originality of suggestion with regard to Lessing's indebtedness to Shaftesbury or Home.

In the chapter on *Emotion and Passion* we are sensible at once of a different attitude toward ridicule than that which animated Shaftesbury. It is reminiscent of the "sudden glory"

⁸ Cf. Shaftesbury, *op. cit.*, I, p. 86.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 58.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹² Wm. Neumann, *Die Bedeutung Home's für die Ästhetik*, Diss. Halle, 1894, p. 12 ff.

hypothesis of Hobbes with regard to the ludicrous in general.¹³ "Ridicule," says Home, "which chiefly arises from pride, a selfish passion, is at best but a gross pleasure. A people, it is true, must have emerged out of barbarity before they can have a taste for ridicule. But it is too rough an entertainment for those who are highly polished and refined. Ridicule is banished France, and is losing ground daily in England."¹⁴ Home, however, does not utterly discredit ridicule as the above passage would seem to indicate. In his analysis of *Risible Objects* he carefully distinguishes between the terms *risible* and *ridiculous*. Nothing, he finds, is risible but what appears slight or trifling. "For man is so constituted as to be seriously affected with everything that is of importance to his own interest or that of others. Secondly, with respect to the works both of nature and of art, nothing is risible but what deviates from the common nature of the subject: it must be some particular out of rule, some remarkable defect or excess, a very long visage, for example, or a very short one. Hence nothing just, proper, decent, beautiful, proportioned or grand is risible."¹⁵

It will be recalled that these are practically the terms Shaftesbury used in indicating what was "proof against raillery." But raillery, although frequently used by Shaftesbury in place of wit and humour, usually connotes when employed advisedly by him, a mild form of ridicule, the method of which is indirect in the manner of the so-called Socratic irony. On the other hand, Home defines the ridiculous as that which is contrary to propriety. Such "an impropriety that thus moves not only contempt but laughter is distinguished by the epithet ridiculous; and a laugh of derision or scorn is the punishment provided for it by nature."¹⁶ Hence he concludes "a ridiculous object is both mirthful and contemptible."¹⁷

As a means of further illustrating the nature and function of ridicule, Home devotes the final pages of his discussion of the subject to an analysis of the "celebrated question whether

¹³ Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1904, part 1, chap. 6, p. 34.

¹⁴ Henry Home, (Lord Kames) *Elements of Criticism*, 3 vol. Edinburgh, 1762, I, p. 138.

¹⁵ Home, *op. cit.*, I, p. 339.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, II, p. 16.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, p. 341.

ridicule be or be not a 'test of truth.'"¹⁸ At the outset he makes it clear that ridicule is not a substitute for reasoning in arriving at the truth of any given proposition, but rather a means "for distinguishing ridiculous objects from those that are not so."

But it must not be inferred from what has been said that Home was impressed solely by the corrective aspect of ridicule. The value of its mirth-provoking qualities, apart from any ulterior motive, was more strongly emphasized than by Shaftesbury. In the chapter on *Congruity and Propriety* he was careful to note the two-fold nature of the service performed by ridicule "for the good of mankind." Objectively he finds it "productive of mirth and laughter, excellent recreation in an interval from business"; subjectively, however, as tending to put one on his guard in time coming through fear of being made to appear ridiculous.¹⁹ It is the combination of these two aspects of the ridiculous which furnishes suitable material for comedy.

A comparison of the views of Shaftesbury with those of Home as to the function of ridicule reveals practical agreement. In regard to the specific nature of ridicule itself, however, we find their ideas more at variance. Where Shaftesbury is content to find the essence of the ridiculous in a perception of a deformity, Home finds its true nature in the mixed emotions induced by the perception of risible improprieties, an interpretation which savours of Mark Akenside's discussion²⁰ of the same subject almost two decades before the appearance of the *Elements of Criticism*. Thus both Akenside and Home emphasize the subjective aspect of the ridiculous more than Shaftesbury, whose attention was focused almost exclusively on the qualities of objects which give rise to our sense of the ridiculous.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, p. 55.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 19-20.

²⁰ Mark Akenside, *Poetical Works* (Aldine Edition of the Poets), London, 1857, pp. 77-81. The *Pleasures of the Imagination* was published in 1744. It immediately gained considerable notoriety for the author, both at home and abroad, by reason of the exception which Warburton took to a fancied complimentary allusion to him in Akenside's note to the passage in the 3rd book of the poem dealing with ridicule. Home's chapter on "Ridicule" and this note have much in common both as to thought and language. The first complete German translation of the work appeared in 1757.

III.

Home has little to say about comedy in particular. Aside from a few casual remarks as to the difficult nature of the task confronting the writer of "genteel comedy" in composing a dialogue suitable to a character and not a passion,²¹ and an emphasis on our sensitiveness to ridicule in the comedy of manners,²² the most characteristic feature of this view of comedy is its didactic quality. This is, however, not restricted by him to comedy alone. "A poem," he says, "whether dramatic or epic—conveys moral instruction with a perspicuity that is not exceeded by the most accurate reasoning; and makes a deeper impression than any moral discourse can do."²³ "It not only improves the heart, but instructs the head by the moral it contains."²⁴ However, this emphasis on the didactic quality of comedy did not cause him to lose sight of the fact that comedy "pretends only to amuse, without totally occupying the mind."²⁵

In the case of Shaftesbury, on the other hand, we have a considerable body of comment on the development of Greek comedy²⁶ which reveals quite clearly his own attitude with regard to the nature of comedy. Briefly the conclusions are as follows: Aristotle's sketch of the rise of the Greek drama confirms his view that the poet more easily assumes the sublime rather than the facetious manner. Comedy, being the more difficult, is of later development. The comic poets before Aristotle, in spite of the work of Aristophanes, failed to exhibit in their works "truth of characters, beauty of order and simple imitation of nature."²⁷ Their productions were of "admirable use to explode the false sublime of early poets;" in short, "everything which might be imposing, by a false gravity or solemnity, was forced to endure the trial of this touchstone."²⁸ Comic genius is a kind of caustic²⁹ whose application is in the nature

²¹ Home, *op. cit.*, II, Chap. XVI, p. 152.

²² *Ibid.*, III, Chap. XXII, p. 236.

²³ *Ibid.*, III, Chap. XXII, pp. 221-2.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, III, Chap. XXII, p. 224.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, Chap. XXII, p. 252.

²⁶ Shaftesbury, *op. cit.*, I, *Advice to an Author*, pp. 158-70.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, p. 160.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 161.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 162.

of things necessary for corrective and healing purposes. To be sure it is susceptible of abuse, but the "obscene buffooning manner" will be removed as the taste of a people grows. Comedy will reflect this growth. The history of Comedy both in Greece and Rome shows this. Marcus Aurelius confirms this view of the corrective function of comedy: "And after Tragedy the Old Comedy was brought out, using the freedom of a teacher, and usefully warning us by its plain speech against pride."²⁰ But the "comic or derisory manner" must act indirectly for the greatest effect, "the censuring or reproving part" must be in "the most concealed and gentle way" for this is the true imitation of nature.²¹ Thus the most successful criticism is that which borders on the manner of the earliest Greek Comedy, and "the most effectual and entertaining method of exposing folly, pedantry, false reason and ill writing" that of the comic wit.²² It prevents us from being grossly imposed upon.

IV.

Shaftesbury's proposal for a "test of truth" was as ardently debated in Germany²³ as in England. In fact, the discussion there overshadowed in importance for a time the real significance of his teachings and, to some extent, was instrumental in discrediting him. Even Herder in his approach to a discussion of Shaftesbury in the *Adrastea* associates this question with his name, undoubtedly for purposes of identification to a larger group.²⁴ Lessing's notebook shows him sufficiently interested in the subject to record a recent defence of Shaftesbury against the attack of Brown.²⁵ His actual introduction to the subject, however, must have been considerably earlier than the item

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, Note, p. 165.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 168-9.

²² *Ibid.*, I, p. 169.

²³ Herbert Grudzinski, *Shaftesburys Einfluss auf Chr. M. Wieland*, Stuttgart, 1913, p. 88 (Breslauer Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte, Heft. 34); cf. also Bouterwek's Comment on "Shaftesbury's oft besprochene Lehre" in his *Aesthetik*, Erster Theil, Leipzig, 1806, p. 177.

²⁴ "Ernst nahen wir dem Schriftsteller, dem man Schuld gibt, dass er Scherz und Witz oder gar Spott zum Prüfstein der Wahrheit gemacht habe." Cited by Weiser, *Shaftesbury und das Deutsche Geistesleben*, Leipzig 1916, p. 117.

²⁵ Lessing, *Sämmtliche Schriften*, Lachmann-Muncker, XV, p. 285. Cited hereafter as *Werke*.

in the *Kolektaneen*³⁶ would seem to indicate, for a letter from Mendelssohn in December, 1755³⁷ discussed the question somewhat at length and asked for Lessing's opinion; a request which Lessing seems to have ignored. Some years later Wieland touched upon the same question in the *Teutscher Merkur*.³⁸ In a posthumous sketch³⁹ for a criticism of Wieland's article, Lessing trenchantly summed up his estimation of "the test of truth" proposition and dismissed it as a sort of *Wortgrübele* in philosophical conjecture.⁴⁰ On the other hand, the value of ridicule as a corrective force in society and its didactic purpose in Comedy are clearly stressed by Lessing, not only in the *Dramaturgie*, but elsewhere. It is well, however, before proceeding, to note certain distinctions in Lessing's terminology.

Lessing's distinction between the occasions for *lachen* and *verlachen* is similar to that made by Home between the laughter which accompanies the risible and the ridiculous. In the course of his discussion of Rousseau's strictures on comedy as set forth in the *Lettre à d'Alembert* he says: "Aber lachen und verlachen ist sehr weit auseinander. Wir können über einen Menschen lachen, bey Gelegenheit seiner lachen, ohne ihn im geringsten zu verlachen."⁴¹ That *verlachen* implies the laughter of contempt which Home associated with ridicule, is seen from the subsequent discussion, where Lessing points out that Molière in no way makes the Misanthrope a contemptible figure, but is careful to exhibit him in situations which, while provoking our laughter, detract nothing from the respect we have for his true character. In other words, it is possible to laugh at, without necessarily ridiculing him.⁴² That which constitutes *das Lächerliche* for Lessing is the result of incongruity and contrast. It is the Aristotelian view of deformity as the essence of the ridiculous, to which has been added the

³⁶ The first entries in the *Kolektaneen* date from the summer of 1768, cf. also Lessing, Werke, XV, note, p. 125.

³⁷ Lessing, Werke, XIX, p. 29.

³⁸ *Teutscher Merkur*, 1776, I, p. 82.

³⁹ Lessing, Werke, XVI, p. 293-301.

⁴⁰ Weiser (*op. cit.*, p. 148) points to Lessing's scruples as to the efficacy of the test in the case of the "Einfältigen," the "Blödsinnigen," and the "alte Mütterlein."

⁴¹ Lessing, Werke, IX, p. 302.

⁴² Cf. Harold Höfding, *Outlines of Psychology*, London, Macmillan, 1896, p. 295 and note.

element of contrast between perfection and imperfection, an idea which, according to his own admission, he borrowed from Moses Mendelssohn.⁴³ The elements of incongruity and contrast which make up Lessing's conception of *das wahre Lächerliche*, particularly as embodied in comedy, are of such a nature as not to arouse those emotions which find expression in the laughter of derision; such laughter, he concludes, is reserved for that which is *verlachenswert*. It is the latter term that more accurately corresponds to Home's use of the term *ridicule*.

In the second *Wäldchen*, apropos of Klotz' objection to the introduction of laughter in the epic, we find Herder making a similar distinction between *lächerlich* and *belachenswert*: "Diesen Hauptunterschied hat Hr. Klotz nicht beobachtet: ob ich lache, oder mich über ein Lachen ärgere; freudig oder hönisch lache,—ob ich etwas lächerlich oder belachenswerth fühle—alles ist ihm einerlei."⁴⁴ The juxtaposition of the terms *belachenswerth*, *unwürdig*, *unanständig* in an earlier passage⁴⁵ implies the assumption on his part that that, which is *belachenswert* is derived from an act of impropriety. This, it will be recalled, is in agreement with Home's definition of the term *ridiculous*.⁴⁶ Herder here seems to make *belachen* stand for what Lessing designates as *verlachen*, an extension of meaning which appears to be counter to the accepted usage of the time.⁴⁷ However that may be, the important thing to note is that Lessing and Herder, like Home, attempted to distinguish various kinds of laughter. Since the twenty-eighth number of the *Dramaturgie*

⁴³ Lessing, Werke, IX, p. 139; cf. also Laokoön ed. by W. G. Howard, H. Holt & Co., 1910, note p. 407.

⁴⁴ Herder, Sämtliche Werke, Suphan, Berlin, 1878, III, p. 225.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, III, p. 220.

⁴⁶ Cf. Note 17. The whole argument in Herder's criticism, however, is reminiscent of Home's reasoning with regard to the introduction of ludicrous images in an epic, hence the similarity in terminology is not surprising. Cf. Neumann, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

⁴⁷ Cf. Adelung, Wien, 1808, *auslachen*: Mit Schadenfreude über jemanden lachen; dagegen verlachen mit Spott und Verachtung verbunden ist, belachen aber bloss andeutet, dass man über etwas als eine lächerliche Sache lacht. Adelung cites the above passage (cf. Note 41) from Lessing in defining *verlachen* and interpolates the phrase *auch ihn belachen* in order to make the distinction more precise. Cf. also Kant's usage as cited by Grimm under *auslachen*: Ein Lachen, nicht ein Auslachen mit Verachtung, sondern ein gutmütiges Belachen. Kant, 10, 128.

antedates the appearance of the *Kritische Wälder* by two years, Herder cannot be said to have passed this distinction on to Lessing.

Thus the slight distinction that most of us are sensible of in the milder connotation of the adjective *ridiculous* compared with the force of the verb *to ridicule* may be said to sufficiently cover the matter.⁴⁸ If the ridiculous is so understood, it can for the purposes of this paper be allowed to stand for Lessing's use of *lächerlich*.⁴⁹

Lessing, however, is sensible of a deeper significance to the function of ridicule than that of merely arousing our laughter, whether or not it be tintured with a feeling of contempt. In the preface to the second edition of Lessing's translation of Diderot's plays, he says: "Das wahre Lächerliche ist nicht, was am lautesten lachen macht; und Ungereimtheiten sollen nicht bloss unsere Lungen in Bewegung setzen."⁵⁰ In other words a mental stimulus also is, or should be, found in the truly ridiculous, which is essential to that comedy Lessing has in mind for him who demands more from comedy "als den Bauch erschüttern", but who likewise "mit seinem Verstande lachen will."⁵¹ To create such a comedy capable of arousing this "laughter of the mind" was, he felt, a serious undertaking. A passage in a letter to his brother written while busy with the Dramaturgie furnishes an interesting comment to this view: "Um die Zuschauer so lachen zu machen, dass sie nicht zugleich über uns lachen, muss man auf seiner Studierstube lange sehr ernsthaft gewesen seyn."⁵² Lessing here, of course, is only emphasizing what critics from Aristotle down have noted with regard to the comic genre. It is what George Meredith so aptly characterizes in the words of one of the greatest writers of comedy: "C'est une étrange entreprise que celle de faire rire

⁴⁸ Sully suggests a similar distinction but fails to note Home's terminology. He says: "So far as we know Shaftesbury and his followers took no pains to distinguish these varieties of laughter." *Cornhill Magazine*, (1877), p. 587.

⁴⁹ Modern usage both in German and English has tended to wipe out such distinctions; the *New Oxford Dictionary* defines both the ludicrous and the ridiculous as suited to occasion derisive laughter, and Grimm defines *lächerlich* as: *anlass zum lachen oder verlachen gebend*.

⁵⁰ Lessing, *Werke*, VII, p. 288.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, X, p. 189.

⁵² *Ibid.*, XVII, p. 294, cf. also p. 254.

les honnêtes gens."⁸³ It is this attitude of mind toward the writing of comedy which is strongly reflected in the pronounced didactic character of Lessing's view of comedy.

In one of the earlier numbers of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* he suggests, as Diderot before him had done,⁸⁴ that drama in the selecting of its subject matter may act as a supplement to the laws, and indirectly calls attention to the service rendered by comedy in correcting the lesser offences against the moral code. The passages that reveal most clearly this characteristic feature of Lessing's view are found, however, in the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth numbers of the *Dramaturgie*.

In the twenty-eighth number, Lessing, after rejecting the demand made by some critics that only moral mistakes or faults susceptible of correction are proper and fitting to arouse our laughter in comedy, finds the scope of comedy much broader. "Jede Ungereimtheit, jeder Kontrast von Mangel und Realität, ist lächerlich."⁸⁵ This false assumption with regard to the subject matter of comedy is occasioned, he concludes, by the failure to understand the true nature of the laughter associated with comedy; and this, as we have seen, prompted him to make the distinction between *lachen* and *verlachen*. In the following number he passes on to a more detailed account of the function of laughter in comedy:

"Die Komödie will durch Lachen bessern; aber nicht eben durch Verlachen; nicht gerade diejenigen Unarten, über die sie zu lachen macht, noch weniger bloss und allein die, an welchen sich diese lächerliche Unarten finden. Ihr wahrer allgemeiner Nutzen liegt in dem Lachen selbst; in der Uebung unserer Fähigkeit das Lächerliche zu bemerken; es unter allen Bemäntelungen der Leidenschaft und der Mode, es in allen Vermischungen mit noch schlimmern oder mit guten Eigenschaften, sogar in den Runzeln des feyerlichen Ernstes, leicht und geschwind zu bemerken. Zugegeben dass der Geitzige des Molière nie einen Geitzigen, der Spieler des Regnard nie einen Spieler gebessert habe;

⁸³ George Meredith, *An Essay on Comedy*, London, Constable & Co., 1919, p. 9.

⁸⁴ Diderot had previously suggested in the *Discours sur la Poésie Dramatique* (1758) of the imitative arts in general; "O quel bien il en reviendrait aux hommes, si tous les arts d'imitation se proposaient un objet commun, et concouraient un jour avec les lois pour nous faire aimer la vertu et haïr le vice." Diderot, *Oeuvres Complètes*, par J. Assezat, Paris, 1875, v. 7, p. 313. Lessing's translation of this essay appeared first in 1760.

⁸⁵ Lessing, *Werke*, IX, p. 302.

eingeräumt, dass das Lachen diese Thoren gar nicht bessern könne: desto schlimmer für sie, aber nicht für die Komödie. Ihr ist genug, wenn sie keine verzweifelte Krankheiten heilen kann, die Gesunden in ihrer Gesundheit zu befestigen. Auch dem Freygebigen ist der Geitzige lehrreich; auch dem, der gar nicht spielt, ist der Spieler unterrichtend; die Thorheiten, die sie nicht haben, haben andere, mit welchen sie leben müssen; es ist erspriesslich, diejenigen zu kennen, mit welchen man in Collision kommen kann; erspriesslich, sich wider all Eindrücke des Beyspiels zu verwahren. Ein Preservatif ist auch eine schätzbare Arzeney; und die ganze Moral hat kein kräftigers, wirksamers, als das Lächerliche."⁶⁶

A brief résumé of the phrases used by Lessing in the above passage and elsewhere in the *Dramaturgie* will reveal, when compared with Shaftesbury and Home, how much they have in common in the stress which they placed upon the didactic aspect of comedy. In the reiteration of such phrases he more closely follows Shaftesbury than Home. "Comedy," Lessing says, "seeks to correct"; it has a "true universal use" in developing our ability to detect the ludicrous through laughter;—"it is useful to guard against the force of example." Shaftesbury speaks of "*recommending* wisdom and virtue in a way of pleasantry and mirth"; "comedy is of *admirable use* to explode the false sublime of early poets"; and, "the help of good ferments and a wholesome opposition of humours would *correct* in one way whatever was excessive or peccant in another"; "the stage may be allowed to *instruct* as well as the pulpit." They each emphasize the didactic quality of early Greek comedy. Lessing notes its development from "abusive Satyre" into "the instructive comedy";^{67a} Shaftesbury speaks of this "first formed comedy" as being "privileged as a sort of *counter pedagogue* against the pomp and formality of the more solemn writers." Both Shaftesbury and Lessing are fond of noting the corrective nature of comedy under the figure of a remedy for a disease. The former calls attention to the policy of some nations never to punish seriously what deserved only to be laughed at, and was after all best *cured* by that innocent remedy; "against serious extravagancies and splenetic humour there is no other *remedy* than this" (humour i.e. raillery); humour is "a lenitive *remedy* against vice"; "comic genius applied as a kind of caustic";—"after awhile this *remedy* turned into a

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, IX, p. 303-4.

^{67a} *Ibid*, X, p. 166.

disease." Lessing looks upon comedy as "a valued remedy" and finds it sufficiently worthwhile "since though it cannot heal desperate ills, it can at least confirm the well in their good health."

The terms *in Collision kommen* and *Preservatif*,⁵⁷ as used by Lessing, are strongly reminiscent of Shaftesbury's own usage. In the *Essay on Wit and Humour* Shaftesbury, speaking of a refinement in wit as being dependent on freedom, says: "All politeness is owing to liberty. We polish one another and rub off our corners and rough sides by a sort of amicable collision."⁵⁸ And later, apropos of the social instinct, he states the principle, "That if anything be natural in any creature, or any kind, 'tis that which is preservative of the kind itself, and conducing to its welfare and support."⁵⁹ And again in the *Advice to an Author*, he calls attention to a man who in his banishment from letters and discourse "wittily invented an amusement much to his purpose, highly preservative, both of health and humour."⁶⁰ Furthermore, in order to account for the unsuccessful German attempts at comedy in spite of the wealth of comic material at hand, Lessing, appropriating a distinctly Shaftesburyian term, places the blame on the superficial manner of the German *virtuosi*.⁶¹

V.

To account, however, for a possible English influence, either in suggesting or strengthening such a didactic view of comedy, necessitates that a brief survey be made of the gradual development of this view by Lessing and the part played therein by certain other contributing factors. For this emphasis on the didactic aim of comedy as set forth in the *Dramaturgie* represents, not certain detached views as to the aim of comedy, but the result of a more or less consistent attitude on the part of Lessing with regard to the subject. Nor is such a view

⁵⁷ For a brief discussion of the introduction into German of the first cf. Schulz, H., *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch*, Strassburg, 1913, p. 353; also W. Feldmann, *Fremdwörter und Verdeutschungen des 18ten Jahr.*, Ztscht. f. d. Wortforschung, Bd. VIII (1906) p. 59; for the second cf. Georg Schoppe, *Zur Geschichte der Fremdwörter im Deutschen*, Bd. XV (1913-14) p. 202.

⁵⁸ Shaftesbury, *op. cit.*, I, p. 46.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁶¹ Lessing, *Werke*, IX, p. 273. Cf. also Shaftesbury, *op. cit.*, II, p. 252.

restricted to comedy alone. The same tendency is revealed in his discussion of tragedy where he reads into the Aristotelian catharsis a demand for the transformation of the emotions into "tugendhafte Fertigkeiten."⁶³ We even find him in the *Dramaturgie* extending the demand for the instructive aim of art to poetry in general: "Bessern sollen uns alle Gattungen der Poesie; es ist kläglich wenn man dieses erst beweisen muss; noch kläglicher ist es, wenn es Dichter giebt die selbst daran zweifeln."⁶⁴ Thus, although standing out in a moralizing age as a critic endeavoring to judge literature and art by aesthetic norms, the *Dramaturgie* reveals Lessing frequently still enmeshed in the moral considerations which the 18th Century demanded of literature in general. For Lessing, in giving greater prominence to the *utile* than the *dulce* in the aim of comedy, was merely following the general trend of 18th Century thought as reflected in the best literature of the time. The faults of an over-emphasis on this aspect of comedy must be ascribed to a large extent to this fact.

The moralizing tendency of the age reflected in German thought and literature was, however, fed by two main channels of critical thought; and Lessing, who in his attack on the principles of the Gottsched school had advocated direct recourse to sources as the only safe means of clarifying the discordant views on dramatic art, was singularly responsive to both French and English writers.

Of the French critics no one was more responsible for the development of his own critical standards than Diderot. As early as 1751, we find Lessing discussing in *Das Neuste aus dem Reiche des Witzes* Diderot's essay *Les Sourds et Muets*;⁶⁵ from then on he seems to have followed quite closely the trend of Diderot's thought. Although critics differ as to Diderot's influence, if any, upon the *Laokoon* (1766),⁶⁶ on the other hand, in the field of drama, Lessing's indebtedness to him is by his own admission placed beyond cavil.⁶⁶ In view of this, it is not

⁶³ *Ibid.*, X, p. 117; cf. also Lessing's Werke, Biblio. Instit. ed. by Witkowski, vol. 4, p. 328.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, X, p. 114.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 415.

⁶⁶ Erich Schmidt, Lessing, Berlin, 1899, I, 533 ff. Cf. also Lessing, *Laokoon* (Howard), p. LXIX.

⁶⁷ Lessing, Werke, VII, p. 288.

surprising to find Diderot held chiefly responsible for Lessing's stress upon the didactic aim of comedy. Thus Erich Schmidt apropos of the drama in general says: "Und Diderot hat dem Drama einen recht dicken Moralzopf geflochten, wie es denn wesentlich seine Schuld ist, dass Lessing der Theorie des Dramas wenigstens ein Moralzöpfchen liess."⁶⁷ To ascribe the didactic character in the aim of comedy, as set forth by Lessing in the *Dramaturgie*, chiefly to Diderot, is to lose sight, on the one hand, of certain other contacts equally important in their formative influence on Lessing's thought,⁶⁸ and, on the other hand, to fail to note the gradual but consistent development of such a conception of comedy from the very inception of his interest in the subject.

In Lessing's education his interest centered from the very first around the drama. In the Fürstenschule at Meissen it is the character studies of Theophrastus and the comedies of Plautus and Terence in which he is most interested.⁶⁹ And here, he found the material and started his first comedy, *Der junge Gelehrte*, which showed in spite of his limited knowledge of human nature singular sensitiveness to the inherent follies in certain aspects of academic life. His life and studies at the University in Leipzig soon brought forth a series of immature but significant efforts at comedy. Although *Damon*, 1747, *Der Misogyn*, 1748, and *Die alte Jungfer*, 1749, are merely weak imitations of the French—*Der junge Gelehrte*, 1748, *Der Freygeist*, 1749, and *Die Juden*, 1749, exhibit the stamp of his own individuality and foreshadow the frankness and liberality of view which later characterized him as a critic. In the treatment of human folly they show a decided dependence on the art of

⁶⁷ Erich Schmidt, *op. cit.*, I, p. 308.

⁶⁸ Diderot's indebtedness to Shaftesbury particularly as to the problem of morality and the formative influence of the *Characteristics* on his aesthetic criticism are noted by R. L. Cru in *Diderot as a Disciple of English Thought*, N. Y., 1913, p. 170. Cf. also E. A. Boucke, *Goethes Weltanschauung auf historischer Grundlage*, Stuttgart 1907, p. 85. That Lessing in the *Dramaturgie* was not unaware of the eclectic nature of Diderot's views on the drama, is shown by his comment on the dialogue appended to *Le fils naturel*: "Auch kann man nicht leugnen—dass verschiedene Anmerkungen als ganz neue Entdeckungen darinn vorgetragen wurden, die doch nicht neu und dem Verfasser nicht eigen waren" (Werke, X, p. 147).

⁶⁹ Lessing, Werke, V, p. 268.

Plautus and Terence, particularly the former, with the attendant stress on the moral involved in the actions thus subjected to ridicule. Comedy for Lessing is still concerned primarily with moral faults. In a letter to his father in April, 1749 defending his interest in this form of writing, he says: "Ein Komödienschreiber ist ein Mensch, der die Laster auf ihrer lächerlichen Seite schildert."⁷⁰

This interest in Plautus,⁷¹ antedating thus his university period and reflected in his first independent efforts in comedy, found further expression in 1750 in the studies which he devoted to Plautus. These appeared together with a translation of the *Captivi* in the *Beiträge zur Historie und Aufnahme des Theaters*. The attempt to introduce the *Captivi* to the repertory of the German stage is chiefly interesting to us here in view of the high opinion which Lessing held of it as exhibiting the "ideal type" of comedy; this ideal he found to consist in furthering the moral improvement of the spectator.⁷²

A few years later there appeared in the opening number of the *Theatralische Bibliothek* (1754) a French criticism of the *weinerliche Komödie* and a defence by Gellert, to which Lessing added a summary and comment.⁷³ Anticipating the larger picture of human life associated with the idea of Comedy as revealed in the *Dramaturgie*, he concluded that true comedies were those "welche so wohl Tugenden als Laster, so wohl Anständigkeit als Ungereimtheit schildern, weil sie eben durch diese Vermischung ihrem Originale, dem menschlichen Leben, am nächsten kommen." Such a contrast in human faults and virtues as revealed in this true type of comedy was, he found, alone able to exhibit to the public "nicht allein das, was es vermeiden muss, auch nicht allein das, was es beobachten muss, sondern beydes zugleich in einem Lichte, vorzustellen, in welchem das eine das andre erhebt."⁷⁴ To render this positive as well as negative service was, as we have seen, according to Shaftesbury⁷⁵ the privilege of the comic poets.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, XVII, p. 16.

⁷¹ The study of Plautus as a means of arriving at a truer conception of comic art did not end even with the *Dramaturgie*. Cf. *Kollektaneen*, no. 346, *Ibid.*, XV.

⁷² *Ibid.*, IV, p. 191.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 50-52.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, VI, p. 51.

⁷⁵ Cf. note 11.

In 1755 Lessing and Mendelssohn collaborated in the writing of the Essay *Pope ein Metaphysiker*. Shaftesbury is there mentioned as "dieser freye Weltweise."⁷⁶ If we consider this in connection with the fact that the correspondence between Mendelssohn and Lessing between the years 1755–57 frequently alludes to Lessing's intention to write an article on the Ridiculous,⁷⁷ and in one instance⁷⁸ specifically makes mention of Shaftesbury's "test of truth" hypothesis, it seems reasonable to conclude that Shaftesbury's extensive comment on the subject would also have claimed Lessing's attention at this time.⁷⁹ Such a familiarity is suggested not only by the above cited passage from the essay on the *weinerliche Komödie*, but also by a letter to Nicolai in 1756 in which Lessing discusses the *Nützlichkeit der Komödie*.⁸⁰ The function of comedy, he says, is to enable us the more easily to detect all types of the ridiculous in order that we may thereby avoid them in our own conduct, and thus become the "most well-bred and well mannered person" (der wohlgezoogenste und gesittteste Mensch), a cultural ideal much stressed by Shaftesbury.

And yet in this very letter, in spite of the recurrent didactic emphasis, Lessing is careful to stress the aesthetic aim as well. That he should have emphasized this aspect of comedy at a time when he was busy with a projected article on the nature of the Ridiculous and apparently in touch with Shaftesbury's views on the subject, may possibly be accounted for in part by the influence of Hutcheson,⁸¹ whose *System of Moral Philosophy* was translated by Lessing in the same year as the letter to Nicolai.⁸² It was further strengthened, no doubt, by Dryden's

⁷⁶ Lessing, Werke, VI, p. 441.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 204; XVII, p. 120; XIX, pp. 20 and 22.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, XIX, p. 30.

⁷⁹ The appearance of the first complete German translation of Akenside's *Pleasures of the Imagination* in 1757, together with Mendelssohn's fondness for the poem, may have at this time contributed somewhat to Lessing's interest in the nature of the ridiculous and Shaftesbury's views thereon.

⁸⁰ Lessing, Werke, XVII, p. 66.

⁸¹ In the systematic presentation of Shaftesbury's philosophy Hutcheson had been careful to distinguish between ethical and aesthetic values, while at the same time recognizing a close connection between the two. Cf. Grudzinski, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁸² Cf. in this connection a letter from M. Mendelssohn to Lessing in which he cites from Hutcheson *Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy* apropos of laughter, Okt. 1755; Lessing, Werke, XIX, p. 20.

views in his *Essay on Dramatic Poesy* which Lessing translated in 1758, although it was known to him some years earlier.⁸³ There we find that the aim of all comedy is to contribute to "the delight and instruction of mankind."⁸⁴ If we associate this view with Dryden's further statement in his *Defence of the Essay on Dramatic Poesy* (1668), the major emphasis is clearly seen to be on the aesthetic aim of all poetry. In fact, where Dryden insists that "delight is the chief, if not the only end of poesy, instruction can be admitted but in the second place; for poesy only instructs as it delights,"⁸⁵ Lessing concludes from his analysis of *Mitleid* and *Lachen* that the dramatic poet has the great advantage "dass er weder nützlich, noch angenehm, eines ohne das andere seyn kann."⁸⁶ A similar conception of the aim of comedy is found in the critical writings of the Rev. Richard Hurd,⁸⁷ whose "an und für sich richtige Begriffe der Komödie"⁸⁸ are noted by Lessing in the *Dramaturgie*. "Tragedy and comedy," Hurd says, "by their lively but faithful representations, cannot fail to instruct—But this, though it be their best use, is by no means their primary intention. Their proper and immediate end is to please."⁸⁹ Lessing's preliminary studies for the *Laokoon* had brought him, however, in touch with Hurd's criticism previous to the *Dramaturgie*; that is at a time when Lessing was inclined to stress the aesthetic rather than the utilitarian aim of drama. As early as 1754 in his comments on the "weinerliche Komödie",⁹⁰ Lessing had noted this twofold function of true comedy. Up to that time comedy, at least in theory, was for Lessing chiefly concerned with the correction of faults and the recommendation of virtues. The broader view of the aim of comedy

⁸³ L. M. Price, *English > German Literary Influences Survey*, note 48, p. 372.

⁸⁴ Dryden, *An Essay of Dramatick Poesy in The Critical and Prose Works*, ed. Edmond Malone, London, 1800, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 43.

⁸⁵ Dryden, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

⁸⁶ Lessing, *Werke*, XVII, p. 67.

⁸⁷ The Rev. Richard Hurd published in 1749 a commentary on the *Arts Poetica* to which were appended several critical essays on poetry. From the second of these, *On the Province of Dramatic Poetry*, Lessing quotes extensively in numbers 90-94 of the *Dramaturgie*.

⁸⁸ Lessing, *Werke*, X, note, p. 167.

⁸⁹ Hurd, *Q. Horatii Flacci Epistolae ad Pisones et Augustum: Commentary and Critical Dissertations*, London, 1776, II, 238.

⁹⁰ Lessing, *Werke*, VI, p. 52.

which, as we have seen, dates from about 1754 is, however, in keeping with what critics have frequently noted with regard to the milder didactic character of Lessing's criticism previous to the *Dramaturgie*.⁹¹

Thus it is seen that previous to Lessing's contact with Shaftesbury and the English moralists he had followed the earlier theorists in the field⁹² and assigned a corrective value as the primary aim of comedy. Not until contact with Mendelssohn⁹³ had, perhaps, stimulated in Lessing, at least for a time, a more liberal view of the aim of art in general do we find the more purely pleasurable aspect of drama stressed. This in turn was later confirmed by Dryden and Hurd. That the *Dramaturgie* still reveals him unable to steer a more consistent course into the broader channel of the Aristotelian view must be ascribed in part, not only to the age in which he wrote and the force of the earlier example, but also because of a renewed interest on his part in the corrective aspect of ridicule and the nature of the laughter associated with comedy. For Lessing in intellectualizing the laughter of comedy opened up at the same time a rear door to all the moralizing spirits who had so bravely been ushered out at the front when he made laughter the principal aim of comedy.⁹⁴ And it is here, in connection with Lessing's demand for comedy capable of arousing "Lachen mit dem Verstande" into which he injected a didactic purpose, that Shaftesbury and Home may be said to have been both suggestive and stimulating. As external evidence for such an interplay of ideas at the time Lessing was busy with the *Dramaturgie*, the following facts are pertinent.

Leslie Stephen accounts for the warmer reception which Shaftesbury received in Germany than among his own countrymen, as being due to the fact, that in Germany sentimentalism is more congenial to the national temperament.⁹⁵ Whether or

⁹¹ R. Petsch, *Lessings Briefwechsel mit Mendelssohn und Nicolai über das Trauerspiel*, Leipzig, 1910. Einleitung, p. XLV and LV; Goldstein, *Moses Mendelssohn und die deutsche Ästhetik*, Königsberg, 1904 (Teutonia, Heft 3), p. 27. (Cf. also Walzel's review, *Anzeiger f. deutsches Altertum*, XXI, p. 42.); Erich Schmidt, *op. cit.*, I, p. 611.

⁹² Cf. Witkowski's Introduction to *Hamb. Dramat.* p. 331, Lessing's *Werke*, Bibliogr. Inst. IV.

⁹³ Petsch, *op. cit.*, Introd., p. XLV.

⁹⁴ Cf. Erich Schmidt, *op. cit.*, I, p. 611.

⁹⁵ Leslie Stephen, *History of English Thought in the 18th Century*, London, 1902, vol. II, p. 33.

not this be the real reason, the fact remains that his works early found repeated translations into German. That Lessing was interested in these translations, as well as the original, is shown as early as 1759 by a remark in the seventh *Literaturbriefe*.⁹⁶ Like Diderot who complains to Grimm of the difficulty of finding an adequate translator for the *Platon anglais*,⁹⁷ Lessing here is perturbed by the unfortunate idea the world would have of Shaftesbury if all books but those in German were suddenly destroyed. Hence the appearance of two new translations at the very time he was busied with the *Dramaturgie* would most likely have claimed his attention, and perhaps suggested a rereading of certain essays. The first of these translations which appeared at Leipzig in 1767 was intended to comprise all the Essays included in the *Characteristics*, but only two actually appeared; the *Essay on Enthusiasm* and the *Sensus Communis*, or *Essay on Wit and Humour*. The other translation was that of the *Advice to an Author*. It appeared in Hamburg, that 18th Century gateway for all things English, in several volumes of the *Unterhaltungen* between the years 1766-70. That Lessing's friend, J. J. Eschenburg, was the editor of the fourth volume in which the opening chapters of the Essay appeared, makes almost certain Lessing's interest in the work. These several facts become doubly significant when it is recalled that these three essays comprise Shaftesbury's chief contribution to the discussion of ridicule as a corrective force; and that one in particular—*The Advice to an Author*, published in Hamburg, contains his most extensive comment on comedy. Apropos of Home's *Elements of Criticism* (1762), we find Lessing noting in the *Literaturbriefe* of July 1765⁹⁸ the German translation by Meinhard which appeared in Leipzig in 1763. This time, however, he is agreeably surprised by the general excellence of the translation; a remark which implies at that time considerable familiarity with the original.

VI.

In the case of a writer like Lessing, with whom theory and practice went hand in hand, it is not surprising to find a demonstration of the corrective force of ridicule in comedy exhibited

⁹⁶ Lessing, *Werke*, VIII, p. 14.

⁹⁷ Correspondence Littéraire par Grimm-Diderot, vol. IX, p. 349. (Juillet 1771).

⁹⁸ Lessing, *op. cit.* VII, p. 285.

in a drama of approximately the same period as the *Dramaturgie*. In *Minna von Barnhelm*,⁹⁹ a comedy written to appeal to the mind and arouse "thoughtful laughter," the apt wit and sound good sense of two women become the instruments for the correction of an exaggerated sense of pride. Both the basis for such pride and the method of its correction are susceptible of an interpretation according to Shaftesbury's views.

In the *Essay Concerning Virtue or Merit* Shaftesbury distinguishes two sets of affections or passions, "the natural or those that lead to the good of the public, and the self-affections which lead only to the good of the private."¹⁰⁰ The proper admixture or given proportion of these determines whether a creature will be "virtuous or vicious, good or ill." The fact that both have their purpose in the "inner economy of each nature" does not imply that an excess of any one affection may not be as injurious as the absence or insufficiency of another. It is, Shaftesbury concludes, much the same "with the affections or passions in an animal constitution as with the cords or strings of a musical instrument. If these, though in ever so just proportion one to another, are strained beyond a certain degree, 'tis more than the instrument will bear: the lute or lyre is abused, and its effect lost. On the other hand, if while some of the strings are duly strained, others are not wound up to their due proportion, then is the instrument still in disorder and its part ill performed."¹⁰¹

The character of Major von Tellheim lends itself to such an analysis. In the first place, von Tellheim is of the class which the 18th Century deemed a fitting soil for the cultivation of those ideals and noble passions which underlie Shaftesbury's concept of "a real fine gentleman." We learn at once from Just that the Major is exceptional both as a man and an officer; and Minna reminds Franziska: "Es sind nicht alle Offiziere Tellheims."¹⁰² His patriotic motives,¹⁰³ his generosity and the

⁹⁹ *Minna von Barnhelm* was sketched in 1763, completed in 1765, and published in 1767. It found its first presentation on any stage in Hamburg in September of the same year.

¹⁰⁰ Shaftesbury, *op. cit.*, I, p. 286.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 290-1.

¹⁰² Lessing, *Werke*, II, p. 189.

¹⁰³ The high conception of the soldier's calling as revealed in the Major's rebuke to Werner (Lessing, *Werke*, p. 220; cf. also p. 254) is quite in the spirit of Shaftesbury's own view that "of all human affections the noblest and most

loyalty of his friendship, in spite of a confessed discrimination in the selection of his friends,¹⁰⁴ inspire universal regard. All attest his bravery, his honesty, and nobility of character. In fact, Minna tells us he speaks of no virtues, for he lacks none.¹⁰⁵ Thus of the natural affections listed by Shaftesbury such as love, gratitude, bounty, generosity, pity, succour,¹⁰⁶ Tellheim lacks none. On the other hand, there is little evidence at first glance of the presence of the selfish affections in any degree commensurate with the others; the strings of the instrument are only in part "wound up to their due proportion." It is this disproportion, this undue cultivation of the "natural affections" which prompts him, completely "disregardful of his own convenience and safety,"¹⁰⁷ to advance his own money to the Saxon authorities. He has become, so to speak, "too good." For it is thus, Shaftesbury tells us, we speak "of a creature in a kind way of reproof, when his affection towards others is so warm and zealous as to carry him even beyond his part."¹⁰⁸ As a result when his motives are suspected, he, the confirmed altruist, becomes disillusioned in human nature and embittered. Continually confronted by the spectre of his offended honor, he allows his pride in an untarnished name to stand in the way of not only his own happiness, but Minna's as well. Thus Minna from the first diagnoses the trouble as pride, unpardonable pride.¹⁰⁹ But "pride," according to Shaftesbury, "is a great deceiver and when you think you are most occupied with serious things then it takes you in most."¹¹⁰ Here then, according to Shaftesbury, is excellent material for comic treatment, and it is interesting to find Lessing applying

becoming human nature is that of love to one's country" (Shaftesbury, *op. cit.*, II, p. 224). His relationship with Werner also admirably illustrates the truth of Shaftesbury's remark that " 'Tis in war the knot of fellowship is closest drawn." (Cf. Shaftesbury, *op. cit.*, I, p. 76).

¹⁰⁴ Lessing, Werke, II, p. 180.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 190.

¹⁰⁶ Shaftesbury, *op. cit.*, I, p. 294.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 281 and 286.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 288.

¹⁰⁹ Lessing, Werke, II, pp. 225-6.

¹¹⁰ Quoted by Shaftesbury from Marcus Aurelius VI, 13, in a note, *op. cit.*, I, p. 165.

at this juncture, not only a similar remedy, but also defining explicitly the function of laughter.

Minna, the self-styled "admirer of common-sense,"¹¹¹ by the aid of Franziska, whose sententious wit has caused her mistress to call her "a moral preceptress" (Sittenrichterin),¹¹² determines to reveal to Tellheim the falsity of his position by assuming a similar rôle herself. But before doing so she tries the curative force of ridicule.¹¹³ First his offended honor, then his crippled state are forced to disclose their ridiculous pretense through laughter. The effort is of no avail, for Tellheim's character shows a total lack of a clarifying sense of humor. Her levity only excites his amazement and the wish that he too, might laugh with her. To which Minna eagerly replies: "Why not? What have you against laughter? And can one not also be very serious though laughing? My dear Major, laughter keeps us more rational than discontent. The proof lies before us. Your laughing friend judges your circumstances far more accurately than you yourself. Because you are discharged, you consider your honor impugned; because you have been wounded in your arm, you make yourself out a cripple. Is that right? Is that no exaggeration? And is it my fault, that all exaggerations are so susceptible of ridicule?"¹¹⁴ And then to drive the lesson home more conclusively, she finally takes up the question of his poverty and in the light of this exposition of laughter shows that this contention also is a mere delusion. Lessing had said of Diderot apropos of the character of *Les Bijoux Indiscrets*: "Ein kluger Mann sagt öfters erst mit Lachen, was er hernach im Ernste wiederholen will."¹¹⁵ Minna attempted to put this into practice with Tellheim but failed in attaining her purpose, for the "volleys of silvery laughter" of "the comic muse overhead"¹¹⁶ awakened no echo in Tellheim.

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¹¹¹ Lessing, Werke, II, p. 205.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, II, p. 227.

¹¹³ The test is made in the 6th scene of the 4th act.

¹¹⁴ Lessing, Werke, II, pp. 238-9.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, X, p. 140.

¹¹⁶ George Meredith, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

THE HOROSCOPE IN CHAUCER'S *MAN OF LAW'S TALE*

Among the numerous recent studies of the astrological element in Chaucer's poetry, one of the most interesting is Professor Curry's discussion of the astral influence upon the fate of Constance in the *Man of Law's Tale*.¹ In this article he has pointed out the two very interesting facts that the astrological passages are not to be regarded as digressions but as organic parts of the story, and that Chaucer has deliberately tried to give unity to a somewhat rambling tale through "the influence of the stars and the recognition of Divine Power." Mr. Curry has furthermore written a very valuable and illuminating note on the obscure word "Atazir." But in his desire to enlighten us concerning Chaucer's workmanship he has, perhaps, been led away from firm facts to mere supposition. With no desire to detract from the value of his contribution, I venture to suggest two things in his article which are open to doubt.

The first question is whether the astrological information given by Chaucer relates to a nativity or to an election. In order that Mr. Curry's article may be examined to the best advantage, I quote at the outset those lines from the *Man of Law's Tale* which are the basis of the article.

O firste moeving cruel firmament
Thy crowding set the heven in swich array
At the beginning of this fiers viage,
That cruel Mars hath slayn this mariage.
In fortunat ascendant tortuous,
Of which the lord is helpes falle, alas!
Out of his angle in-to the derkest hous.
O Mars, O Atazir, as in this cas!
O feble mone, unhappy been thy pas!
Thou knittest thee ther thou art nat receyved,
Ther thou were weel, fro thennes artow weyved.²

Mr. Curry is convinced that Chaucer gives us these astrological data to explain the sufferings of Constance. When he first

¹ W. C. Curry, "O Mars, O Atazir," in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. XXII (1923), pp. 347-368.

² Skeat, *The Oxford Chaucer, Man of Law's Tale*, 295-308.

examines the passage, he declares, "It is not quite clear whether Chaucer considers this horoscope a 'nativity' or an 'election'. . . . An election—for example, to determine an auspicious time for beginning a journey—is useless and signifies nothing unless the root of the nativity is known and unless the figure erected for the election corresponds approximately with the horoscope. If the nativity indicates that the child just born will be unfortunate in marriage, it would be useless later to seek a fortunate *time* for marriage; in such a case *all* times would prove unfortunate. We may reasonably suppose, therefore, that the horoscope in question represents the conjunction of stars at Constance's birth; this is the 'root of her nativity.' Already at the beginning of her life, as any astrologer might have foretold, cruel Mars has slain her marriages."³

Obviously, then, it is only an assumption that this horoscope is a nativity. But as Mr. Curry proceeds with his study, he forgets that this is so, and treats it as an established fact. I feel not only that this is unjustified, but also that it is open to question whether this horoscope is a nativity at all. Chaucer says to us,

O firste moeving cruel firmament . . .
 Thy crowding set the heven in swich array
 At the beginning of this fiers viage
 That cruel Mars hath slayn this mariage.

If I interpret this passage correctly, it means that the cruel firmament set the heavens in such a position at the beginning of this unfortunate voyage, that, as a result, cruel Mars slew the marriage. As this voyage is the one which Constance took to Asia to be married to the Soldan, it can have nothing to do with her nativity. Hence it seems difficult to agree with Mr. Curry that, "already at the beginning of her life, as any astrologer might have foretold, cruel Mars has slain her marriages." When Chaucer tells us that Mars caused this trouble at the beginning of the voyage, are we to suppose that the rest of the astrological data coupled with it, refer to a configuration of the heavens years before? I am certain that we are more than justified in assuming that this whole passage refers to the state of the heavens when Constance set out on her fateful voyage, and hence that it is an election.

³ Curry, p. 354.

In this connection, however, one other point must be considered. Mr. Curry seems to have felt that this must be a nativity, because "an election is useless and signifies nothing, unless the root of the nativity is known."⁴ Therefore, he thinks this horoscope must be a nativity. In the first place his statement is not quite accurate. Many astrologers give rules for horary astrology when the birth is not known.⁵ Secondly in this instance Chaucer says that the nativity *is* known,⁶ although he has not concerned himself or us with its details.

Of viage is ther noon eleccioun
 Namely to folk of heigh condicioun
 Nat whan a rote is of a birthe y-knowe?
 Allas! we ben to lewed or to slowe.⁷

Yet before we decide the matter definitely, however, let us see whether an election or a nativity best explains the context. After presenting to us the configuration of the stars that caused all the trouble, Chaucer stops to lament that Constance's father was so imprudent as not to consult an astrologer. He cries out—

Imprudent emperour of Rome, allas!
 Was ther no philosophre in al thy toun?
 Is no tyme bet that other in swich cas?
 Of viage is ther noon eleccioun,

⁴ Curry, p. 354. The root of a nativity is merely the essential features in it. Skeat in his notes defines it thus, "Rote' is the astrological term for the epoch from which to reckon. The exact moment of a nativity being known, the astrologers were supposed to be able to calculate everything else." Elias Ashmole in the *Theatrum Chemicum* (ed. 1652, p. 450, note) says, "But Nativities are the Radices of Elections, and therefore we ought chiefly to looke backe upon them"

⁵ William Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, London 1647, p. 129. "Many men and women have not the time of their nativities, or know how to procure them and yet for divers weighty considerations they are desirous to know by a question of astrology, whether they shall live long or not together with many other such Queries people do demand incident to this house." Lilly then goes on to show the student how to answer any question incident to each house in turn.

⁶ Curry himself recognizes that the nativity is known. He says "Chaucer, indeed, laments the fact that no election was made in preparation for the voyage to the Sultan's Country, pointing out that the root of the nativity is known" (p. 355). Hence any argument which is based on the statement that an election is useless, unless the nativity is known, may be true, but is irrelevant.

⁷ *Man of Law's Tale*, 312-315.

Namely to folk of heigh condicioun
 Nat whan a rote is of a birthe y-knowe?
 Allas! we ben to lewed or to slowe.*

If the astrological data, which we have looked at, refer to an election, this passage simply means that Chaucer feels that anyone who neglects to consult the heavens before departing on a hazardous journey, is either ignorant or lazy, especially if he be a person "of heigh condicioun," the "rote" of whose birth is known. The Emperor neglected to consult an astrologer, and consequently failed to start Constance off on her momentous voyage at an auspicious time. His imprudence was the greater, because his daughter's nativity had doubtless been cast at her birth, as was customary with "folk of heigh condicioun." With her nativity known, the task of the astrologer would have been slight. This danger might easily have been averted. Surely Chaucer may well cry, "Imprudent emperor!"

If on the other hand we believe that this horoscope is a nativity, we are faced with what seems to me an anomaly. The Emperor is blamed for not doing a thing which it would be useless for him to do. If Constance is doomed from her birth by evil aspects, why should he be blamed for not consulting an astrologer later. It could do no good, if her fate were already sealed. Since there is certainly a suggestion in these lines that the Emperor might have averted the catastrophe by a little judicious caution, we can hardly suppose that Constance was doomed from her birth. Thus I feel that by interpreting the passage as an election, we have a more intelligent reading.

Since it seems more probable that Chaucer intended to give us information concerning an election, rather than a nativity, let us take up the second point which I wish to discuss. In the beginning of his argument Mr. Curry states that Skeat's analysis of lines 295-308 is in the main correct. He continues: "He (Skeat) observes that the ascendent, tortuous sign—i.e. the sign just rising above the horizon—is Aries, one of the Mansions of Mars. The lord of the Sign, Mars, has just passed from an angle into a succedent house, in this case from Libra into Scorpio, which is his other darkest house. Luna, also falling from an angle to a succedent, is found to be in corporeal

* *Man of Law's Tale*, 309-315.

conjunction with Mars without reception in Scorpio. What Skeat does not observe is that when the horoscope is in Aries—for horoscopes in all other signs the situation would be different—the Sign Libra happens to coincide with the seventh house of the horoscope and Scorpio with the eighth. This is a conjunction of Mars and Luna not only in the Sign Scorpio, but also in the eighth house.”⁹

This horoscope, as it stands, presents certain difficulties in the light of the information which Chaucer has given us. In the first place the Lord of the Ascendant is characterized by Chaucer as “helples falle.” If this Lord were Mars, an Infortune, this expression would suggest that his power to do evil was somewhat nullified. But what we are told is that Mars was the cause of the trouble, that it is he, who has slain the marriage. Since planets rendered powerless for any reason are not responsible for great catastrophes, it cannot be Mars, who is ‘helples falle.’ And since we are told that the Lord of the Ascendant is in this unfortunate state, Mars cannot be the Lord of the Ascendant. On the contrary, if the Lord of the Ascendant were a neutral or a fortunate planet, which had been rendered temporarily helpless, thus permitting Mars to exert his evil influence unhampered, it would agree with the situation as Chaucer pictures it to us.

Secondly in Mr. Curry’s horoscope Mars has just passed from Libra to Scorpio, Libra being on the Seventh House, Scorpio on the Eighth. In this horoscope Mars is Lord of the Ascendant; therefore Mars must be “helples falle,” as I have pointed out before. Then how shall we account for the fact that Mars, in passing from Libra to Scorpio in this particular horoscope, would not only be no weaker, but on the contrary would be considerably stronger? A planet situated in the Seventh House has, according to the astrologers,¹⁰ an Accidental Fortitude of four points, and since 24–30° of Libra is a Term of Mars,¹¹ it would have an Essential Fortitude of two

⁹ Curry, p. 353.

¹⁰ Lilly, *op. cit.*, p. 104. This and following figures are taken from the so-called *Table of Ptolemy*, which is found in all books on astrology.

¹¹ Since we are to understand that Mars has just passed from Libra to Scorpio, its position just previously must have been in the last degrees of Libra. This is a term of Mars, and consequently adds to the power of that planet, when it is situated there.

more points or a total of six. But Libra happens to be the Detriment of Mars, for which five points must be subtracted, leaving a final total of but one. On the other hand Mars in Scorpio, his own House, has an Essential Fortitude of five points, from which two points only must be subtracted, because it is in the Eighth House. Thus we see that Mars is stronger in Scorpio than in Libra, and we can hardly say that a planet which increases its power threefold is "helples falle." Consequently either Mars cannot be accepted as Lord of this horoscope, or else he cannot be situated as Mr. Curry suggests. In either case the proposed horoscope becomes untenable.

Thirdly, on the authority of Skeat, Mr. Curry has taken the expression "the derkest hous" to mean the Zodiacal house of the planet. If this be so, then Scorpio may be called the darker House of Mars, because Aries is its mansion by day and Scorpio by night. But what Chaucer says is: "Out of his angle into *the* derkest hous" not "*his* derkest hous."¹² It is therefore quite as probable that Chaucer is referring to the Celestial houses, of which most astrologers would agree in calling the Eighth the darkest, as Curry himself notes.¹³ The trouble is that he takes it to mean both things at once. On this single bit of information he builds a twofold structure. He placed Mars in Scorpio, because it is *his* darkest House and in the Eighth House, because it is *the* darkest House. Since the previous reasoning would tend to show that Mars is not Lord of the Ascendant, and therefore Aries is not on the First House and Scorpio not on the Eighth, and consequently this corporeal conjunction of Mars and Luna in Scorpio and the Eighth house is impossible, would it not seem more probable that Chaucer only meant the second of the two alternatives? Surely to use both interpretations at once is forcing the text to fit a preconceived horoscopical arrangement.

Since it is obvious that there are several flaws in this horoscope, let us collect those facts given us by Chaucer and see on what Mr. Curry has based his hypothesis. Briefly they are four.

1. The Ascendant is tortuous.
2. Mars is the evil influence in the horoscope.

¹² The italics are mine.

¹³ See Curry, p. 356.

3. The Lord of the Ascendant has passed from his angle to the "derkest hous."
4. The Moon has passed from a beneficent position to impotency or affliction.

On the basis of the first we could have any of six Ascendants, Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces, Aries, Taurus, or Gemini. Skeat apparently chose Aries, because it is one of the two most tortuous signs, and because Mars was its Lord. The first reason is pointless, because Chaucer has said nothing about his Ascendant being the most tortuous, only that it *is* tortuous. As for his second reason I feel, as I have said before, that Chaucer would never have spoken of his Ascendant as "helples falle," if he meant Mars, who afterward had sufficient power to slay the marriage. Mr. Curry himself advances no further argument for placing Aries in the Ascendant.

From the fact that Mars is the evil influence—the Atazir—we can deduce nothing definite about the position of that planet. It would be almost, if not quite, as evil in the First house, as in the Eighth, for there it would be in its own Mansion (provided that Aries is the Ascendant, as Curry maintains), and opposition is a more powerful aspect for evil than is conjunction.

Similarly we are utterly in the dark about the position of the Moon; we know that her power is weak and that is all. Mr. Curry has argued at great length to prove that the Moon occupies a hylegiacal place in the horoscope, and it is for this reason that Chaucer has considered her important enough to mention. Yet we do not need such an elaborate explanation for the mentioning of her. The astrologers tell us that in all elections the Moon must be considered,¹⁴ therefore Chaucer tells us that she is badly off at the time, and so disposes of her. But this does not help us to place her in any definite spot.

From the fact that the Lord of the Ascendant falls into the "derkest hous," I should assume that it—whatever planet it is—is to be found in the Eighth House. But this is no proof that Scorpio is on the cusp of that House, and consequently that Aries is on the First. The phrase "out of his angle" might

¹⁴ Lilly, p. 124. "In every question we doe give the Moon as a cosignicator with the Querent or the Lord of the Ascendant."

be interpreted to mean that one of the two Zodiacal Mansions of the particular planet, which is Lord of the Ascendant, was in an angle at that time. Thus it might be spoken of as that planet's angle. Since the planet probably passes into the Eighth House, the angle would have to be the Seventh, as Mr. Curry has made it. If this be true, Mars is the only planet which could have one Mansion in the Ascendant and the other in the Seventh House at the same time. Hence, if we have any horoscope, Mars must be its Lord. Since I think I have shown that Mars cannot be the Lord of the Ascendant meant by Chaucer, we are forced to conclude that there is no possibility of a horoscope which would fit the data given. It must be remembered, however, that this is the case only after the two assumptions have been accepted, which limit the meaning of the phrases, the "derkest hous" and "his angle."

Shall we then reject Mr. Curry's interpretation of these two phrases and with our meagre supply of definite information try to construct a new horoscope? I do not believe that Chaucer intended that anyone should. In fact I, for one, do not think that Geoffrey Chaucer ever did it for himself, and I suspect that we are quite right when we decide that no horoscope can be made. Chaucer's workmanship is perhaps less subtle than Mr. Curry would have us believe, but it is certainly no less artistic. Instead of constructing with mechanical efficiency a horoscope, which for ingenuity and obscurity would vie with the best of puzzles, Chaucer merely names the forces at work behind the scenes and lets the story unfold itself. If we know that Mars slew the marriage, does it add anything to our appreciation of the story or the Art with which it is told, to know that he, "*casus ab angulo*, is discovered in Scorpio, which occupies the Eighth House of the figure?"¹⁵ If we know that the Moon, which must be consulted in any election, is in an unfavorable position at the time, will it make the situation any more vivid to us or to the mediaeval reader to learn, that "she is also cadent, having passed from a favorable sign-angle, Libra-seventh, into an unfavorable sign-succedent, Scorpio-eighth, where she is in conjunction with Mars?"¹⁶ Must we know

¹⁵ Curry, p. 354.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

exactly where the Lord of the Ascendant is and how he got there, or is it sufficient to realize that he is "helples falle" into "the derkest hous?" This was all that Chaucer saw fit to tell us, and it was enough to explain, simply and artistically to any mediaeval reader, why it is that Constance was doomed to sorrow and to suffering, perchance to death, if God in his Mercy had not intervened. By omitting the machine-like details, he does not make the story any the less moving nor does he detract for a moment from the inexorable influence of the stars or from the glory of God's Mercy.

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DAS ELEMENT DES ROMANTISCHEN IN GOETHE

Der Versuch, das Element des Romantischen aus Goethes Dichtung herauszuheben, hat zur notwendigen Voraussetzung eine klare, eindeutige Auffassung vom Wesen des Romantischen wie auch seines Gegenpols, des Realistischen. Schiller hat die Wesensbestimmung dieser beiden Kategorien unter dem Namen des Naiven und Sentimentalischen, sowie auch die Tragweite der durch sie bezeichneten Anschauungsweise für die Dichtung überhaupt gegeben. Für „naiv“ und „sentimentalisch“ sagt er auch „realistisch“ und „idealistisch,“ was im Grunde dem später allgemein üblich gewordenen „realistisch“ und „romantisch“ entspricht. Von einer ausführlicheren Wiedergabe der Gedankenführung Schillers können wir hier absehen. Jedenfalls verdanken wir ihm die sichere Grundlegung der beiden Grundformen aller dichterischen Anschauung und Darstellung. Das, worin der Sinn aller Kunst beschlossen liegt, ist die Tatsache, dass die Kunst mehr als irgend andere Ausdrucksformen des Seelischen den intimsten Vorgang des Lebensgefühls offenbart. Künstlerisches Schaffen ist Ausdruck der Lebensstimmung, Gefühl der Lebenswerte. Es gilt also, die psychologische Wurzel des Realistischen und des Romantischen zu begreifen, dann wird sich aus dem Wesensgrund der in ihnen sich bekundenden Seelenanlage alles zugehörige Begriffliche und Ästhetische ohne Schwierigkeit verstehen lassen.

Realistisches und romantisches Lebensgefühl stehen zueinander im Verhältnis des polaren Gegensatzes, und zwar so, dass das Realistische dem positiven, das Romantische dem negativen Pol eines seelischen Verhaltens entspricht. Es ist der Sinn der Polaritätsbegriffs, dass positiv und negativ nicht absolut oder getrennt, sondern einander relativisch bedingend zu denken sind. Nun ist es zwar so, dass diese gegensätzlichen Reaktionsformen nicht auf Einzelne in reiner Individualisierung verteilt erscheinen, sondern in der Menschennatur gleichzeitig gegeneinanderwirkend liegen. Im Individuum aber wiegt in der Regel die eine Lebensstimmung entschieden über die andere vor. Eine ausschliessliche Beherrschung durch eine allein kommt in der Wirklichkeit wohl nicht vor, sonst müssten wir statt Polarität einen reinen Dualismus statuieren. Ein solcher

ist aber psychologisch-empirisch unhaltbar; denn in dem bisher enthüllten Seelentum finden wir beim stärksten Realisten irgendwie noch Reste des Romantischen und vice versa. Ein Hin- und Herschwanken zwischen der bejahenden und der verneinenden Stimmung in dem grossen, zwischen den Extremen liegenden Felde der Relativität ist wohl das häufigste Phänomen.

Der Mensch von vorwaltend realistischer Anlage ist dem gegenwärtigen Leben bejahend zugekehrt. Das seelische Prinzip der Lebensbejahung des Menschen, der an seiner Umwelt positiv teilnehmend, im wirklichen Leben tätig ist, wird als das naturgemässe empfunden. Bei weitaus der Mehrzahl der Menschen aller Zeiten behält die positive Richtung des Lebensgefühls das Übergewicht, sonst würde es ja um das Leben bedenklich bestellt sein. Das „Positive“ bedeutet im Grunde die Äusserung des Willens zum Leben an sich und die Behauptung der Lebenskräfte gegen die lebensstörenden Mächte. Wird der Schwerpunkt des Interesses aus dem Wirklichen heraus in Vergangenes, Zukünftiges, Entferntes, Vorgestelltes, kurz in das Nicht-Aktuelle verlegt, so bedeutet das eine Verneinung des Lebens. Das aller Romantik zugrunde Liegende ist Abkehr von der Gegenwart, wirklichkeitsfremde Desorientierung des Lebenswillens. Die Behauptung, dass das Romantische die Verneinung des Lebenstriebes sei, klingt so, als wäre ein negatives Werturteil mitverstanden. Da es sich jedoch bei dem polaren Verhältnis der gegensätzlichen Reaktionsregungen nicht um einen Dualismus feindlich entgegengesetzter Prinzipien handelt, so kann nicht von einem bewussten Willen zur Verneinung oder Vernichtung des Lebens die Rede sein; es liegt hier vielmehr ein energetisches Phänomen vor. So betrachtet sind die negativen Erscheinungen einfach geschwächte Zustände oder falsche Einstellungen der Willensenergien. Demnach ist alles, was den natürlichen, vernunftgemässen Gang des Lebens stört: falsches Urteil, irreführendes Begehren, ausschweifendes Tun als Wirkung romantischer, d. h. schwacher oder eigenwillig irrationaler Seelenanlage zu bezeichnen. Bei gewissen Romantikern, z. B. Hölderlin, Lenau, Heine, erscheint der ganze Seelenapparat krankhaft verschoben; derart, dass die lebensstörende Illusion das gesamte Seelenwesen beherrscht. Einem Schiller, Shelley, Nietzsche verdirbt die Vorstellung resp.

Fiktion einer zukünftigen, irgendwie zu realisierenden, vollkommenen Welt den Genuss der gegenwärtigen, einzig wirklichen. Bei keinem aber lässt sich die polarische Natur des Gegensatzes des gesunden, normalen Triebes gegen die ausschweifenden, irrationalen, schwachgeistigen Tendenzen deutlicher wahrnehmen als in Goethe, dessen Doppelnatur von ihm selber klar erkannt und dargestellt worden ist. Goethe hatte bisweilen die eigenartige Methode, das, was in ihm selbst als gegensätzlich erlebt und empfunden war, geteilt auf zwei gegeneinandergestellte Individuen zu übertragen, und das ist ja auch tatsächlich die Form, in welcher sich im Leben bei einseitiger veranlagten Naturen der Konflikt des normalen und anormalen Strebens abspielt. Goethe stellt also das Romantische, welches einen grossen Teil seines Wesens ausmacht, in seiner Dichtung in objektiver Gestaltung aus sich heraus; er enthält in seiner universalen Natur mehr des Romantischen als mancher, der nur Romantiker ist. Der Unterschied zwischen Schiller, der sich mit Recht einen sentimentalischen Dichter nennt, und Goethe, der vorwiegend Realist war, ist dieser, dass Goethe das Disharmonische aus sich zu entfernen sucht, und es für die Praxis des Lebens früh beherrschen lernt. Er geht dann später bewusst zur naiven Weltanschauung als der „wünschenswerteren“ über; in seinem Bewusstsein bleibt jedoch Idee und Gefühl der Dualität gegenwärtig, nur versteht er viel besser als Schiller, das hieraus erwachsende Disharmonische zu bändigen‘ oder, wenn man so will: den Gegensatz auszugleichen und zu versöhnen.

Was in erster Linie das allgemeine Urteil dazu geführt hat, Goethe den Namen des Realisten beizulegen, ist der überwiegende Teil der Schriften, die nicht zur Dichtung im eigentlichen Sinn gehören: der autobiographisch-geschichtliche, naturwissenschaftliche, ästhetisch-betrachtende Teil der Werke, und nicht zum wenigsten die Tagebücher, Briefe und Gespräche. Die Gegenständlichkeit und Sachlichkeit der Wahrnehmung und Bewertung, die Offenheit und Wahrhaftigkeit der Mitteilung sind die Eigenschaften, welche Goethe hier als den Ausleger der Wirklichkeit, den Realisten im besten Sinne des Wortes bezeichnen. Gerade weil hier der Gehalt des Selbsterlebten, empirisch Geschauten vorwiegt, sind diese „persönlichen Denkmäler“ für den Eindruck der Persönlichkeit Goethes sehr

deutlich bestimmend, ein Umstand, dessen man sich erst spät bewusst wird. In der Dichtung Goethes geben vornehmlich die epischen Werke Bilder einer verbürgten Wirklichkeit. Das liegt in der Natur der Sache; denn der Roman ist die Form, welche der Absicht realistischer Lebensdarstellung am adäquatesten ist, wie denn auch unser laufendes Zeitalter des Realismus die starke Bevorzugung der Romanform augenfällig zeigt. In Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahren hat die Weltliteratur das unerreichte Vorbild congenial verstehender und überlegen klarer Wiedergabe zeitgenössischen Lebens, was füglich als Hauptangelegenheit des Prosaepos zu betrachten ist. In Hermann und Dorothea ist das menschlich schönste, reinste Wirklichkeitsbild gegeben. Wenn Werther und die Wahlverwandtschaften im Mittelpunkt der Idee pathologische Problem-dichtungen sind, so sind sie darum wohl nicht weniger realistisch, aber als Darstellung gefährlichster Aktualitätsformen des Irrationalen der negativen Seite des Lebens zugehörige, sensationelle Ausnahmefälle der Erfahrung. Zum Erweis ihrer Berechtigung werden sich solche Erzeugnisse als Hilfsmittel notwendiger Korrektionswirkung ausweisen müssen. Das dies im Werther Goethes Absicht war, geht aus: „Ilmenau, am 3. September 1783“ deutlich hervor, wie auch sein schmerzliches Bedauern über die verheerende Wirkung dieses Buches ihn über die Ratsamkeit solcher Schriften zum mindesten zweifelhaft machen musste. Gegen die Kritik der moralischen Absicht in den Wahlverwandtschaften hat sich Goethe stets streng verwahrt.

So entscheidend nun ethische Absicht und Wirkung der Dichtung sind, so soll es sich in den gegenwärtigen Ausführungen nicht sowohl um diese handeln, als vielmehr darum, zu zeigen, wie sehr auch Goethe, der „naive“ Dichter, mit sentimentalisch-romantischer Disharmonie behaftet ist. Die Belege für diese Seite seines Wesens sind hauptsächlich den Dramen zu entnehmen.—Faust ist ein durchaus romantisch-irrationaler Charakter. Der Anfang der Dichtung stellt ihn auf dem Höhepunkt der Krise verzweifelter Unzufriedenheit vor; Schauer vor seiner Umwelt empfindend, unfähig jeder Anpassung an die Zustände des wirklichen Lebens, verwünscht er sein Dasein. Die lebensverneinende Stimmung: Abkehr von der wirklichen Welt, unreele Richtung des Willens auf sinnlos

Verstiegenes, tritt erschreckend zutage. Er kommt zwar zu der Einsicht, dass die *Tat* das Höchste sei. Damit ist gewiss freie, positiv-schaffende, zweckvolle Tätigkeit gemeint. Statt aber an diesem rettenden Gedanken festzuhalten, verliert er sich an unersperrliches, unreelles Treiben. Von förderlichem Tun, werthafem Werk ist in seinem langen Leben nichts zu sehen. Erst ganz zuletzt, als der erblindete Greis am Ende seines Erdentages steht, macht er Anstalt, jenen frühen Tatgedanken auszuführen. Er stirbt darüber und zieht unter mystischen Exequien in den Himmel ein.—Die Doppelnatur Fausts wird als Konflikt unvereinbarer Gegensätze seines Strebens bezeichnet:—

Zwei Seelen wohnen, ach! in meiner Brust,
Die eine will sich von der andern trennen, etc.

und:—

Vom Himmel fordert er die schönsten Sterne
Und von der Erde jede höchste Lust.

Dabei wird aber nur das auf Übersinnliches gerichtete, übermenschliche Trachten als edel und hoch gefasst, während das irdische als herabziehend und gemein vorgestellt wird. Das ist ganz romantisch gedacht! Nun wird kein vernünftiger Mensch behaupten, dass Goethes Lebenspraxis mit der des Faust—oder gar des Mephistopheles—identisch gewesen sei. Goethe sucht vielmehr im Natürlichen, Wirklichen sein Heil. Er hat es auch konsequent abgelehnt, sich über den Sinn des Faust deutlich auszusprechen. Es muss daher scheinen, als habe er das ihn bedrohende Irrationale seiner eigenen Natur in folgerechter Personifizierung im Faust dichterisch substantivieren wollen, ohne sich darüber klar zu sein, wie dieser Einschlag der Menschennatur zu bewerten sei. Es ist in der Tat unmöglich über Grund und Zweck des Irrationalen etwas zu sagen; unsere psychologischen Einsichten reichen zu seiner Erklärung noch nicht aus. Seine Darstellung in der Dichtung ist vollkommen berechtigt und von Goethe in genialster Weise geleistet; aber es ohne Weiteres mit „hohem Streben“ oder sogenannter „Genialität“ zu identifizieren, ist doch sehr bedenklich. Der Umstand, dass die Faustische Lebensidee in keinem anderen Werke Goethes wiederkehrt, scheint die Auffassung zu bestätigen, dass Faust der „erratische Block“ in Goethes Seelenwesen ist und nicht etwa Kernpunkt oder Symbol seiner Lebensan-

sicht. Oswald Spengler irrt unzweifelhaft, wenn er die um die Lösung tiefster Menschheitsprobleme bemühten genialen Menschen des Abendlandes als faustische Naturen anspricht. Die zähe, selbstlose, zielbewusste, schwere Arbeit dieser Männer hat mit der Haltung und dem Treiben des unstäten Sensations-suchers Faust nichts gemeinsam. Die Verherrlichung des Faust als des grossen Numinosen ist als verfehlt zu betrachten. Faust ist eine romantisch-erratische Gestalt.

Im Tasso kommt der Kampf zwischen der Verstiegtheit der romantischen Dichternatur, der „Willkür, die kein Gesetz über sich leidet,“ und dem welterfahrenen Wirklichkeitsmenschen zu spezifisch reiner Darstellung. Den Tasso konnte nur einer schreiben, der selber durch das Extrem-romantische hindurchgegangen, die Gefährlichkeit seiner Illusion erlebt hatte. Tasso ist in einen Komplex von Unwirklichkeiten eingesponnen. Die Hingabe an ein dichterisches Werk: Die romantische Verherrlichung eines längst Vergangenen—„Er hat Jerusalem für uns erobert“—scheidet ihn von der Aufmerksamkeit für Gegenwärtiges, schliesst eine Unterschätzung desselben schon mit ein—„Sein Auge weilt auf dieser Erde kaum“—. Er gehört zur Gattung optimistisch gestimmter Romantiker und hofft auf allerhöchstes Glück, aber seine Euphorie beruht auf einer Wahnvorstellung. Als er sich den Wirklichkeiten seines Zustandes gegenübergestellt sieht, verliert er allen Halt. Am Ende bleibt es zweifelhaft, ob er sich von seiner Niederlage erholen wird. Die Prinzessin ist auch eine Romantische, deren Phantasiewelt ebenso zerbricht wie die des Tasso. Goethe gibt in dieser Dichtung das Bild romantischer Desorientierung im Dichter, die Darstellung des Konflikts des polaren Gegensatzes: Romantik und Wirklichkeit. In ihm selbst führte die Erfahrung der Unhaltbarkeit des romantisch ausschweifenden dichterischen Wesens zur Abwendung vom romantischen Habitus. Er gewann auf dem sicheren Wege der Empirie die Überzeugung von der Notwendigkeit des Masshaltens. Tasso ist mithin eins der lehrreichsten Werke der Literatur, insofern in ihm nicht nur die beiden gegensätzlichen Grundformen des Verhältnisses zum Leben in typischer Form erscheinen, sondern auch unzweideutig die Erkenntnis der Romantischen als eines Krankheitszustandes vermittelt wird.

Wir finden also in „Faust“ und „Tasso“ Romantik als Erlebnis und als Dichtung; für das Vorhandensein des Romantischen in Goethe sind sie die stärksten Beispiele. Damit ist aber der Nachweis noch keineswegs erschöpft; noch andere Dichtungen Goethes enthalten Romantik reiner Kultur. Die voranstehenden Ausführungen bauen sich auf die Ansicht, dass wir unter Realismus das Verhalten zu verstehen haben, welches aus richtigem Urteil und gesundem Gefühl das Zweckmässige sucht, während das Romantische die aus fehlerhaftem Denken und falscher Willensrichtung hervorgehende, irrationale Einstellung auf das Wirkliche ist. So geht Egmont aus Mangel an wachem Bewusstsein des Gegenwärtigen, Gegebenen zugrunde. Er ist gegenüber dem klaren, klugen Realisten, Oranien, der schwachgeistige, eigensinnige Romantiker, der selbst Warnung und Rat nicht zu fassen weiss. Die Trugvorstellung gegenüber dem Tatsächlichen wird sich als die psychologische Wurzel alles romantischen Wesens in Leben und Dichtung konsequent nachweisen lassen. Das Paradoxe, welches darin liegt, Anlage und Verhalten eines solchen Charakters wie Egmont zum Gegenstand poetischer Verherrlichung zu wählen, beweist, dass der Dichter selbst in romantischer Empfindung befangen ist. Goethe stellt uns Egmont nicht ohne Recht als edelmütigen, vaterlandsliebenden Mann vor; aber die gänzliche Unterdrückung jedes Tadels ist als entschiedener Defekt der Darstellung zu bezeichnen. Romantisch, im Sinne des falschen, irrationalen Tuns, sind auch Weislingen und Clavigo. Eine harmlose und ansprechende Form des romantischen Gefühls ist die Stimmung sehnsuchtsvoller Erinnerung an vergangenes Liebe und Schöne; sie ist im Epimetheus personifiziert. Dieser ist allerdings für die Forderungen des tätigen Lebens untauglich geworden. Er soll zuletzt wieder verjüngt werden.

Das ganz und gar romantische Wesen Werthers wird von Schiller in: Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung, treffend gekennzeichnet:—„Ein Charakter, der mit glühender Empfindung ein Ideal umfasst und die Wirklichkeit flieht, um nach einem wesenlosen Unendlichen zu ringen, der, was er in sich selbst unaufhörlich zerstört, unaufhörlich ausser sich sucht, dem nur seine Träume das Reelle, sein Erfahrungen ewig nur Schranken sind, der endlich in seinem eigenen Dasein nur eine Schranke sieht, und auch diese, wie billig, noch einreißt, um zu der wahren Realität durchzudringen—dieses gefährliche

Extrem des sentimentalischen Charakters ist der Stoff eines Dichters geworden, in welchem die Natur getreuer und reiner als in irgend einem anderen wirkt, und der sich unter modernen Dichtern vielleicht am wenigsten von der sinnlichen Wahrheit der Dinge entfernt. Es ist interessant zu sehen, mit welchem glücklichen Instinkt alles, was dem sentimentalischen Charakter Nahrung gibt, im Werther zusammengedrängt ist: schwärmerische unglückliche Liebe, Empfindsamkeit für Natur, Religionsgefühl, philosophischer Kontemplationsgeist, endlich, um nichts zu vergessen, die düstere, gestaltlose, schwermütige, ossianische Welt. Rechnet man dazu, wie wenig empfehlend, ja wie feindlich die Wirklichkeit dagegen gestellt ist, so sieht man keine Möglichkeit, wie ein solcher Charakter aus einem solchen Kreise sich hätte retten können.“—Werthers Verhalten ist weder naturgemäss noch vernünftig, sondern das gerade Gegenteil. Wenn Goethe im Alter sagt: „Das Romantische ist das Kranke,“ so spricht er aus Erfahrung; denn er war selbst durch diese Gemütskrankheit hindurchgegangen. Vor dem Selbstmord aber hatte er Halt gemacht, eine Tatsache, durch welche die Schlussbemerkung Schillers praktisch widerlegt wird.

Man muss staunen, dass Goethe, der erfahrene Weise, in den Wahlverwandtschaften einen so beschränkten, unangemessenen Standpunkt einnehmen konnte. Der „sehr einfache Text“: „Wer ein Weib ansieht ihrer zu begehren, der hat schon die Ehe mit ihr gebrochen in seinem Herzen,“ ist zwar nach dem Begriff der „Unlösbarkeit“ ganz konsequent, aber aus dem Gesichtspunkt des Natürlichen und Vernünftigen gesehen, ein unglücklicher Missbegriff. Welche Schuld kann darin liegen,—abgesehen von der ethischen Fiktion, dem Scheinbegriff,—wenn Mann und Weib, die Unverträglichkeit ihrer Naturen erkennend, sich trennen, resp. neue, kongenialere Gefährten suchen. Der rigorose Begriff der „Gedankensünde“ ist sinnlos. Die an dieser Wahnidee leidenden Personen in den Wahlverwandtschaften sind eben von einer Trugvorstellung irrationaler Ethik beherrscht, die überall schon längst verabschiedet ist. Es ist irrationale, lebensfeindliche Romantik, dass die Vier ihr Problem in Tragik auslaufen lassen, die zur Vernichtung Zweier führt. Eine Lösung, die eine befriedigende Umgruppierung zuwege gebracht hätte, wäre Goethes würdiger und nach dem Naturgesetz der Wahlverwandtschaft die richtige

gewesen. Die sich in asketischer Mystik aufreibende Ottilie ist Beweis, dass Weltverneinung dem Mystischen (Romantischen) wesentlich zugehört. Die Forderung des Lebens wird gänzlich vernichtet. Goethe hat in diesem Werk dem Sentimentalischen auch einen teuren Tribut gezahlt, sich weltweit von der „sinnlichen Wahrheit der Dinge“ entfernt.

Wenn nun die Dichtung Goethes trotz allen Vorbehalts als wesentlich realistische zu bezeichnen ist, so darf man natürlich nicht an Realismus in dem engeren, strengmodernen Sinn denken, den dies Wort in der späteren Zeit angenommen hat. Realismus als genaue Aufmerksamkeit auf das Sach-Wirkliche fehlt in Goethe keineswegs; in Götz, Werther, Wilhelm Meister und den Wahlverwandtschaften, um nur die in dieser Hinsicht hauptsächlich in Betracht kommenden Werke zu nennen, ist vieles dieser Art. Mehr aber als um strenge Anwendung realistischer Methode war es Goethe darum zu tun, dass seine Dichtung auf „reellem Fundament“ ruhe; als Dichter beabsichtigt er die höhere Wahrheit, die verständnisvolle Durchdringung, die seelische Bedeutung, Beseelung und Vergeistigung des Stoffes. Er nennt dies das „Grundwahr.“ Daher ist er in der breiteren, allgemein—generellen Anwendung des Wortes Dichter der Wirklichkeit. Aber das Romantische, welches als Zug zum Geheimnisvollen, Dämonischen, Mystischen, Überschwenglich-Leidenschaftlichen auch in Goethes Wesen lag, macht sich auf jeder Lebensstufe bis ins höchste Alter geltend. Ich nenne beispielsweise nur noch: Die Bekenntnisse einer schönen Seele, das Märchen, die Geheimnisse, die Marienbader Elegie. Der klarste Beweis, dass Übersinnliches nie aus Goethes Seele geschwunden war, vielmehr zuletzt noch mit überraschender Stärke durchbricht, ist aber der Schluss des Faust. Mystischeres kennt die Weltliteratur kaum. Keiner der Romantiker hätte es gekonnt oder gewagt, in den Himmel und die Hölle selbst zu führen. Es ist vollkommen klar, dass in dem wirklich sehr romantisch vorgestellten Final des Faust Goethes Weltgefühl in volle Mystik ausmündet. Die göttliche Liebe, welche den Faust rettet, der sich nicht intensiv „strebend bemüht“ hat, sie zu verdienen, muss allerdings eine All-Liebe sein, die allerletzten Endes auch den Mephistopheles zu Gnaden annehmen wird.

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POSTING HENSLOWE'S ACCOUNTS¹

Henslowe's Diary, so-called, or account book has long been our chief source of information upon Elizabethan dramatic business; but its possibilities have not yet been exhausted, and many of the inferences currently drawn from it are unwarranted. The chief reason for this state of affairs is that no thorough study has been made of Elizabethan business customs as they applied to the stage, and indeed materials were insufficient to permit such a study. But recent research, especially that of Professor C. W. Wallace, has now given us sufficient material to make clear most of the details of Elizabethan dramatic finance. That study I have made elsewhere,² but intend here to use only its demonstrated general principles to check up Henslowe's accounts, chiefly as they apply to the Admiral's company. The process is necessarily tedious, but since it will make clear several disputed points of theatrical history, the tedium seems worth enduring.

The Elizabethan acting companies of men at public theaters all conformed to certain business customs. No company as an organization owned its own theater. This building it rented, paying the owner or owners one-half of the receipts from the galleries and from the tiring-house door. The owner might be a capitalist pure and simple, as was Henslowe; he might be an actor, as was James Burbage; or the ownership might be vested in a group of actors, as in the Shakspearean company; or in a group of capitalists, as was frequently the case. But whether the theater was owned by individual or group, by capitalist or actor, the payment for it was half the receipts from the galleries and from the tiring-house door. This left the company of actors the total receipts at the outer door, and the

¹ Henslowe's Diary needs two further pieces of work: first, a photographic facsimile; second, a casting into the form of modern accounts. As the matter now stands, it is almost impossible to remember all the corrections that need to be made, and the most I can hope for is reasonable accuracy. After long and minute examination of Doctor Greg's work upon the Diary, it is only his rightful due that I should record my sincerest admiration for the thoroughness and accuracy of his work.

² *The Organization and Personnel of the Shakspearean Company.*

remaining half of receipts from the galleries and from the tiring-house door.

In general, the owner of the theater bore the expense of keeping the building open and in repair, while the actors bore the expense of acting; but the details of division varied slightly from time to time, and from place to place. Because of this system of division, the owner usually collected the admission to the galleries and through the tiring-house door, while the actors collected at the outer door, which admitted only to standing room in the yard. If the actors of a company were well-to-do, as in the Shakspearean, they could furnish their own needed supplies, paying for them and their hired labor out of their receipts, and then sharing the net remainder. But if the actors had no funds, or possibly did not care to invest them in that way, then it was the custom for some capitalist, whether outsider or actor, individual or group, to furnish the company its needed supplies, and to be repaid out of or with the actors' half of the receipts from the galleries and those from the tiring-house door.

With these general customs as keys, we may proceed to unlock Henslowe's account book. The account book will then in turn give us the membership of the Admiral's men. The first recorded appearance of this company at the Rose was in May, 1594, and after that time no other company is recorded at that theater till after the Admiral's went to the Fortune in 1600. Neither did the Admiral's men play at any other London theater during that period, except for a few days in June, 1594, at Newington Butts. Their leader during the first of this period was Edward Alleyn, who had married Henslowe's step-daughter, Joan Woodward, October 22, 1592.³ Alleyn eventually became Henslowe's theatrical partner, and these two men were connected with this acting organization till they died.

The company began at the Rose May 14, 1594, and played three days. For some reason, it then stopped playing at the Rose till probably June 17,⁴ it and the Shakspearean company playing June 5-15 at Newington Butts. Daily entries of receipts are regularly made from the beginning through the summer of

³ Greg, W. W. *Henslowe's Diary*, Vol. II, p. 84. All future references to the Diary are to this edition.

⁴ Ordinarily I use Doctor Greg's corrected dates.

1597, with only short intervals missing.⁵ The only debt Henslowe records against the Admiral's men for 1594 is 9s 4d, seemingly incurred in Henslowe's endeavors to obtain some "leater" for them, which involved several trips for Henslowe, two copies of the "leater," and two heavy drinkings.⁶ This is in fact Henslowe's bill for service rendered. Henslowe's marginal summary of the bill has been slightly damaged, to the extent of obliterating the pound column; but since the sum is less than a pound, the summary would have contained only zeros in this column. Thus the real sum charged to the company was only 2s 8d, the expenses for the journeys. It would seem then that the drinks and the two copies, or the second copy, of the letter were considered to be Henslowe's own personal affair. Naturally, one wonders if the two items were considered as being causally connected. We do not know just what was the nature of the letter Henslowe secured for the company. It is evident, however, that Henslowe was not furnishing the company at this period, and that his entries of receipts cannot be for this reason.

The next record of Henslowe's furnishing anything to the company as a whole is in 1596.⁷ Beginning with May 2 of that year, Henslowe made loans to Alleyn for the company amounting to £21 13s 4d during the month. Two further undated items amount to £10 10s, giving a total debt of £32 3s 4d, which Henslowe at first figured as £33 0s 4d. Alleyn made intermittent daily payments from May 10, through July 8, 1596, amounting to £39 9s, which Henslowe counted as even £39 10s. He therefore returned to Alleyn £7 6s 8d, and the account was closed. We may notice in passing that the amounts Alleyn turned over each day are approximately the amounts that Henslowe records for those days as receipts, of which more hereafter. Again then Henslowe is not furnishing the company; but is only making certain loans to its leader, Alleyn, which are repaid from daily receipts. Henslowe's other dealings during this period 1594-6 were with individuals, and not with organizations.

⁵ *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 86.

⁶ *Dairy*, Vol. I, p. 198; Vol. II, p. 86.

⁷ *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 126.

The next borrowing of the Admiral's men from Henslowe begins October 14, 1596,⁸ and extends to March 25, 1597, the beginning of the new financial year. In that time, the company had borrowed from Henslowe sums that he figured as £44 6s; and had paid him sums that he figured as £20, leaving a debt of £24 6s. Henslowe then loaned the company £5 14s additional to make a debt of even £30 to begin the new financial year. An examination of the payments to Henslowe shows that the company followed no regular schedule of reimbursement, but paid Henslowe lump sums out of exceptionally good houses. It is evident that Henslowe was merely serving as paymaster to the company, which drew on him for various purposes. These purposes include plays, furnishings, and odds and ends; but do not include regular wages, although incidental expenses for a few odd jobs do appear. Henslowe was secure in this loan because the actors' half of the gallery receipts was regularly passing through his hands, and he would also have the company's bond in a substantial amount. Therefore Henslowe was not urgent about the repayment of his debt.

There is no entry of further loans or repayment until after the inhibition of July 28, 1597, was lifted. Then Henslowe opens "A Juste a cownt of all suche money as J haue layd owt for my lord admeralles [men] players begynnyng the xi of octobz whose names ar as foloweth borne gabrell shaw Jonnes dowten Jube towne synger & the ii geffes 1597."⁹ His receipts, however, he records as coming from the Admiral's and Pembroke's.¹⁰ As we shall see, the Pembroke title does not seem to have survived the year, and the company continued simply as the Admiral's or Nottingham's men. At the end of the financial year, March 8-13, 1598, the company had drawn on Henslowe for sums he figures as £46 7s 3d. The majority of the company signed the account to acknowledge it as correct, but no final settlement was made. Instead, the account had been legally acknowledged and continued to the new year. By July 28, 1598, the company had expended £120 15s 4d more; and then October 4-8, £152 14s; December 1, £88 10s; March 22-27,

⁸ *Diary*, Vol. I, pp. 44-5.

⁹ *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 82. For Doctor Greg's summary of these accounts, see *Diary*, Vol. II, pp. 135 ff, where accurate reference is given for each item.

¹⁰ *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 68.

1599, £84 16s; April 17, £42 10s; June 8, £21 2s; September 28, £41 12s 4d; and finally £3 8s. The company had a settlement with Henslowe October 13, 1599, when the debt was figured as £632. The items we have enumerated total £601 14s 11d, leaving £30 5s 1d so far unaccounted for. Because there is no item between April 17, and May 26, 1599, and because the accounts from March 31 through April 17 are not added up as is usual, it has been supposed that part of the accounts have been lost. But Doctor Greg shows that Henslowe's marginal summaries would make the missing amount £2 0s 7d.¹¹ Since Henslowe's marginal summaries are usually approximations, practically always in his favor, it is almost certain that there has been no loss of accounts at all. At any rate, the loss could be but slightly more than £2. Thus the further debt of £30 to £33 must be the debt of £30 that the Admiral's men owed Henslowe March 25, 1597, and for which we have no previous record of settlement. It thus appears that the accounts are really continuous from October 14, 1596.

Toward this total debt of £632, the company was credited October 13, 1599, with £358, leaving a balance due Henslowe of £274.¹² Henslowe began recording these payments under the caption "Here J Begyne to [th] Receue the wholle gallerneys frome this daye beinge the 29 of July 1598."¹³ This can only mean that the company is following the regular custom of applying its half of the gallery receipts to the debt incurred to Henslowe, who was already in receipt of the other half as owner of the *Rose*, and would now receive the whole galleries, half for rent and half for debt. Consequently, these entries give us the total receipts for the actors' half of the galleries each week. But we must leave further details till we have finished tracing the accounts.

When accounts were again settled July 10, 1600, the company had contracted a further debt of £222 5s 6d, making with the back debt of £274 a total debt of £496 5s 6d. The company had paid Henslowe from its half of the galleries £197 18s between October 20, 1599, and July 1, 1600, leaving a balance owing to Henslowe of £298 7s 6d, or £300 as they put it in

¹¹ *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 347.

¹² *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 112; Vol. II, p. 348.

¹³ *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 91.

round numbers. Though the settlement was made July 10, it would pretty certainly have been only to quarter day, June 24. In that case, the debt must have been even more exactly £300 than is indicated above.¹⁴ In the acknowledgment of this debt, Shaa first wrote that the company promised payment "out of our pt," which would be half the galleries, as they had been doing; but he cancelled the words. His reason is evident when we find that Henslowe's last weekly receipt from the company is dated July 13, just three days after the settlement, and at the end of the week in which it occurred. Evidently Henslowe is no more to receive his pay from half the galleries, but in lump sums. Even within the period between July 29, 1598, and July 10, 1600, Henslowe had not received the half galleries for one full quarter, June 3–September 30, 1599. Doubtless the complete break in recorded receipts July, 1600, is due to the fact that about this time the company was preparing to move to the Fortune.

The next settlement is February 7–23, 1602. The new debt amounts to £304 6s 4d as Henslowe first totals it. He then alters it to £308 6s 4d, probably because of some £4 item acknowledged but not entered. This, with the back debt of £300 from July 10, 1600, makes a total debt of £608 16s 4d, to which was to be added £50 given to Jones and Shaa when they left the company January 21–February 23, 1602. This debt, excluding the £50, Henslowe considers even £600, as is shown by his total September 15–27, 1602.

Henslowe again casts accounts at Christmas, 1602. The company had added £170 1s 6d to its debt, which with the £50 to Jones and Shaa would total £220 1s 6d, though Henslowe gives it as £226 16s 8d. When the account was figured at the end of the fiscal year in March, 1603, the company had added a debt of £18 10s, making a total of £188 11s 6d, besides the £50 to Jones and Shaa, and £211 9s on a bond. The bond is almost certainly the remainder of the company's debt of £600 from February, 1602. It cannot be for any of the items of 1602–3, because they are summed up in the other phases of the account. It is not for the debt before July 10, 1600, since the

¹⁴ Doctor Greg is in error (*Diary*, Vol. II, p. 136), when he supposes that £300 is the total debt from October 13, 1599, to July 10, 1600, and that the £274 debt is not again heard of.

company had met that debt in part by applying half the galleries, a practice which they stopped at that time. Therefore, the bond must be one the company gave Henslowe to protect him for their accrued and added debt of £600, acquired between July 10, 1600, and February, 1602. We also know that the company made at least one payment during this period which has not been credited against the open account. Alleyn turned over £28 10s to Henslowe May 4, 1601, of the reward at court, in part payment of a greater debt.¹⁶ Seemingly, part of this was applied on a debt to Treherne, but the balance would presumably have gone to the company's general debt. That the bond was for the debt acknowledged in February, 1602 is confirmed by Henslowe's jotting over the signatures at that place. He has jotted down the amount still owing on the bond, without giving any explanation. Evidently, he figured up the amount, jotted it down against the account, and entered it formally at the settlement in March, 1603, as back debt on bond to keep the record straight. This bond may have been one given specifically to cover this debt, but it may have been the regular bond of the company as a whole to Henslowe, such as the company of Princess Elizabeth gave him in August, 1611. All recorded individual bonds for the company ran out in 1600. Thus the company would likely at some time in that year give bond for the performance of its renewed contract. This bond would protect Henslowe in the debt, but a separate bond may have been drawn for that specific purpose.

Between March 12, and May 5, 1603, Henslowe figured his current debt correctly as £188 11s 6d,¹⁶ but he had first written it just above seemingly as £188 10s 6d (l. 16). To this he added £5¹⁷ for a play by Dekker and Middleton, making a total of £193 10s 6d.¹⁸ Later, still another item of 9s was added (ll. 30-1), which managed to increase itself in Henslowe's mathematical processes to a pound. He added it to his £188 11s 6d (l. 18), which should have given him £189 0s 6d. He then altered his first total (l. 16) to conform, getting what Doctor Greg reads as £189 1s 6d. But when Henslowe again added the

¹⁶ *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 140.

¹⁶ *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 174, l. 18.

¹⁷ *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 175, ll. 1-4.

¹⁸ *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 174, l. 20.

£5 for the play to this altered total, he got as his new grand total £194 10s 6d,¹⁹ so that he himself must have read the entry as £189 10s 6d.²⁰ Thus the current debt, and the back debt on bond totaled in Henslowe's figures £405 19s 6d.

If this interpretation of Henslowe's mathematical processes is correct, it would seem clear that all these calculations were made before May 5, 1603, when Henslowe figured that the company's total debt to him, excluding the £50 to Jones and Shaa, was £197 13s 4d. Seemingly, though not certainly, the company had thus been credited with unrecorded payments of somewhat more than £200. If no payment had been made, then unrecorded items amounting to slightly more than £3 had been added before May 5, 1603. In either case, if our interpretation of the mathematics is correct, the play by Dekker and Middleton called *The Patient Man and the Honest Whore* was paid for March 12–May 5, 1603, instead of a year later, as seems indicated by the inserted "1604." But this date is only "a probably contemporary entry,"²¹ and even so might refer to the printing of the play, which was done in 1604. More probably the insertion represents the time when the play was first acted, since there was little more acting in 1603.

Our final debt record informs us that on "the 14 daye of marche 1604," which may thus be 1605, Henslowe and the company had a final settlement "frome the begininge of the world vntell this daye," at which the debt was settled as £24.

It becomes evident then that Henslowe furnished the company regularly only from the amalgamation in October, 1597, till the end of the fiscal year in March, 1603, though he made loans before and possibly after. During this period, he received the actors' half of the galleries to apply to his debt only from July 29, 1598, through June 3, 1599, and from October 6, 1599, through July 13, 1600. For the remainder of the time that Henslowe was furnishing the company, he was probably paid by lump sums, and protected by the bond of the company. Therefore, any other sums entered in this period cannot be the actors' half of the galleries, received on debt.

¹⁹ *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 175, l. 5.

²⁰ It seems then that Henslowe found it as difficult to distinguish between his 0 and 1 as does Doctor Greg (*Diary*, Vol. I, p. xxx).

²¹ *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 97.

These entries of receipts give us an accurate check on the average receipts from the galleries. The chief difficulty is that since these entries are weekly and not daily we do not know how many performances each includes. Still we may arrive at the number of performances in the average uninterrupted theatrical year. The actors of the Shakspearean company considered in 1635 that the theatrical year contained approximately 300 days.²³ Their reason for this estimate may be seen by studying their early connection with Henslowe. From February 19, through June 23, 1592, there were 126 days; but the Shakspearean company performed only 105 times.²³ This would mean 305 performances per annum. From December 29, 1592, through February 1, 1593, is 35 days; but Strange's men performed only 29 times.²⁴ This would mean 302 performances per annum. The reason for this approximate number of performances each year is indicated by the fact that the day missed was usually Sunday, though any day might be missed, and sometimes the day recorded is Sunday. Doctor Greg, however, thinks that entries for Sunday performances are usually errors.²⁵ It appears then that with the exception of the lenten season, for uninterrupted acting, a 300 day year and a $5\frac{3}{4}$ day week is the average.

Allowance being made for Sundays, the actors should have had 313 days left. But more or less loss of time was also caused by Lent. Theoretically, the players should have been suppressed throughout the whole lenten period; but practically they were not. For a sufficient consideration, the authorities usually granted dispensation to play on certain days. The details of practice, however, seem not to have been the same throughout the period. Herbert gives us at least the main outline of the

²³ Halliwell-Phillipps, J. O. *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare* (9th ed.), Vol. I, p. 313.

²³ *Diary*, Vol. I, pp. 13-15.

²⁴ *Diary*, Vol. I, pp. 15-16.

²⁵ *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 324. It was illegal to act on Sunday, and numerous references indicate that it was not usually done. For instance, see a statement of Jan. 25, 1586 in Collier, J. P. *The History of English Dramatic Poetry* (1879), Vol. I, pp. 257-8; the agreement on daily expenses at Whitefriars in 1608, which is figured on a six day basis (*New Shak. Soc. Transactions*, 1887-92, pp. 269 ff); and Fynes Moryson's statement about 1617 (Hughes, Charles. *Shakespeare's Europe*, p. 476; Int. p. xli).

custom in 1635, when the English players were not permitted to act on the two sermon days each week—Wednesday and Friday—, nor on any day in “the whole weeke before the weeke before Easter,” which was Passion Week.²⁶ But we do not know from this instance whether the actors were permitted to act in the first two or three weeks of Lent, as they had not been in early days.

In the earlier period, however, Henslowe's Diary shows some modifications of this practice. In the six lenten seasons beginning with that of 1595, and ending with that of 1600, the Admiral's men “left off playing” on Saturday of Shrove week every year, except in 1595, when Henslowe credits them with having played through the Friday of the succeeding week.²⁷ But preceding these five extra days Henslowe has marked “frome hence lycensed.”²⁸ For some reason, however, the license failed to hold for that part of Lent, and was not later again attempted. With this exception, the Admiral's men were closed in 1595, and 1596, from the end of Shrove week till Easter Monday. In 1594, there was no acting at the Rose from a little before Lent till Easter Monday.²⁹ For 1593, acting was stopped by the plague before Lent.³⁰ But in 1592, Strange's men began on Saturday at the end of the first week in Lent (Ember Week), and played throughout the period, except Wednesday in Passion Week, and Good Friday.³¹ Seemingly the company at the Rose this year of 1592, had the kind of license Henslowe thought he had in 1595. From 1592, to 1597 then, acting would be stopped at the end of Shrove week until Easter Monday, unless a license were procured. A license in these days was seemingly good for all of Lent, with possible exception of Wednesday in Passion Week, and Good Friday.

But beginning with 1597, a new type of license was in vogue. In each of the four years 1597–1600, acting was entirely suppressed for approximately the three weeks succeeding Shrove week, after which it was permitted only on certain days through

²⁶ Adams, J. Q. *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, pp. 47–8, 60–1.

²⁷ *Diary*, Vol. II, pp. 86, 94.

²⁸ *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 22, l. 17.

²⁹ *Diary*, Vol. I, pp. 16–17.

³⁰ *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 74.

³¹ *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 13.

the remainder of Lent. Our only detailed record is for 1597, and proved too intricate for Henslowe to record it at all accurately.³² It is clear that the company stopped as usual on Saturday February 12, 1597, at the end of Shrove week. But the date of opening in Lent has been so confused by Henslowe that we must pause to solve the puzzle. It is to be noted that "From April to July 1597 no correction of any sort is required," our dates being accurate from Easter Monday, March 28, 1597. The twelve entries in Lent preceding are divided by Henslowe with his usual blocking into three weeks. The third of these weeks is set off by its calendar against the first two. In this series of four entries, Henslowe shows by his blocking that he thought of Monday March 21 as March 19, and then wrote the other three items as consecutive with it, so that all the dates are wrong. Since the actors were not permitted, as we have seen, and shall see in the earlier entries, to act on sermon days, doubtless the dates should have been Monday March 21, Tuesday March 22, Thursday March 24, and Saturday March 26. It would appear that Henslowe knew only that these four items were for this week, but didn't know either their dates, or his calendar. It may well be doubted then if he has preserved the relative order of the items.

The calendar of the first eight items is even more confused by Henslowe. As the dates stood originally, before Henslowe altered March 10 to March 9, we have items for two weeks, beginning on a Thursday, with only Sundays and sermon days omitted. Evidently these figures are correct, since they represent the known practice. But it is just as evident that the two weeks of these items became to Henslowe two calendar weeks. This is shown by his original entry opposite March 10 of "not pd." In our records of 1596, Henslowe had paid license to the Master of the Revels every two weeks, beginning with Easter Monday, entering his memorandum "m^r pd" at the end of each two week period opposite the Monday.³³ While we do not have all the records, he would have paid for the last period before Lent on Monday February 14. His entry opposite March 10 thus shows that he is still following his early custom, and considers this as Monday. Evidently then he thought he

³² *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 51.

³³ *Diary*, Vol. I, pp. 30, 42.

had in these eight items two calendar weeks, beginning Monday March 3, and Monday March 10. But when he checked his license sequence, he found that his calendar was wrong. For his next two weeks after February 14, would be February 28, the first two weeks of Lent, during which the building was closed and not subject to license. His next two weeks would be through the end of the fourth week in Lent to Monday March 14. Here Henslowe paid his license as usual, and entered "pd" opposite it. He then noticed that March 10 was not Monday as he had supposed, and erased his entry opposite. Inferring further that the omission of March 9 had originally been made on the supposition that it was Sunday, he altered March 10 to March 9 to "correct" it by the preceding dates. Still the period remained two calendar weeks to Henslowe, as shown by his blocking. He merely "corrected" his middle Monday.

And two calendar weeks it became to the Master of the Revels also, as is shown by his license charges. As may be shown, for instance, by the records of 1600,³⁴ the Master's fee for licensing the theater was at this period paid at the end of each four weeks, but was not paid for the inactive period in Lent. Now in 1597, we have surviving three of the Master's receipts for this fee.³⁵ In each case, Henslowe has jotted down "m' pd" in the block of entries for the week preceding that at the beginning of which the Master's receipt was given.³⁶ The first of these surviving receipts for this year is dated May 31, and stated to be for the preceding month. Accordingly, Henslowe makes his jotting in the block for the week ending Saturday May 28. While we do not have the Master's receipt surviving, Henslowe had properly made his entry for the preceding four weeks in the block ending Saturday April 30. Again, the next preceding payment is entered properly in the block ending Saturday April 2. If this payment was also for four weeks, as in the succeeding items, then it was from March 7. If it was for two weeks, it was from March 21, and had been preceded by another, which was from March 7. The fact that Henslowe marks a payment for March 14, following his old two week

³⁴ *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 332.

³⁵ *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 46.

³⁶ *Diary*, Vol. I, pp. 52-4.

sequence, pretty certainly indicates that the payments were for two weeks, and the proper new sequence established at Easter. In any case, Henslowe and the Master agree that the theatre was opened Monday March 7, though they are both in error. Evidently Henslowe was given these first eight items in the week March 14–21, and copied them down as they stood, so that they are probably correct. Incidentally, all these entries for Lent, 1597, pretty clearly indicate that Henslowe was not at this period actively connected with putting on these plays, since his information is clearly second hand.

It appears then that the Admiral's men began on Thursday March 3, 1597, in the third week of Lent, and acted every day except Sundays, sermon days, and all of Passion Week save Monday and Tuesday. For the three succeeding years, 1598–1600, the receipts are clear that there was no acting in the first three weeks in Lent.²⁷ Since the average receipt for the twelve performances in 1597 was approximately £1 3s, and showed no great variation, we may infer that there was only one performance in the fourth week of Lent, 1598, but three in both 1599, and 1600, whereas there had been four in 1597. For the fifth week, it would appear on the face of the records that there were probably three performances in 1598, two in 1599, and five in 1600. But since this is Passion Week, in which the actors performed but twice in 1597, and presumably twice in 1599, probably the entry for 1598 represents only slightly larger receipts for two plays, instead of ordinary receipts for three. Pretty certainly also the unusually large receipts for 1600 represent at least one new play, more probably two, of which several were being completed at this time. Quite likely then the actors played regularly only Monday and Tuesday of Passion Week. In the sixth week, the indications point to only two performances for 1598, one of the missing days being Saturday, since receipts were recorded on Friday of this week, while there were probably three performances in 1599, and four in 1600, as there had been four in 1597. Our analysis then shows twelve days of acting in Lent, 1597; and approximately five 1598, eight 1599, nine 1600. In these last three years, it seems the actors were permitted to perform only four days in

²⁷ *Diary*, Vol. I, pp. 66, 92, 108.

each of the fourth and sixth weeks of Lent, and two in the fifth, a possible total of ten, the two of the third week permitted in 1597 being now prohibited.

While we have no direct record in Henslowe's Diary, we know that the Privy Council ordered Wednesday March 11, 1601, that plays should be "utterly suppressed" in this Lent.³⁸ The players would have stopped at the end of Shrove week, Saturday February 28, 1601; and would have expected to be licensed to begin playing again Monday March 23, till the end of Lent, omitting only sermon days and Sundays. But the players had been very naughty that winter and spring, so that the authorities thought they needed all Lent to be penitent for their sins.

While again we do not have record for 1602, Doctor Greg has shown that the activities of authors furnish "practically conclusive evidence of the suspension of dramatic activity . . . from Feb. to April 1602."³⁹ The lenten period would extend from Saturday February 20, 1602, to Monday April 5, 1602. We are more than reasonably safe in inferring that acting was again "utterly suppressed" this Lent of 1602, as it had been in 1601. This is the more probable when we notice the action of 1603. In this year, the actors should have stopped on Saturday March 12. That the Admiral's did is shown by the fact that Henslowe makes his reckoning with the actors after the entries of this date.⁴⁰ A week later, March 19, 1603, the Council ordered all playhouses closed till further orders. The Admiral's had seemingly resumed playing before May 5, 1603. The fact that Henslowe had not formally started a new account, but simply corrects the old to May 5 indicates that the company had not long been acting. Pretty certainly then the Privy Council had not given the further order till the end of Lent, Monday April 25, 1603. Such an opening order survives for the next year, dated Easter Monday April 9, 1604, so that we may be certain that playing was suppressed for the full period this year also.

³⁸ The fact that the company was buying furnishings by April 20, 1601, shows that it had resumed acting by that date (*Diary*, Vol. I, p. 136).

³⁹ *Diary*, Vol. II, pp. 372-3.

⁴⁰ Henslowe settled with Worcester's men four days later, Wednesday March 16, 1603, at which time a few items were added (*Diary*, Vol. I, p. 190). There is no indication that Worcester's had reopened before the King's coming.

In this period then 1592–1604, the players when licensed did not observe all of Passion Week, as they seemingly did in 1635. This change was probably made in 1614 or 1615. On Wednesday, the first council day in Passion Week, March 29, 1615, the Privy Council ordered the players to give answer the following Friday for acting “this prohibited time of Lent.”⁴¹ Seemingly their offense was in acting on the now prohibited Monday and Tuesday of Passion Week, since they should have been called to account the preceding week if they had been prohibited the whole period. Now it seems that the authorities had made new regulations for 1614, since the Privy Council on January 8, 1615 had ordered the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace for Derbyshire “to see that the King’s direction, issued last year for the keeping of Lent according to the ancient severity and strictness of former times, be observed.”⁴² It is probable then that the rule for full observance of Passion Week was new to the players in 1615, this being the reason they failed to conform to it.

It is not fully clear whether in the period after 1614, the players were also prohibited from acting in the first three weeks in Lent, as they had been 1598–1601. But the dates of surviving lenten licenses indicate that they were. Of four such licenses recorded in Herbert, only one was entered before the lenten period, that of January 29, 1618–19.⁴³ The next earliest is dated March 23, 1616. If this is March 23, 1617, as is to be inferred from the fact that it is quoted, the day would be Sunday, at the end of the third week in Lent. Presumably the companies had been stopped since the end of Shrove week, and were now reopening at the beginning of the fourth week, as they had done 1598–1600. The Sunday payment, however, may, though it does not by any means necessarily, mean that this item really belongs to March 23, 1616, which would be Saturday of the fifth week in Lent. The next item is dated March 30, 1624, which was Tuesday after Easter, indicating that the entry is not correct as to year. If the date is really March 30, 1625, it would be Wednesday of the fourth week in

⁴¹ Chambers, E. K. *The Elizabethan Stage*, Vol. IV, p. 342.

⁴² Historical Manuscripts Commission. *The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Rutland*, G. C. B., Vol. I, p. 444.

⁴³ Adams, *Herbert*, p. 48.

Lent, again corresponding to early practice. The last item is dated March 20, 1626. If this is 1627, as its being quoted should indicate, the day is Tuesday before Easter; but if it is really 1626, the day is Monday of the fourth week in Lent. I suspect then that each of these three entries belongs at the beginning of the fourth week in Lent, and represents the same practice as in 1597-1600. At any rate, no one of these payments for license was made before the fourth week, pretty strongly indicating that the first three weeks were free from acting.

It appears then that 1592-1635, the actors were supposed to be suppressed from the end of Shrove week to Easter Monday; but 1592-6 might obtain a license, which would permit them to act practically every day in the week through Lent. In 1598-1600, the license did not permit them to act the first three weeks in Lent, nor on the two sermon days for the fourth and sixth weeks; and only on Monday and Tuesday of Passion Week. This was still further modified by 1615, seemingly in 1614, through the complete prohibition of acting in the fifth week, which was Passion Week. Compensatory permission may just possibly have been granted, however, to act in the first three weeks, except the sermon days; but the dates of licenses pretty strongly indicate that such was not the case. Seemingly there was no further change before 1635, and probably not before the closing of the theaters in 1642.

Thus in the period 1598-1600, besides fifty-two Sundays, we must also subtract twenty-six days as the smallest possible number made vacant for Lent, leaving two hundred and eighty-seven as the highest possible number of acting days, except in leap years, which added one, of course. Possibly this number was reduced two more after 1615. If the players received no license at all, the number of possible days was reduced to two hundred and seventy-seven.

Having established the average uninterrupted acting year and week, we may now determine the average returns of the galleries for 1598-1600. From July 24, 1598, through June 2, 1599, is a period of 314 days. But we must subtract thirty-six days, leaving 278 days. On the basis of a 300 day acting year, this would mean 228 performances for the period, to which we must add the eight days of acting in Lent, a total of 236. Since the total receipts from the actors' half of the galleries

Time	No. days	No. performances	Yearly Average	Total Receipts	Average daily receipt
Feb. 19– June 23, 1592	126	105	305	£181 11s 5d	£1 14s 7d
Dec. 29, 1592– Feb. 1, 1593	35	29	302	£ 49 13s	£1 14s 3d
Dec. 26, 1593– Feb. 6, 1594	43	30	255	£ 50 9s	£1 13s 8d
April 1– April 9, 1594	9	8	324	£ 14 16s	£1 17s
May 14– May 16, 1594	3	3	365	£ 6 3s	£2 1s
June 17, 1594– March 14, 1595	271	218	294	£339 4s	£1 11s 1d
Apr. 21– June 26, 1595	67	57	311	£106 2s	£1 17s 3d
Aug. 25, 1595– Feb. 27, 1596	187	150	293	£224 12s	£1 10s
Apr. 12– July 23, 1596	103	85	301	£115 6s	£1 7s 2d
Oct. 27– Nov. 15, 1596	20	16	292	£ 17 2s	£1 1s 5d
Nov. 25, 1596– Feb. 12, 1597	80	59	269	£ 78 5s	£1 6s 6d
March 3– July 19, 1597	139 [115]	107 [95]	302	£130 4s	£1 4s 4d
July 27–28, 1597 July 8, 1591	2	2	365	£ 2 2s	£1 1s
Oct. 17, 1597– March 4, 1598	139	[114]		£ 65 16s 7d	11s 7d
March 27– July 8, 1598	104	[76]		£ 59 3s 5d	15s 7d
July 24, 1598– June 2, 1599	314	[236]		£351	£1 9s 9d
Sept. 31, 1599– Feb. 9, 1600	132	[108]		£102 18s	19s 1d
March 3– July 12, 1600	132	[100]		£111 8s	£1 2s 3d

were £351, the average receipt at each performance from this source would be £1 9s 6d. From September 31, 1599, to July 12, 1600, is a period of 286 days, from which we must subtract 36 days for Lent, leaving 250 days. On the basis of a 300 day year, this would mean 205 performances, to which we must add nine days of acting in Lent, a total of 214 days. For these, £214 6s was received, or an average of £1 each performance. Thus the average receipt from the actors' half of the galleries was usually £1 or more daily.

This gives us a check on Henslowe's previous entries. All the other receipts at the Rose check to this average,⁴⁴ except a second set of entries beginning with January 24, 1597, and extending through November 5,⁴⁵ as also the entries from October 21, 1597, through July 8, 1598.⁴⁶ The first of these variants is balanced against an actual record of half receipts, so that it is shown not to conform. Besides, it averages too high. The second of these variants averages too low. The general average shows that Henslowe has recorded half of the gallery receipts, as theoretically he should, except in the two instances cited.

What was Henslowe recording in the two exceptional instances? A glance at the table will show that the entries from October 21 [17], 1597, to July 8, 1598, uniformly are approximately half the amount of the usual entries. They must therefore record one-fourth the receipts for the galleries at this time. These receipts are not paid from the company, since they are not applied to its debt. The first natural suggestion is that they are intended for a partner of Henslowe's. He and Cholmley had originally formed a partnership which was to have lasted till March, 1595; Henslowe and Alleyn formed such a partnership in 1600 at the Fortune, which partnership may not improbably have been carried over from the Rose. Burbage and Brayne formed such a partnership at the Theater.⁴⁷

Whatever their purpose, it is at least possible to show that these receipts of 1597-8 represent the owners' fourth of the gallery receipts and not the actors'. To check against them, we

⁴⁴ See table.

⁴⁵ *Diary*, Vol. I, pp. 51-4.

⁴⁶ *Diary*, Vol. I, pp. 68, 66.

⁴⁷ Wallace, C. W. *The First London Theatre*, p. 40.

have the receipts of Humphrey Jeffes for seven weeks January to March, 1598, amounting to £3 10s for his eighth of the quarter galleries, which returned a total in our entries for the same weeks of £26 9s 4d.⁴⁸ This would make a difference between the two totals of £1 10s 8d on the quarter galleries in favor of the actors, or £3 10s 8d on the half galleries, an average of 8s 9d a week, or 18d a day. A little later, in May and June, 1598, Gabriel Spenser received £1 1s 6d as his sixteenth share of the quarter galleries for four weeks, which returned a total in our entries for the same weeks of £16 5s.⁴⁹ This would make a difference between the two totals of 19s on the quarter galleries in favor of the actors, or £1 18s on the half galleries, an average of 9s 6d a week, or 19d a day. It appears then that this quarter of gallery receipts bore its half of an expense of about 18d or 19d a day. In neither of these instances, however, can we be certain that there was acting all six days of every week, so that the actual daily average may have been a trifle higher than that given.

When we check a series of actors' receipts in 1596 against Henslowe's recorded receipts, we find the same regular discrepancy, in approximately the same amount. We have seen that the Admiral's company through Alleyn drew on Henslowe for certain small sums May–July, 1596,⁵⁰ and repaid him with selected daily receipts. These are evidently the actors' half of the galleries on those days, since they are approximately the same sums that Henslowe enters on the same days.⁵¹ But they are in every instance except two slightly larger. In one of these two exceptional instances, the sums are the same; in the other, it is a shilling larger.

From these instances, it appears that these entries of 1597–8 are not for the actors, and hence must be for the owners. From what source could such a slight but regular discrepancy between the gallery receipts of actors and owners arise? In the original partnership agreement between Henslowe and Cholmley, it was agreed that they should collect or have collected the receipts in the galleries.⁵² The quarrels between James Burbage and rival

⁴⁸ *Diary*, Vol. I, pp. 67, 68.

⁴⁹ *Diary*, Vol. I, pp. 63, 66.

⁵⁰ *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 126.

⁵¹ *Diary*, Vol. I, pp. 30, 42.

⁵² *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 45.

claimants at the Theater show that the same custom existed there.⁵³ From the nature and origin of the custom, the owners would naturally collect the receipts of the galleries, or have them collected.

Then how did the owners provide "gatherers?" The most definite instance I know is that of Thomas Woodford, who claimed in 1613 a gatherer's place at the Red Bull.⁵⁴ First, however, we must clear up a tangle in the statement of the value of this gatherer's place. The suit of Woodford against one Aaron Holland was for two things: "a seaventh parte of the said playhowse and gallaries with a gatherers place there [to] belonginge or apperteyninge."⁵⁵ The court order of May 10, 1613, does not mention the amount of the share, but gives for the second item "eighteen pence A weeke due to the gatherers place."⁵⁶ It is perfectly clear then that the share was a seventh share. But there is some confusion as to the gatherer's place which belonged to it. The order of May 15, 1613 turning the case over to referees, proceeds to confuse and fuse the two items into one, as "the eighteenth penny and the eighteenth part . . . of the Galleries,"⁵⁷ and the consequent report necessarily follows suit, though it shows clearly that both items were involved. Thus the order and report should have been upon a seventh share, instead of an eighteenth, the latter figure coming clearly from the statement that the gatherer's place attached to this share was worth "eighteen pence A week." Correct or incorrect, this is the only fundamental statement we have on the fee for the gatherer's place. It appears then that the housekeepers bore proportionally the expense of gathering, and that this total expense was about 10s 6d a week, or approximately 1s 9d each performance. Thus the seventh share had carried with it a seventh responsibility for gathering, amounting to 18d a week; but it is not clear whether this amount is the wage of one gatherer or three. If one, the wage was 3d each performance. If three, it was 1d each performance. Since, as we shall see, this latter was the wage of the gatherers at the Hope in 1614-15,

⁵³ Wallace, C. W. *The First London Theatre*, pp. 17, etc.

⁵⁴ Wallace, C. W. *Three London Theatres*, pp. 10 ff.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

it was likely so at the Red Bull in 1613. Thus there were probably about twenty-one gatherers at the Red Bull, as there were nineteen at the Hope. As settlement at the Rose for this period seems to have been daily, the gatherers would have been paid after each performance by Henslowe, out of the owners' half. Therefore, the owners' half would be less than the actors' half by the gatherers' fee.

This fee, as we shall see, totaled 19d a day at the Hope in 1614-15, which agrees exactly with our two estimates above of 18d or 19d a day at the Rose in 1598, and of about 21d at the Red Bull in 1613. This was also the approximate amount at the Rose in 1596, as shown by the entries mentioned above. But before we attempt to figure this amount, we must notice certain things about the accounts. To begin with, Henslowe was not an expert accountant, and preferred to deal only with round numbers. Thus pence rarely figure in his entries, and when they do it is usually as a six pence or half a shilling. It has been supposed by some that this indicates a minimum gallery fee of 6d in the early years, increased to 1s later; but this can hardly be true, since the table shows that gallery receipts gradually declined instead of growing larger.⁵⁸ From another angle, the same thing is indicated. Since the later average for half of the galleries was about £1 5s, at 1s each there would be an average of only fifty persons in the whole galleries. Henslowe at the beginning simply did not trouble about the odd pence, and finally did not record pence at all. In their payments, the actors followed the same plan. Consequently, the difference between Henslowe's records of owners' half and actors' half will give the gatherers' fee only approximately. Also, since the gatherers' fee is so small a part of the whole, it cannot be derived from single entries; but must be determined by grouping all entries together and considering their combined differences.

The actors made twenty-three payments from May 10, to July 8, 1596. For the same period, Henslowe records the

⁵⁸ This decline in gallery receipts probably indicates that the Admiral's were gradually losing their courtly clientele. Perhaps this was in part the result of a more or less conscious policy on their part, since they replaced the Rose by the Fortune, which was built for size, and in a neighborhood of "citizens." Still they may merely have been following their box office receipts, which showed that with their abilities they could draw larger crowds and make more money by putting on the type of thing that appealed to "citizens."

owners' half in daily receipts. Doctor Greg has shown that many of these dates are inaccurate;⁵⁹ but this does not seriously affect our purpose, since the two series are parallel, and hence would regularly have corresponding dates. Several obvious corrections, however, must be made. On June 23, the discrepancy between entries as they stand is evidently too great to be correct, but Doctor Greg has shown that the second entry in the owners' half for June 22 is really for June 23, so that this entry corresponds to that under June 23 in the actors' half. There is also a large discrepancy in the entries for May 24, the actor entry corresponding to the owner entry of May 25. This adjustment would force the actor entry of May 25 to the owner entry of May 26, with which it corresponds much better. Evidently Henslowe did not receive the actors' half galleries May 24; but entered the receipts for May 25 and 26 as if they were continuous with those of May 22 and 23, a regular habit of his. As a matter of fact, all these dates are on a wrong calendar, so that the entries just noted represent a compound confusion. On both May 12 and 13, Henslowe has entered the same sum to the actors, while for the owners he enters 5s less on May 13, showing that he has simply repeated his entry for May 13, so that this entry too must be omitted. On May 15, Henslowe records no receipts at all for the owners, necessitating another omission. On July 8, Henslowe begins a series of confused and repeated dates, so that we are forced also to omit this, his last entry for the actors.⁶⁰ It would appear too that on June 26, Henslowe forgot to deduct the gatherers' fee, entering the same amount for actors and owners, so that we must make a fourth omission. Adding the remaining nineteen entries, we get £33 7s as the actors' half, while for the same days Henslowe records £31 4s for the owners, which leaves £2 3s for the gatherers, or 2s 3d each performance.

Ben Jonson's share on July 28, 1597⁶¹ shows the same discrepancy. He received 3s 9d as an eighth share, which would give the actors £1 10s, while Henslowe records £1 8s for the owners, giving the usual 2s difference for the gatherers.

⁵⁹ *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 326.

⁶⁰ Possibly in this entry of July 8, Henslowe simply exchanged actors' half and owners' half.

⁶¹ *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 47.

But when we examine minutely Henslowe's method of calculating, we find that this 2s 3d average for the gatherers is probably too high, due to his method of dealing with pence. Fortunately, we have the owners' half for one whole week October 31–November 5, 1597, given daily in shillings, as well as the total for the week given to the penny.⁶² The daily receipts given only to the shilling amount to £5 12s for the week. The quarter galleries for this week returned £2 18s 10d, which would be £5 17s 8d for the half galleries, or 5s 8d more than the other entry. This, however, must have been an exceptional week, since Henslowe discarded nearly a shilling each day. On the average, it should have been hardly as much as 6d a day, or about 3s a week. Thus the correction to be applied on this basis should average about two and one half per cent of the full half galleries. If this was approximately the amount of correction needed in 1596, we should add 16s 8d to our £31 4s for this "personal equation" of Henslowe's, which would give £32 0s 8d, and leave the gatherers £1 6s 4d for the nineteen performances, an average of 17d a day, as against our 18d and 19d in 1598. It appears then that the gatherers at the Rose 1596–8 received approximately the same amount as at the Hope 1614–15.

We may also notice that it is Henslowe's shilling habit that causes these entries of 1596 to vary from 1s to 4s, instead of being steadily one or two. Of our nineteen entries, six vary by 1s, seven by 2s, one by 3s, and five by 4s. In a record of 1614–15, which we shall examine shortly, we shall find that Henslowe in the division first gave the actors even money, so that in 1596, when he was dealing with shillings, unless the total sum happened to be even shillings, the amount he records for the owners is less than half of the total by the amount it would take to make the even shilling for the actors. The owners' half might thus be nearly two shillings less than the actors' half. Besides, he did not record the fraction of a shilling for the owners, so that in each item for them there was usually a sum of from 1d to 11d unrecorded on this account. Thus these two variants, together with the gatherers' fee are sufficient to cause the variation of from 1s to 4s between the corresponding actor and owner entries.

Perhaps one illustration of Henslowe's probable calculation will make the matter clearer. On May 10, 1596, Henslowe

⁶² *Diary*, Vol. I, pp. 54, 68.

records 30s for the actors, but only 26s for the owners. The real amount must have been a fraction above 58s—for the sake of illustration let us say 6d. Half of this sum would be 29s 3d, which Henslowe would divide as 30s for the actors and 28s 6d for the owners. If the fee to gatherers was 19d as at the Hope in 1614–15, this sum subtracted would leave 26s 11d, which Henslowe would enter as 26s. But he kept the odd pence, as shown by our weekly record above, and presumably used this remainder in his next day's record, still further to increase our difficulty in getting an accurate account of his methods and results.

We may now see the probable explanation of why Henslowe should have entered a one-fourth share for a few months, when he has in all other cases entered a half. We have seen that at the beginning of this period the Admiral's and Pembroke's men were cooperating, so that each organization would thus receive half of the actors' half of the galleries. Henslowe's practical unit would then be the fourth of total gallery receipts, which explains the peculiarities of these entries. We have now found that all regular entries after July 29, 1598, are for the actors' full half of the galleries, accounted weekly; those from October 21 [17], 1597, to July 8, 1598, are for the owners' fourth of the galleries, after the gatherers' fee had been paid, accounted weekly; all entries before October 21, 1597, except the second set of entries January 24, 1597–November 5, 1597, are for the owners' half of the galleries, after the expense of gathering has been deducted. The last set of entries chronologically is to be applied to the actors' debt; the first is for Henslowe's own information, or for his use in settling with his real or hypothetical partner in the business; the middle set of entries arises from the added necessity of keeping the amalgamated companies straight.

Finally, what was the reason of the double entries from January 24, to November 5, 1597? The first set of entries, as we have seen, must represent the owners' half of the gallery receipts. Since the second set of entries bears no definite relation to the first set, it cannot represent the actors' half. Perhaps further light may be thrown on the possibilities for this entry, if we examine the method of making up this record of receipts at the Hope in 1614–15, where we have practically complete information from Henslowe and Alleyn.

For one of the plays at the Hope in 1614–15, we seem to have all Henslowe's statistics in rough form, showing his method of keeping this information. On the back of a sheet of paper containing some of Alleyn's accounts for 1614–15 is the following jotting, as Doctor Greg thinks in Henslowe's own hand.⁶³

14 day the noble grandchild			
hole	0	16	9
half	0	1	6
re	0	1	2
cretet	0	0	3

15 day

From our analysis of customs concerning shares, it would appear that by "hole" Henslowe indicates either the total receipts from all sources on *The Noble Grandchild*, or the whole door receipts. The jotting by Alleyn, which we shall discuss next, will show that the latter is the case. By "half" he means the half galleries, in this case the actors' half, as the next two entries show. The last two entries, marked "re" and "cretet" represent approximately the other half galleries, the first representing the owners' rent after the gatherers' fee, represented by the second, had been deducted. Evidently the galleries returned 35d, halving which would necessarily give 1s 6d and 1s 5d. Since the price of admission was regularly 1d, the door receipt of 16s 9d means that two hundred and one people witnessed this performance of *The Noble Grandchild*, unless indeed a few more came through the tiring-house door. Of the two hundred and one, only thirty-five could have entered the galleries, even if all stopped in the penny section. Since at least a few likely went into the higher priced sections, there were probably fewer than thirty-five in the galleries. The three pence for gatherers seemingly indicates that only three were needed for this performance, one for the tiring-house door, and one for each wing of the galleries. Evidently this was not a good audience, mostly "groundlings," but we have records at the Rose which are about as bad. Since the audience for this performance was small, and evidently not normally distributed, we cannot be sure of the accurate relation between average returns from the door and galleries; but in this instance the door returned nearly

⁶³ Greg, W. W. *Henslowe Papers*, p. 84. Incidentally, this item connects Alleyn with the company 1614–15.

six times as much as the whole galleries, whereas more trustworthy statistics given below will indicate that on the average it returned about twice as much. But both sets of statistics indicate that the greater part of the audience regularly was of the groundlings. Here then at the Hope we evidently have a bear-baiting theater, with large pit and relatively small and poor galleries; in consequence, a theater that will accommodate a large audience of groundlings.

It seems possible also to show that Alleyn has given us the complete statistics for this year 1614-15 at the Hope, though without labeling them so. Our chief clues to identification come from the statements of actors in 1613-15.⁶⁴ Since Henslowe agreed to pay the actors 40s, or as the actors say, 50s, for each day they permitted him to use the building for bear baiting, this amount may be considered the approximate average profit to the actors for a single day. The actors were entitled to half the galleries and all the proceeds at the outer door; but since Henslowe was then receiving their half of gallery receipts for furnishings, which they did not use anyway when they did not play, it is probable that this compensation of 40s or 50s was intended to balance their average door receipts. The door receipts at the Globe 1634-5 were about 53s each day. This estimate would mean that the company probably received in an uninterrupted year of acting, such as this year 1614-15 seemingly was, from £600 to £800 as the receipts at the door for the actors. The actors say that Henslowe admits they had paid him £300 on their debt, presumably from their half of the galleries.⁶⁵ This would make gallery returns £600 for the year, a total income from all sources of £1200 to £1400 per annum.

With this general information before us, we can now show that one of Alleyn's jottings⁶⁶ represents the receipts at the Hope in this very year 1614-15. These are theatrical receipts of some kind, as shown by the fee to the Master of the Revels. Of the theaters with which Alleyn was connected, the receipts must be from either the Hope or the Beargarden, since the statistics do not fit the regular type of theater, in which gallery receipts surpass those from the pit. Alleyn records without comment:

⁶⁴ Greg, *Papers*, pp. 86-90.

⁶⁵ Greg, *Papers*, p. 89.

⁶⁶ Greg, *Papers*, p. 110.

£	s	d
874	- 04	- 9 - ob
212	- 02	- 8 - ob
83	- 12	-11 - ob
019	- 19	- 9 - ob
001	- 02	-01 - 0
<hr/>		
1191	- 02	-04
<hr/>		

Besides y^o money w^{ch}: wase

Taken vp for y^o Reull^a

The items are exclusive of each other, since they are summed up in a grand total. The first line evidently represents receipts at the outer door, which, as we have just seen, were probably approximately this amount at the Hope in 1614-15, though possibly a little less. The second line represents the actors' full half of gallery receipts, the total receipts being roughly £425, somewhat less than the receipts we have just estimated as probable for the Hope 1614-15. The remaining three items represent the owners' half galleries. The £83 is his clear gain, reminding us that Alleyn estimated an average clear gain of £60 per annum from the Beargarden.⁶⁷ The next two items, amounting to £21 1s 10d, represent the gatherers' fees.

It is to be noted too that these items for gatherers are given in two divisions, the second of which evidently represents the wage of one gatherer. For 1614-15, the actors had charged against Henslowe "Jtem havinge 9 gatherers more then his due itt Comes to this yeare from the Companie 10¹¹."⁶⁸ Thus each gatherer received £1 2s 3d. The amount Alleyn gives for the single gatherer is £1 2s 1d; but since his total addition is 2d greater than it should have been, probably he too should have written £1 2s 3d. This supposition finds confirmation in the fact that the larger sum of £19 19s 9d is evidently the wage of eighteen gatherers at £1 2s 3d each. This number of gatherers is confirmed by the statement of the actors above. Henslowe as owner, under the old custom should have paid all gatherers required for the galleries; but instead he had charged half of them (nine) to the actors, on the theory that the latter were receiving half the gallery receipts. There were thus

⁶⁷ Greg, *Papers*, p. 107.

⁶⁸ Greg, *Papers*, p. 89.

eighteen gatherers for the galleries, as is also shown by Alleyn's account. The other gatherer of Alleyn's jotting is either for the outer door or for the tiring-house door, almost certainly for the latter, since it would also be the owners' duty to pay him, but the actors' to pay the gatherer at the outer door.

These fees to gatherers make it certain, I believe, that Alleyn's jotting is for the Hope 1614-15, so that this account gives us the authentic figure of the actors' earnings. I see no other way to account for the coincidence in the amount of these fees for gatherers, whether the gatherers were on a wage or a commission basis. Almost certainly each gatherer received a penny, or the price of one admission each night for his service, indicating about 267 acting days this year of 1614-15. Since the company claimed about forty weeks of acting this year,⁶⁹ from which one day every two weeks is to be deducted for bear-baiting, it is evident that the days would be in the general neighborhood of the number indicated. In view of the coincidence in these fees, as also the general correspondence of other approximately known receipts, I consider it certain that Alleyn is here jotting the receipts for the year 1614-15 at the Hope. We have also just seen in the case of *The Noble Grandchild* that Alleyn had some connection with the Hope in 1614-15. How he was connected I do not know, unless he had been called in as mediator, though of course he was so closely connected with "my father Hinchloe" that his possessing the information is not peculiar. Too, he was called in before the end of the next year, 1615-16, to take over Henslowe's interests at the Hope, which he seems to have inherited. The final item of Alleyn's jottings, to the Master of the Revels, which was not included in his sum, can also be determined. It would be the remainder of the owners' half galleries, which totaled approximately £212 2s 8d, the same sum as the actors received. Since profit and gatherers' fee amounted to £104 14s 9d, the approximate amount left for the Master was £107 7s 11d, though this amount is probably to be reduced by repairs, etc. The Master had rapidly increased his charge to £3 per month about 1600,⁷⁰ and Herbert claimed at the Restoration that he had received £100 per annum from each play house before the closing of the

⁶⁹ Greg, *Papers*, p. 88, note to line 39.

⁷⁰ *Diary*, Vol. II, pp. 116-18.

theaters. Evidently that was the approximate amount his predecessor had received for this year 1614-15 at the Hope. He made the owners share with him. The total receipt was £1298 10s 3d, as compared with our estimate of £1200 to £1400 at the Hope 1614-15.

While we are about the matter, we might as well check up briefly the actors' receipts at the Hope for this year 1614-15. Alleyn gives us the accurate statistics; while the actors, having no means of accurate knowledge, in their Articles of Grievance give us at best only the best of their belief and opinion. They had begun the year with £124 debt, and by the end of the year had increased this debt to "600ⁿ: and odd."ⁿ As the actors tell us, at least £30 of this debt had been incurred as extra wages to certain members. They had spent probably about £450 for furnishings. Toward this debt of £600 they had applied their half of the galleries, £212 2s 8d, though they say Henslowe admits they have paid him £300. Possibly they had paid Henslowe some £80 or £90 from other sources; quite likely this represents some settlement of an £80 debt to one Griffin. When therefore Henslowe "sold" the stock to the company of 1615-16 for £400, it seems evident that the reorganized company merely assumed the debt of its predecessor, since £400 plus £212 2s 8d equals £612 2s 8d, the "600ⁿ: and odd" of the actors' statement. Probably then the alleged £300 is an exaggeration, unless it does in some way include the £80 to Griffin. It is evident too that the half galleries at the Hope would not pay in a single year for furnishings necessary to set a company up, but this pay would need to be scattered over several years. Thus the person who furnished the company would need to protect himself so carefully that the company would be utterly at his mercy.

Out of their receipts of £874 4s 9d at the door, the actors would find it necessary to pay their hired men at least some £300 or £400. They would also need to pay for their plays, some £200 as the actors seem to claim. Probably therefore the ten members shared about £300 or £400, some £30 or £40 each. Since, as we shall see, the total returns at the Rose had been about £4 10s per diem, and since the total returns at the Hope

ⁿ Greg, *Papers*, pp. 86-90.

for the 267 days were £4 1s 5d per diem, it is evident that returns at the Hope were much the same as at the Rose.

Thus both Alleyn and Henslowe show us in 1614-15 that the custom was to note the total receipts of the actors at the outer door, the half gallery receipts of the actors, and the half gallery receipts of the owners divided into rent and the gatherers' fee. This gave complete information on total receipts. Up to 1597, Henslowe was interested only as owner, and hence entered only net receipts for owners, after the gatherers' fee had been deducted, though he had still to pay out of these receipts the Master's fee, and a few incidentals, such as repairs, etc. But in January, 1597, Henslowe modified the system he had used since 1592, by adding a parallel entry. At the same time, he changed his old formula of "R"; i.e., "received," to "tt"; i.e., "total,"²³ indicating that in his two entries he is in some way recording total receipts. Thus the added entry must give either the total receipts to actors, which would include their half galleries, and all door receipts; or since the actors' half galleries are approximately the same as the owners', our entry may give only the door receipts. Since this entry is frequently smaller than the half gallery receipts, it could not include them, and thus must represent only the actors' door receipts, which, as we have seen, formed a separate item in the accounts. This supposition is partially confirmed by the fact that we find frequent entries of pence, the outer admission on ordinary occasions probably being one penny, as it was regularly at public theaters. It appears then that by adding the gatherers' fee to the first entry, doubling, and then adding the second entry we will get approximately the total receipts for any particular day.

Henslowe was not necessarily in position to know these receipts accurately all the time; and it might be for this reason that in about one-sixth of cases he has made no entry of receipts, these blanks usually occurring in groups. The suggestion of keeping this information also, in addition to that concerning the galleries, evidently came when he started to keep his accounts on a slightly different system. He had been using a single column, expressing amounts under £3 in shillings, amounts above in pounds and shillings, all in Roman numerals.

²³ *Diary*, Vol. I, pp. 51, 224.

But January 24, 1597, he began using arabic numerals, and expressing pounds and shillings separately. For January 24 and 25, he originally gave only the receipts from the galleries in this way, using only two columns. Then he entered a block of receipts from January 26, to February 5. It then seemingly occurred to him that he ought for completeness to have a pence column. Therefore, he placed single zeros in a third column, carrying the process back through January 24 at the top of the page for the sake of uniformity. Finally, when he came to enter the items of February 7 to 12, he introduced the second set of entries, and again continued them back to the top of the page.⁷³ Thus it took him some three weeks to evolve his form. It would also appear that the records for as far as three weeks back were accessible to Henslowe. It would be natural, though not necessary, for Henslowe to want to keep tab on the earnings of these actors at this time, since they were borrowing from him both as a company and as individuals. The addition of this second set of entries would give him roughly all information concerning total receipts of all persons concerned. He would be in position to obtain this new information from Alleyn, who evidently handled the money for the company.⁷⁴ Still, he could not keep it so regularly and definitely as he could gallery receipts, since this money did not pass through his hands at all. Yet his entries ought to be sufficiently accurate to give us the approximate relation between total returns from the galleries, and total returns from the door.

From January 24 through July 28, 1597, Henslowe records £198 4s 10d in the second set of entries. There were one hundred and twenty-seven performances recorded, but Henslowe did not enter door receipts for twenty-two of them, leaving one hundred and five recorded. This gives a daily average at the door of £1 17s 9d. Since every person had to pay this fee, except those entering by the tiring-house door, if we knew the amount of the individual admission, we should know the approximate average attendance. So far as I can find, we have no record of the amount of the fee at the Rose; but in every

⁷³ *Diary*, Vol. I, pp. 223-4.

⁷⁴ It is curious that the number of omitted receipts gradually grows greater. It is just possible that this fact is connected with increasing illness on the part of Alleyn, who was soon to retire temporarily from acting.

recorded instance at public theaters on ordinary occasions it was one penny. This would mean an average attendance of four hundred and fifty-three. This estimate may be considerably too high, however, since it includes new plays, at which a considerably larger fee seems to have been charged. But probably this excess would about counterbalance the few entrants through the tiring-house door. We cannot figure the highest attendance from the highest receipts on the same basis, because the scale of prices charged at such times was probably exceptional as well as the receipts.

We may also get from these entries the approximate ratio of receipts at the outer door to those from the galleries. The average receipts from the owners' half of the galleries during the same period had been £1 4s 9d, which would be £2 9s 6d for the whole. The gatherers' fee would increase the amount to about £2 12s. The receipts at the outer door were thus about seven-tenths of those from the whole galleries, or one and two-fifths times those of the half galleries. With these ratios, we may figure approximate yearly receipts at the Rose, when we have receipts given for any definite part.

These entries furnish rather significant clue to the type and size of audience attracted by any given play. Thus Chapman's *Blind Beggar of Alexandria* was completing a very unusual run of twenty-two performances, the last three of which fall in these entries. The door receipts were £3 8s, £3, £3, while the owners' half galleries were only 19s, 18s, 5s. If the admission was 1d, on each of these occasions somewhat more than seven hundred people saw the play, most of them from the pit, with but comparatively few in the galleries. Decidedly, *The Blind Beggar* was popular with the lower classes. But its early gallery receipts show that when it was new it was just as popular with the better classes. Chapman's *Humorous Day's Mirth* shows a very similar history. These two plays make it clear that Chapman was a "money getter," both with well-to-do and commoners, the numerous performances and steadily large receipts showing why he could command a fancy price for his plays.

Henslowe's accounts also give us four clues to the comparative value of returns to the Admiral's men at the Fortune, which replaced the Rose. Alleyn received November 11–December 14, 1600, as his eleventh share of the proceeds for a week at the

Fortune £1 12s, the total amount shared for the week being £17 9s.⁷⁶ Alleyn's receipt of £1 7s 6d February 23, 1602, "owt of the gallery mony" must represent a similar transaction. Since, as we shall see, there were still eleven shares, the receipts for the week would be about £15 2s 6d.⁷⁶ We saw that the average daily return to the actors from half of the galleries at the Rose was in later days £1 5s, and from the doors £1 18s, the two amounting to £3 3s per diem, or £18 2s 3d for a $5\frac{3}{4}$ day week. Both these entries to Alleyn would indicate that the total receipts from all sources were not greater, but possibly even less at the Fortune 1600-1602, than they had been at the Rose.

Further light is given by Henslowe's receipts on the private accounts of actors, extending from June 30, to November 1, 1601, excepting only the weeks ending September 12, 19, 26.⁷⁷ Since the sums vary from week to week, but are the same for every actor recorded for any given week, it is evident that Henslowe is receiving the actors' share from some definite total, presumably the actors' half galleries. Since there were eleven members at this time, eleven times the weekly receipts of each actor will give the total receipt from the actors' half galleries.

Date	Each actor	No. of entries	Total
June 30, 1601	17s 8d	4	£ 9 14s 4d
July 4, 1601	14s 0d	4	£ 7 14s 0d
July 11, 1601	13s 4d	3	£ 7 6s 8d
July 18, 1601	16s 0d	3	£ 8 16s 0d
July 25, 1601	16s 1d	3	£ 8 16s 11d
Aug. 1, 1601	5s 8d	3	£ 3 2s 4d
Aug. 8, 1601	10s 7d	3	£ 5 16s 5d
Aug. 15, 1601	15s 4d	3	£ 8 8s 8d
Aug. 22, 1601	15s 6d	2	£ 8 10s 6d
Aug. 29, 1601	20s 0d	2	£11 0s 0d
Sept. 5, 1601	14s 0d	1	£ 7 14s 0d
Oct. 3, 1601	5s 0d	1	£ 2 15s 0d
Oct. 11, 1601	8s 0d	2	£ 4 8s 0d
Oct. 18, 1601	3s 8d	2	£ 2 0s 4d
Oct. 25, 1601	2s 4d	2	£ 1 5s 8d
Nov. 1, 1601	3s 4d	2	£ 1 16s 8d

⁷⁶ *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 124. Incidentally, this is a good example of Henslowe's approximate method of division. One-eleventh of £17 9s is £1 11s 9d, which Henslowe figures as even £1 12s. But if £1 12s be multiplied by eleven, the result is £17 12s, three shillings more than receipts.

⁷⁶ *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 165.

⁷⁷ *Diary*, Vol. I, pp. 162, 163.

The average weekly receipts for the actors' half galleries at the Rose had been $\pounds 1\ 5s \times 5\frac{3}{4} = \pounds 7\ 3s\ 9d$. The average weekly receipt for each of the sixteen weeks recorded above was $\pounds 6\ 4s\ 1d$. If we omit the notably smaller entries beginning in October, for the remaining eleven weeks we get a weekly average of $\pounds 7\ 18s\ 2d$. Again it is evident that the receipts from the galleries at the Fortune June to November, 1601, were not greater than they had been for the Rose.

The final clue to comparative receipts is Henslowe's entries for December 26, 27, and 28, 1608.⁷⁸ He records December 26, 1608, $\pounds 1\ 5s$; for December 27, $\pounds 2\ 5s$; and for December 28, $\pounds 2\ 4s\ 9d$. At the Rose, he had recorded as the receipts of the half galleries for December 26, 1593, $\pounds 3\ 1s$; 1594, $\pounds 2\ 6s$; 1595, $\pounds 3\ 2s$; for December 27, 1593, $\pounds 3\ 10s$; 1594, $\pounds 3\ 3s$; 1595, $\pounds 2\ 18s$; 1596, $\pounds 3\ 8s$; for December 28, 1593, $\pounds 3\ 10s$; 1594, $\pounds 2\ 12s$; 1596, $\pounds 3\ 4s$. However, since Henslowe and Alleyn were equal sharers in the Fortune, it is probable that he is recording the owners' fourth at the Fortune, instead of the actors' half as at the Rose. The average receipt at the Rose for each of these days was almost exactly $\pounds 3$, or $\pounds 9$ for the three days. Henslowe records $\pounds 5\ 14s\ 9d$ for the three days at the Fortune in 1608. If this represents one-fourth of the receipts, as it almost certainly does, we must multiply by two, giving $\pounds 11\ 9s\ 6d$ as the receipt for half the galleries. Thus the receipts from the Fortune at Christmas, 1608, cannot possibly have been more than one-fourth greater than were the average receipts at the Rose. When the possibility that these are exceptional receipts is taken into consideration, and when we remember results in the period 1600-1602, it seems probable that still in 1608 the receipts from the Fortune were about the same as they had been at the Rose. This supposition receives some confirmation from the fact that the receipts at the Rose remained much the same throughout its existence. If the same was true at the Fortune, we should expect the receipts at the Fortune in 1608 to be about what they had been at the Rose, since they were so in 1600-2. Still, this last comparison applies only to the galleries of the two buildings, and gives no direct clue as to the comparative admission at the doors. Our only clue to this admission is the fact that the total share of the actors in the

⁷⁸ *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 214.

Date	Plays	Clothes	Incidentals	Totals
Total Oct. 11, 1597-March 8, 1598	£ 30 6s 8d	£ 11 5s 7d	£ 3 19s 0d	£ 45 11s 3d
March 13, 1598-June 24, 1598	£ 51 10s 0d	£ 11 10s 8d	£ 9 7s 0d	£ 72 7s 8d
June 25, 1598-Sept. 29, 1598	£ 64 19s 0d	£ 39 11s 8d	£ 20 1s 0d	£ 124 11s 8d
Sept. 30, 1598-Dec. 25, 1598	£ 44 0s 0d	£ 56 14s 0d	£ 41 0s 0d	£ 141 14s 0d
Dec. 26, 1598-March 25, 1599	£ 49 0s 0d	£ 16 5s 0d	£ 8 12s 0d	£ 73 17s 0d
Total March 13, 1598-March 25, 1599	£ 209 9s 0d	£ 124 1s 4d	£ 79 0s 0d	£ 412 10s 4d
March 26, 1599-June 24, 1599	£ 12 15s 0d	£ 40 10s 0d	£ 12 7s 0d	£ 65 12s 0d
June 25, 1599-Sept. 29, 1599	£ 28 0s 0d	£ 10 12s 4d	£ 1 10s 0d	£ 40 2s 4d
Sept. 30, 1599-Dec. 25, 1599	£ 54 15s 0d	£ 11 5s 0d	£ 11 2s 0d	£ 77 2s 0d
Dec. 26, 1599-March 25, 1600	£ 28 18s 0d	£ 31 10s 0d	£ 25 13s 6d	£ 86 1s 6d
Total March 26, 1599-March 25, 1600	£ 124 8s 0d	£ 93 17s 4d	£ 50 12s 6d	£ 268 17s 10d
March 26, 1600-June 24, 1600	£ 34 18s 0d	£ 11 8s 0d	£ 14 4s 0d	£ 60 10s 0d
June 25, 1600-Sept. 29, 1600	£ 1 0s 0d	£ 6 12s 0d	£ 7 8s 0d	£ 15 0s 0d
Sept. 30, 1600-Dec. 25, 1600	£ 3 0s 0d	£ 1 19s 0d	£ 5 12s 0d	£ 10 11s 0d
Dec. 26, 1600-March 25, 1601	£ 21 10s 0d	£ 0 0s 0d	£ 7 16s 6d	£ 29 6s 6d
Total March 26, 1600-March 25, 1601	£ 60 8s 0d	£ 19 19s 0d	£ 35 0s 6d	£ 115 7s 6d
March 26, 1601-June 24, 1601	£ 26 4s 0d	£ 42 19s 11d	£ 5 10s 0d	£ 74 13s 11d
June 25, 1601-Sept. 29, 1601	£ 28 0s 0d	£ 40 4s 8d	£ 9 18s 9d	£ 78 3s 5d
Sept. 30, 1601-Dec. 25, 1601	£ 23 15s 0d	£ 25 13s 9d	£ 0 0s 0d	£ 49 8s 9d
Dec. 26, 1601-March 25, 1602	£ 20 0s 0d	£ 9 13s 6d	£ 2 4s 9d	£ 31 18s 3d
Total March 26, 1601-March 25, 1602	£ 97 19s 0d	£ 118 11s 10d	£ 17 13s 6d	£ 234 4s 4d
March 26, 1602-June 24, 1602	£ 42 0s 0d	£ 32 16s 0d	£ 0 2s 0d	£ 74 18s 0d
June 25, 1602-Sept. 29, 1602	£ 36 5s 0d	£ 12 15s 0d	£ 1 2s 0d	£ 50 2s 0d
Sept. 30, 1602-Dec. 25, 1602	£ 31 15s 0d	£ 28 18s 0d	£ 0 0s 0d	£ 60 13s 0d
Dec. 26, 1602-March 25, 1603	£ 20 10s 0d	£ 0 0s 0d	£ 0 0s 0d	£ 20 10s 0d
Total March 26, 1602-March 25, 1603	£ 130 10s 0d	£ 74 9s 0d	£ 1 4s 0d	£ 206 3s 0d
Grand Total Oct. 11, 1597-March 25, 1603	£ 653 0s 5d	£ 442 4s 1d	£ 187 9s 6d	£ 1282 14s 0d

latter part of 1600, and early in 1602, had been practically the same as it had been at the Rose. Since total receipts and gallery receipts were about equal, the door receipts must also have been approximately equal. Certainly the income at the Fortune could not have been very much greater than it had been at the Rose, though the former building was probably somewhat larger than the latter. But it must be remembered that a larger building would bring larger returns only when a larger and better paying audience was secured.

These comparative figures receive further confirmation from another source. Probably in 1613, Charles Massye asked Edward Alleyn for a loan of £50, promising to repay it with interest by letting the business manager of the company, Edward Juby, turn over all Massye's share of the gallery money at the Fortune, and one-fourth of his share of the door-receipts for a year in payment.⁷⁹ If it became evident at the end of six months that this would not suffice, then Massye would turn over his full share less a mark per week for household expenses. If the actors' half galleries returned about as much as the door, as was true at the Globe, upon which the Fortune was modeled, Massye thought five-eighths of his total receipts would be a little more than £50, or his total receipts would be at least £80. Since there were at the time fourteen shares, this would mean an estimated total annual return of more than £1120. If the door returned one and two-fifths as much as the actors' half galleries, as was true at the Rose, Massye estimated nine-sixteenths of his receipts would be a little more than £50, or his total receipts would be at least £89. This would be an estimated total of at least £1246 for the fourteen shares. Massye must then have estimated the returns to actors as about £1100 or £1200 in a good year, but provided against the contingency of a poor year in his agreement to turn over all his share for the latter part of the year except a mark per week, if that became necessary. At the Rose in an uninterrupted year the actors might have received £900 to £1260. It is evident then that Massye's estimate makes the possible returns at the Fortune approximately the same as at the Rose.

Not only the receipts of an acting company are given by Henslowe's Diary, but its expenses as well. Henslowe furnished

⁷⁹ Greg, *Papers*, pp. 64-5.

the Admiral's company consecutively from October, 1597, to March, 1603. These five and one-half years ought to give us a fair idea of the expenses incurred by a company. We must regard the expense as given in the accounts, however, as a minimum, since Doctor Greg has shown that the company did not draw on Henslowe for all its expenses.⁹⁰ The items may be placed under the three heads of plays, clothes, and incidentals. It is certain that many of the items here placed under incidentals were really for clothes, but Henslowe has not always stated exactly what each item was for. In the five and one-half years, the company spent £653 0s 5d for plays, an average of £118 14s 8d per annum. During the same time, it spent £442 4s 1d for clothes, an average of £80 8s 0d per annum. All other items of expense amounted to £187 9s 6d, or £34 1s 9d per annum. This account does not include wages, which would be paid directly by the company out of its takings at the outer door. This means that the company called on Henslowe to pay on an average £233 4s 5d per annum for plays, clothes, and incidentals. Doctor Greg has shown that the company did not call on Henslowe to pay for all of its plays, and the same must be true concerning clothes. For instance, from September 29, 1600, through March 25, 1601, a whole winter season, half a year, Henslowe was called on to pay for only £1 19s worth of clothes, the whole recorded expense for this half year being only about £40. For the two solid business years at the Rose March 13, 1598–March 25, 1600, Henslowe paid out £681 8s 2d for the company, or £340 14s 1d per annum. When the company went to the Fortune,⁹¹ its relations with Henslowe seem not to have been so close. Of course, the extra expense of getting the

⁹⁰ *Diary*, Vol. II, pp. 124–6.

⁹¹ Doctor Greg (*Diary*, Vol. II, p. 63) is probably right in supposing that certain jottings of Alleyn's (Greg, *Papers*, p. 110), represent his expense in furnishing the company at the Fortune 1602–8. The entries begin almost exactly where Henslowe's leave off, and I know of nothing else for which Alleyn could have been at expense in these amounts. But it does not follow that these items represent the company's total expense for furnishings. Since Henslowe and Alleyn may have been partners in furnishing the company, as they were in the building, Alleyn's entries may represent only his half of the expense, a supposition to which color is given by the amounts entered. On the other hand, the company may have borrowed only part of its expenses from Alleyn alone. Consequently, we cannot very safely use this information till we get the above points better settled.

amalgamated company set up might possibly make the debts of the first years at the Rose heavier than those of the later, but it would also seem clear that the company was paying off Henslowe's debt and getting from under his control as rapidly as possible. Probably Henslowe was speaking from past experience when he said some fifteen years later that if the amalgamated Princess Elizabeth's company got out of his debt he would lose control of it. We may then pretty safely estimate the average expense of the company for the items enumerated as at least £300, with some probability of its being considerably greater.

It is to be noticed that this amount does not include wages. The only item for wages is that for Henslowe's own apprentice, James Bristow. Therefore, we must also attempt to estimate the yearly expense for labor. The normal wage at this time for hired men was six shillings per week, or £15 12s per annum. While the boys did not receive so much as hired men, neither were they so numerous, so that the extra wage of a few of the hired men would probably bring the wage of the boys up to average. Known instances in the company give about this six shilling average for hired men and boys. Fortunately, we have the plots of several plays that belonged to the company just about this time, so that we may estimate the number of persons in the company. In *I Tamar Cam* alone there were at least twenty besides members. The other lists of 1597-1602 confirm this as the approximate number of hired men and boys in the company. If we multiply the average wage per annum of £15 12s by twenty, we get £312. Therefore, the expense of the company from this source would be in round numbers about £300 per annum, or about as much as was paid at this period for theatrical furnishings. The average yearly expenditure for the company must thus have been at least £600. The yearly expense of the slightly larger Shakespearean company in 1635 was around £1000 per annum.²³

We may also estimate fairly well the average net yearly income of the Admiral's men for an uninterrupted year. In the later years, the actors' half of the galleries averaged about £1 5s each performance. For a 300 day acting year, the returns

²³ Halliwell, *Outlines*, Vol. I, p. 313.

from this source would be about £375. Incidentally, the returns from the half galleries at the Rose are only £75 more than our minimum estimate for furnishings, this approximate relation being the reason that such furnishings were so often paid for out of or with the actors' half of the galleries. We have seen that the return from the door was about one and two-fifths times that of the galleries. This would mean £525 from the door, which amount, plus £375 from the half galleries, gives a total income of £900 for the company. This gives the company a net income of not over £300. The number of the sharers at this period varied from eleven to sixteen. Thus, if the company had an uninterrupted year, the average net income for each actor would be from £18 15s to £27 5s per annum. It appears then that a sharer might receive nearly twice the income of a hired man in an uninterrupted year. If the year was poor, he might receive considerably less than nothing.

We can be even more definite, however, concerning income, since we have the practically complete record of income and expense for the financial year March 25, 1598—March 24, 1599. From one-fourth the galleries March 27, 1598—July 8, 1598, the returns were £59 3s 5d. Half the galleries, then, returned £118 6s 10d. From July 23, 1598, through February 24, 1599, half the galleries returned £247 3s. This leaves two weeks unaccounted for in July, 1598, and from February 24, to March 25, 1599. The latter break is a regular one for Lent, so that we need make no allowance for this lacuna. There was almost certainly no acting in the two missing weeks of July, since 1595–1600 the company regularly began a vacation about July.⁸³ The amount then from half the galleries for the year would be £365 9s 10d, as against our estimated average of £375. One and two-fifths times this amount gives us £511 13s 4d as the receipts at the door, the two giving £877 3s 2d as the total receipts for the actors. To this may be added the £20 they received December 3, 1598,⁸⁴ for previous performances at court, giving a grand total of £897 3s 2d for their receipts. From March 25, 1598, to March 24, 1599, the debt of the company with Henslowe was £399 15s 4d. Judging by the amount, this probably covers the expenses of the company for

⁸³ *Diary*, Vol. II, pp. 86, 94.

⁸⁴ *Murray*, Vol. I, p. 139.

the year, except for a few minor items. We may take the total expense as even £400. To this we may add £300 as the wages of hired men and boys. The total expense would thus be £700, the gross income in round numbers £900, the net income £200 for the year. There were thirteen sharers throughout this year, and probably two others till September to divide this amount. Thus each should have cleared not over £15 9s 3d. As a matter of fact, the company paid only about half of its debt to Henslowe, so that each member actually received about £30 clear. Probably the company knew its average, and tried to balance years by permitting a certain portion of the debts in poor years to go over. But these figures at once make it evident why in poor years so many companies broke.

We also get some idea of expenses from the accounts of Worcester's men, which succeeded the Admiral's for a time at the Rose. From August 17, 1602, through March 7, 1603, this company drew on Henslowe for £220 13s 3d. Of this, £85 4s was for plays, £137 4s 9d for clothes, and £9 0s 1d for incidentals.⁸⁵ The expense of the company thus averages about £33 2s per month, or £397 4s per annum, being almost exactly the same as that of the Admiral's men March, 1598–March, 1599. It would seem, therefore, that the yearly expense of an ordinary company around 1600, excluding wages, was about £400. Again, however, these expenses are for a company just setting up, and may thus have been above the ordinary.

This expense continued heavy from year to year because the theatrical stock was not of a nature to last long. Consequently, the stock of the largest and best established companies did not amount to so great a sum as we might at first suppose. The stock of the Admiral's men was estimated January 3, 1589, at £150.⁸⁶ Jones and Shaa were together paid £50 for their shares of the stock belonging to the Admiral's men February 7–23, 1602.⁸⁷ Since there were eleven shares, this would place a valuation of £275 on the stock of the company at that time,

⁸⁵ The figures do not exactly balance, since Henslowe's total is not exactly accurate.

⁸⁶ Murray, Vol. II, pp. 121–2.

⁸⁷ *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 164. The fact that the two together received but £50 makes it improbable that the £50 paid Alleyn earlier (*Diary*, Vol. I, p. 122; Chambers, *Eliz. Stage*, Vol. II, p. 157) was for his share. Since he had been furnishing the company, it was more probably on that debt.

though the company was spending considerably more than that amount for stock each year. But around 1613, the price per share in this company had risen to £70 for a withdrawing member, but only £50 for a dead one.⁸⁸ Since there were at the time fourteen shares, the valuation on the stock would be from £700 to £980. About the same time, a share in the Queen's company was valued at £80.⁸⁹ Since there were ten shares, the valuation of the stock would be £800. In the same period, January 3, 1614, a share in the Shakspearean company was worth £50.⁹⁰ Since there were twelve shares, the stock was valued at £600. This low valuation is doubtless due to the fact that the company had lost heavily from the fire at the Globe the preceding June. Even the hiring Princess Elizabeth company claimed that its stock was sold about February, 1615 for £400.⁹¹ It is apparent that the value of the stock in the average company for men rose from about £150 when Shakspeare began his career to about £800 or £1000 when he closed it. But even at its largest it represented the expenditure of but two years, indicating that the life of theatrical materials was short, as from their nature it must have been. Consequently, the average expense of upkeep for an established company was probably not notably less than the expense for a company just setting up. We may then be certain from our previous figures that in an ordinary year expenses for an average company about 1600, were £300 to £400 per annum, excluding wages.

These facts concerning company finance also help us to solve some further problems in the membership of the Admiral's men. Our first definite list of this company in the period of its connection with Henslowe is given by Henslowe between entries of December 14, 1594, and January 14, 1595.⁹² It

⁸⁸ Greg, *Papers*, p. 64.

⁸⁹ Fleay, F. G. *A Chronicle History of the London Stage*, p. 280.

⁹⁰ Collier, J. P. *Memoirs of the Principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare*, pp. 182-8.

⁹¹ Greg, *Papers*, p. 89. Thus the £70 paid by George Andrews for a sixth share in Whitefriars 1608 was only an average price, and the £400 valuation on the stock not an unusually large one (New Shak. Soc. *Transactions*, 1887-92, pp. 269 ff).

⁹² *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 5; Vol. II, pp. 99-100.

names eight men without explanation: Edward Alleyn,⁹³ John Singer, Richard Jones, Thomas Towne, Martin Slaughter, Edward Jubye, Thomas Downton, and James Donstall. Our next list of the company is after the junction of Pembroke's and the Admiral's men in the autumn of 1597. It dates between October 11, 1597, and January 5, 1598,⁹⁴ probably near the latter date. It names Singer, Jones, Towne, Jubye, Downton, Robert Shaa, William Birde, Gabriel Spenser, Anthony Jeffes, and Humphrey Jeffes, ten in all. Thus Alleyn, Slaughter, and Donstall of the earlier list do not appear. According to Henslowe, Alleyn had stopped playing before December 29, 1597.⁹⁵ Slaughter left the company July 18, 1597.⁹⁶ Donstall last appeared August 3, 1597.⁹⁷ Thus the company suffered rather a large loss about the time of the inhibition of July 28, 1597. About this time Benjamin Jonson succeeded either Alleyn or Slaughter. Henslowe received 3s 9d as Jonson's share under date of July 28, 1597.⁹⁸ Now Henslowe records his receipts from the half-galleries under this date as £1 8s.⁹⁹ This sum represents half the gallery fees, minus the gatherer's fee, which was about 2s. This would make the actors divide about £1 10s, of which the share to Jonson is an exact eighth. Thus Jonson received an eighth share of the actors' half of the galleries, and must have been one of the eight sharers.¹⁰⁰ He had written a part of *The Isle of Dogs* for Pembroke's men, and had evidently just joined the Admiral's before the explosion came which broke up acting for a time, and propelled Jonson into prison. Thus he had likely succeeded to Slaughter's membership shortly after the latter left July 18, 1597. Probably Alleyn, and almost certainly Donstall, dropped out at the reorganization after the inhibition. However, Jones and Downton of the 1594-5 list had gone to Pembroke's before February 20, 1597, and had

⁹³ I have regularly used the orthography of Doctor Greg, varying only to follow an autograph. Facts from the Diary for which references are not given may be easily found by referring to Vol. II, Chap. IV of Greg's edition, under the name of the person involved.

⁹⁴ *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 91.

⁹⁵ *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 81.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁹⁸ *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 47; Murray, Vol. II, p. 143.

⁹⁹ *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 54.

returned to the Admiral's later in the year. They were evidently succeeded, since there were eight members July 28, 1597. The only known candidates would be Samuel Rowley and Charles Massye, who sign the first account of the company 8-13 March, 1598. Rowley first appears in the Diary August 3, 1597, though both Rowley and Massye seem to have been in the play of *Frederick and Basilea*, June 3, 1597.¹⁰¹

There were still eight sharers in one-fourth of the galleries January 21, to March 4, 1598. This is shown by the fact that the receipts from Humphrey Jeffes were £3 10s, while Henslowe's one-fourth gallery receipts for the same time amount to £26 9s 4d. Since the gatherers' fee is to be added to this amount, Jeffes' share is evidently one-eighth of the actors' fourth from the galleries, and the actors still number eight as before the association with Pembroke's. Of the eight men in the Admiral's before the inhibition, only six seem to have remained afterward. These six were Singer, Towne, Jubye, Rowley, Massye, and Jonson. There had been eight men in Pembroke's while it was acting alone.¹⁰² Five of these Langley

¹⁰⁰ Against this evidence Doctor Greg's weighty objection cannot hold (*Modern Language Review*, Vol. XVI, p. 323; confuting Thaler, *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 61). The fact of Jonson's membership implies almost conclusively a long previous record as an actor. In the Shakspearean company, the period of acting before admission to membership was in all known cases—and most cases are fairly definite—at least the legal minimum of seven years of apprenticeship, whether or not the candidate was formally apprenticed. If the same rule held good in other companies—and being the law, presumably it did—the inference is that Jonson had become an actor by July, 1590. This assumption dovetails quite well with the other known or pretty definitely inferred facts; and would help fill a gap in our knowledge. His marriage, certainly by 1595, almost certainly by 1592 (Herford, C. H. and Simpson, Percy. *Ben Jonson*, Vol. I, p. 9) indicates a fairly settled life in London for that period. There would be plenty of room for his short military service in Flanders before our inferred date of his turning actor by or before 1590. As to his bricklaying, we are not forced to infer any specific time spent in that trade. In the right of his stepfather, he would doubtless be entitled to freedom of the trade, and may very well have been called on to help and learn in his "leisure" hours. The very fact that his stepfather was a bricklayer would in the minds of his contemporaries identify Jonson sufficiently with the trade to give point to the bricklaying gibes of his opponents, even though Jonson had himself never touched a brick.

¹⁰¹ *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 375.

¹⁰² Wallace, C. W. *The Swan Theatre and the Earl of Pembroke's Servants* *E nglische Studien*, Vol. XLIII, p. 345 ff).

sued, but three he released. The five sued were Birde, Spenser, Shaa, Jones, and Downton. Besides these, Humphrey Jeffes and probably Anthony must have come from Pembroke's about this time. The two constantly run together, and Humphrey had at some time previously been with Pembroke's,¹⁰³ while neither has previous record with Henslowe. Only one other person became a member about the time Pembroke's men came to Henslowe. This is John Helle the clown, who bound himself August 3, 1597, to play till the following Shrovetide. In the same week, Henslowe bound Jones, Shaa, and Birde. All other members who gave Henslowe bond this year were from Pembroke's. It seems almost certain therefore that Helle is the eighth Pembroke man. Also, since Jeffes was a Pembroke's man, his receipt of an eighth of the actors' fourth of gallery receipts indicates that Pembroke's were still eight, and were dividing the actors' share of gallery receipts with the Admiral's. This is why Henslowe speaks of "humfreye Jeaffes hallfe sheare."

Were Alleyn and Donstall of the Admiral's replaced, and if so who were their successors? We must trace the later history of the amalgamated company in order to find the clue. Henslowe received parts of shares from various actors in 1598, which throw some light on the number of sharers. Besides the account of Humphrey Jeffes already given, there are two others, one with Birde, and one with Spenser.¹⁰⁴ Since these two accounts are synchronous, we may consider them together. There is only one entry to Birde, dated June 17, 1598; but it is important because it is exactly the same amount as is given for Spenser at the same date, showing that the amount must come from some definite source common to both. Henslowe explains this source in the case of Spenser as "his share in the galleries." When we compare the entries for these actors May 6-June 24, with Henslowe's entries for the galleries, we find that they bear an approximately fixed relation, except the last entry. The first four entries to Spenser amount to £1 1s 6d. The corresponding entries for the galleries amount to £16 5s, to which we must add the gatherers' fee. Spenser's share is thus one-sixteenth of one-fourth of total gallery receipts. This indicates

¹⁰³ Mentioned in *3 Henry VI* with Spenser and Sinklo.

¹⁰⁴ *Diary*, Vol. I, pp. 62, 63, 67.

that the actors had by this time become one company and were sixteen in number.¹⁰⁶ Thus the eight Admiral's men and the eight Pembroke's had amalgamated to form one company.

The signatures to the account of 8-13 March, 1598, give us ten of these sixteen names. These were Singer, Jones, Towne, Downton, Shaa, Birde, Spenser, H. Jeffes, Massye, and Rowley. Besides these, Jubye, and A. Jeffes were still with the company, as later signatures show. So was Benjamin Jonson, as he was to make painfully evident to a fellow member before the end of the year. Since Helle hired only till Shrovetide of 1598, and is no more heard of, he may or may not have left at the end of his time. This leaves at least two to be accounted for. These may have been Richard Alleyn, and Thomas Heywood, who gave Henslowe bond, only required of members, March 25, 1598, for two years. Also, Alleyn appointed payments for the Admiral's men in January, 1599, and May, 1600, a further conclusive proof that he was at the time a member. Alleyn appears in the Diary as a witness as early as May 3, 1593. His next appearance is as negotiating loans from Henslowe beginning May 27, 1597.¹⁰⁶ Heywood had possibly been with the Admiral's men as early as 1594,¹⁰⁷ he was certainly with them 14-29 October, 1596. Thus we may list as fifteen of the sixteen members in May-June, 1598, Singer, Jones, Towne, Downton, Shaa, Birde, Spenser, H. Jeffes, Massye, Rowley, Jubye, A. Jeffes, Jonson, R. Alleyn, and Heywood. Up to Shrovetide, 1598, Helle had been the sixteenth member. These exactly correspond to the number that Henslowe left record of having bound as members at this period, plus those otherwise officially known to have been members. We must consider this list then as practically beyond doubt. It seems indicated too that Thomas Hunt succeeded Helle in 1598. In the plot of a play for

¹⁰⁶ The proportions are not absolute in the four entries because only shillings are given in both sets of entries. Without the addition of the gatherers' fee, the proportions range 14 4/7, 14 10/11, 15 1/5, 16 1/8. The first item is not credited; the sum of the other four is 20s. The last item does not represent a full sixteenth, probably because Spenser owed but 4s more.

¹⁰⁶ *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 205.

¹⁰⁷ *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 284; Murray, Vol. II, p. 141.

1597 Hunt appeared without title, but in his remaining two appearances, 1598, and 1599, he is "Mr.," the official title of a sharer.¹⁰⁸

The company was not recruited after the amalgamation. This amalgamation had certainly taken place before May 1, 1598, probably at the settling of accounts, 8-13 March, 1598. The companies were still receiving separate halves of gallery receipts up to March 8, as shown by the receipts of H. Jeffes. After March 4, Henslowe began a new series, still in fourths as previously; but all the actors now shared in each fourth, as the accounts of Birde and Spenser show. It was natural for Henslowe to continue this style of bookkeeping till there was need for a change July 29, 1598, since all desired information could be obtained from it. It was doubtless because of this amalgamation that Henslowe made an "Inventory of the goods of my Lord Admeralles men, tacken the 10 of Marche in the yeare 1598."¹⁰⁹

Jonson killed Spenser in September, 1598. He probably found it necessary to drop his membership after this event, though he later wrote periodically for the company.¹¹⁰ Heywood seemingly left at the end of his two year bond March 25, 1600. R. Alleyn was buried November 18, 1601,¹¹¹ but probably had withdrawn before July 10, 1600, since he did not sign the accounts with the eleven survivors. That eleven is the full number of members in 1600 is shown by the fact that Edward Alleyn was paid an eleventh part November 11-December 14, 1600.¹¹² Thus Thomas Hunt had also dropped out, and the Thomas Hunt who later appears with the youthful Princess

¹⁰⁸ This list of members removes Doctor Greg's objections (*Diary*, Vol. II, p. 103), which he has now withdrawn, to Mr. Fleay's supposition that the title "Mr." meant sharer. Of the examples given, only Thomas Hunt may not have been a sharer. Unless he is an exception, I know no clear instance where any other than a sharer received the title. The title then must be considered very strong evidence that its bearer is a member. On the other hand, Doctor Greg has shown that the title is not always applied. Hence its omission is merely presumptive evidence that the person in question is not a member.

¹⁰⁹ Greg, *Papers*, p. 113; *Review of English Studies*, Vol. I, p. 274, note.

¹¹⁰ Murray, Vol. II, pp. 143-5.

¹¹¹ Chambers, *Eliz. Stage*, Vol. II, p. 299.

¹¹² See Murray, Vol. II, pp. 131-141 for a full discussion of Edward Alleyn's connection with the stage after 1596.

Elizabeth's men was doubtless his son. The entry for 1600 just noted also establishes Edward Alleyn's relation to the company at this time. There had been eleven sharers July 10, 1600, and that remained the number till about February, 1602, when Jones and Shaa departed together, leaving nine. Jones was probably intending to return to Germany, though we do not have record of him there till 1620.¹¹³ Shaa was buried September 12, 1603.¹¹⁴ Of the previous eleven sharers, Alleyn is not one; and Henslowe tells us that Alleyn stopped playing before the end of 1597.¹¹⁵ This entry of 1600 also shows that Alleyn was not then a regular member, since if he had been he would have received his regular share through the regular channels, as the others did. He is evidently substituting, and hence is paid by the company as a whole, just as it would hire an ordinary actor, only Alleyn is given a share instead of a fixed sum. The company drew on its banker Henslowe for payment. In this case, Alleyn was doubtless substituting for Birde, who was in prison November 26, of this year, "for hurting of a felowe w^{ch} browght his wiffe a leatter."¹¹⁶ The basis of agreement is evidently that for his services Alleyn shall have a full share. Besides, he was not responsible for company debts, which usually took from one-half to two-thirds of the actors' income. It was a very advantageous arrangement to Alleyn, since he had no obligations, could quit at any time, and yet received for his services when he acted, a full share of the actors' part as clear gain. On the other hand, famous Ned Alleyn was

¹¹³ Price, L. M. *English > German Literary Influences*, p. 136, and table opp.; Greg, *Papers*, pp. 94-5.

¹¹⁴ Chambers, *Elis. Stage*, Vol. II, p. 339.

¹¹⁵ *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 81.

¹¹⁶ This fact enables us to check a little more closely the date of the first week at the Fortune, for which Alleyn is paid. Since Mrs. Birde borrowed £3 of Henslowe on Wednesday, November 26, to release her husband, the first week would not be later than that of November 24-29. Since the company came to composition with Alleyn on Tuesday, November 11, the first full week would not be earlier than that of November 17-22. Thus the first week at the Fortune was either November 17-22, or 24-29. The fact that Alleyn substitutes only one week would indicate the second of these, as otherwise it would have been necessary for him to substitute two weeks. Thus Doctor Greg is not far wrong when he places the opening of the Fortune "about the beginning of Dec. 1600" (*Diary*, Vol. II, p. 63).

probably worth every bit of it and more to the company. There is no indication that Alleyn acted with any degree of regularity after he withdrew as a regular member in 1597. He acted with the Admiral's men about the time they opened the Fortune; he probably acted with the Admiral's men in some or all of their plays at court in the Christmas seasons of 1599-1600, and 1600-1601. He received the pay for the latter season, amounting to £30, and turned all of it over to Henslowe on a debt of the company, except £1 10s.¹¹⁷ Alleyn also received £30 at court for the company two years later. He had been acting with the company again before February 23, 1602, receiving £1 7s 6d on that date as his share, Henslowe again acting as paymaster. Alleyn's renewed close connection with the company dates certainly and regularly from May 22, 1601, when he authorized a payment for the company, his name thereafter figuring in several such authorizations, the last of which dates November 3, 1602. He and Edward Juby received pay at court February 19, 1604, but Juby alone April 17, 1604. Alleyn appears in two out of four plots after 1597, but these are plots of plays, some of which certainly, and all probably belonged to him personally. Probably then the company merely secured his services as an actor for especially important occasions, he being an honorary member.

After Shaa and Jones withdrew about February, 1602, only nine members still remained. Singer is last mentioned January 13, 1603; but appears as an ordinary groom of the chamber at the time of Queen Elizabeth's funeral,¹¹⁸ though not in the livery list for March 15, 1604. Since he had been selected as a Queen's man in 1583, he must now have been a man of some age, and probably had withdrawn. This left eight members to pass under the patronage of Prince Henry, who received patent as his servants April 30, 1606, though Alleyn also had received livery with the company for March 15, 1604, in his

¹¹⁷ The £1 10s probably represents the fees Alleyn had to pay to get the warrant. For a £10 warrant, Henslowe had found it necessary or advisable to pay 7s to the clerk of the council, and 10s 6d at the "payhowsse" (Greg, *Papers*, pp. 108-9).

¹¹⁸ Chambers, *Eliz. Stage*, Vol. II, pp. 177, 339.

honorary capacity, and on that day had been Genius Urbis in the pageant of welcome performed by his company, speaking "with excellent Action, and a well tun'de audible voyce."¹¹⁹ And as Prince Henry's men the organization may be left to its new honors.

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¹¹⁹ Withington, R. *English Pageantry*, Vol. I, pp. 223-4.

FEMININE RIMES IN THE *FAERIE QUEENE*

One of the most puzzling of Spenser's minor peculiarities is his inconsistent use of feminine rimes in the *Faerie Queene*. I was led to a critical examination of this peculiarity by Professor Hiram Corson's declaration¹ that "sometimes, but rarely, and chiefly in the later books, the poet uses double rimes in the sixth, eighth, and ninth verses." As a general statement, this is true; but it is very indefinite, and it might be misleading in that it seems to imply that feminine rimes (double rimes) are merely less frequent in the earlier than in the later books, and that they occur in the sixth, eighth, and ninth lines only.

As a matter of fact there is only one example of regular feminine rime (*stages-sages-ages*, II, ix, 47) in the entire first three books, whereas in the last three books and a fraction there are 163 regular feminine rimes. By regular feminine rimes I mean rime-words which are now and were in Spenser's time pronounced in two syllables. I found further that these rimes occur almost as frequently in lines 1 and 3 (first position) and in lines 2, 4, 5, and 7 (second position) as in lines 6, 8, and 9 (third position). By position, I mean the position of the rime in the stanza. All of Professor Corson's references are to Book V, in which feminine rimes fall in the third position more frequently than in the other books. The following table will show by books the comparative position and distribution of feminine rimes:

	First Position	Second Position	Third Position	Total
Book IV	20	19	19	58
Book V	12	19	23	54
Book VI	16	10	14	40
Book VII	7	1	3	11
	—	—	—	—
	55	49	59	163

The number of feminine rimes varies from canto to canto as well as from book to book. Cantos iv and viii of Book IV, Canto i of Book V, and Canto i of Book VI have none, while Cantos i, ii, and x of Book IV have ten, eleven, and nine respectively. In general they become less frequent as the poem progresses from Book IV to the end.

¹ *A Primer of English Verse*, p. 98.

Preterites and past participles in *-ed*, where the suffix is not pronounced as a separate syllable in Modern English but must be so pronounced in the *Faerie Queene* to satisfy the meter, constitute a second group of feminine rimes which we may call irregular. When the suffix is not meant to be pronounced as a separate syllable, the *e* is syncopated or represented by an apostrophe: e.g., *inquir'd*, *charg'd*.² At the end of the line the suffix is usually written in full, and in this position it is sometimes hypermetrical and sometimes the accented syllable of the last foot of the line. Such hypermetrical syllables never occur except in feminine rimes. Of these irregular feminine rimes only one appears in the first three books (*pleased-eased*, III, ii, 15); but 125 occur in the last three books and a fraction, distributed as follows:

	First Position	Second Position	Third Position	Total
Book IV	20	13	13	46
Book V	13	14	16	43
Book VI	12	10	8	30
Book VII	2	1	3	6
	—	—	—	—
	47	38	40	125

If this table is compared with the table of regular feminine rimes given above, it will be seen that the distribution is practically the same in both groups.

Some words in Spenser's poetry may be either monosyllabic or dissyllabic, as the meter requires, without change of form. The most common of these are words ending in *-en* and *-er*, such as *knowen* and *power*. When dissyllabic they always have this form, but when monosyllabic they usually, though not always, have the last vowel and consonant transposed: *knowne*, *powre*. *Knowen* is nearly always dissyllabic, but *power* occurs as a dissyllable within the line in only two instances.³ Consequently, when *knowen* and words of similar form are rimed I have counted the rime feminine, but when *power* and words

² The contraction with the apostrophe is somewhat more common in the edition of 1596 than in the edition of 1590.

³ *Faerie Queene*, I, xi, 42, 1; V, ii, 19, 7.

of the same form are rimed I have counted the rime masculine.⁴ The word *spirit* is occasionally monosyllabic within the line, but it is used only twice as a rime word,⁵ and I have called it dissyllabic in both cases. The plural and possessive ending *-es* practically never constitutes a separate syllable when it occurs within the line, except where it is a separate syllable in Modern English also; consequently rime-words with this ending, which are fairly numerous, have been counted masculine.⁶ The *-es* and *-s* seem to be used indiscriminately as plural and possessive endings.

In giving variety and flexibility to his verse Spenser showed a more liberal spirit than his contemporary poets. The use of feminine rimes, even in his earlier poetry, is one evidence of this liberalism. Professor Émile Legouis has shown how Spenser was led to employ trisyllabic feet and feminine endings, among various innovations, by the influence of Chaucer.⁷ Although Professor Legouis does not call attention to feminine rimes in Spenser and Chaucer, they naturally occur where hypermetrical syllables fall at the end of lines. Spenser may have been further induced to adopt double endings and double rimes through his study of Italian poetry. But from an examination of those passages of the *Faerie Queene* which, according to Professor R. E. Neil Dodge,⁸ were imitations from Ariosto, I find no

⁴ I have counted the rime masculine, of course, if the other words in the rime-group prove that *knownen* is intended to be monosyllabic: e.g., *knownenone-gone-tone* (IV, vii, 14). It is impossible to determine certainly whether or not Spenser in all other cases meant *knownen* to be a feminine rime-word, and it cannot be positively affirmed that he never intended *power* to be a feminine rime-word. But, however his purpose might be construed, it would not materially alter the total number of feminine rimes or change the proportions among the several books.

⁵ *Spirit-merit* (IV, ii, 34); *merit-spirit-disinherit* (V, v, 36).

⁶ In the line, "Or who shall not great Nightes children scorne" (I, v, 23, 8), *Nightes* is dissyllabic; also in the line, "When Titan fair his beames did display" (III, vi, 6, 5), *beames* is dissyllabic. The latter is pointed out by Professor Émile Legouis in his *Quomodo Edmundus Spenserus ad Chaucerum se fingens in Eclogis "The Shepherdes Calender" versus heroicum renovavit ac refecerit*, p. 40.

⁷ *Quomodo Edmundus Spenserus ad Chaucerum se fingens*, etc., p. 32 and *passim*.

⁸ "Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, Vol. 5 (1897), pp. 151-204. See also the same, Vol. 35, p. 91 and Vol. 34, p. 225, for additions by Dodge and Gilbert.

evidence that Spenser used feminine rimes more frequently in these passages than elsewhere; consequently these imitations can have no bearing on the problem of why Spenser began to use feminine rimes only with Book IV. The imitation of Chaucer likewise is of no use in solving this problem, because it is more pronounced in *The Shepheardes Calender* than in the *Faerie Queene*.

One might expect to find a reason for the change in the chronological order of the poems; but this is not the case, for Spenser had used feminine rimes freely long before he began the composition of his masterpiece. Outside of the *Faerie Queene* they are rarest in the very earliest poems and most numerous in the poems written between 1576 and 1580. There are only four in the *Visions of Bellay* (210 lines) and two in the *Visions of Petrarch* (98 lines), while there are sixty-one in the *Shepheardes Calender* (2209 lines) and seventy-two in *Mother Hubberds Tale* (1388 lines).

Although the date of the poem has nothing to do with the poet's use of feminine rimes, the subject-matter and tone are important. In the *Shepheardes Calender* the eclogues for February, March, and May have seven, ten, and thirteen feminine rimes respectively; whereas the eclogue for June has only one, and those for October and November have none at all. The eclogues that have no feminine rimes are the loftiest in tone and subject-matter in the poem. Of all Spenser's poetry feminine rimes are most frequent in the comic and satiric *Mother Hubberds Tale*. There are thirty-two in the *Amoretti* (1232 lines) and only seven in the loftier *Epithalamion* (433 lines). The *Hymne in Honour of Love* (307 lines) has ten feminine rimes and the *Hymne in Honour of Beautie* (287 lines) has twelve; but, in contrast to these, the more serious *Hymne of Heavenly Love* (287 lines) and *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie* (301 lines) have only seven and five respectively. These figures include irregular as well as regular feminine rimes as defined above.

My conclusion, then, is that Spenser, when he wrote the first three books of the *Faerie Queene*, believed or felt that feminine rimes impaired the dignity of a serious poem. It was hardly by chance that he used them freely in his rustic and satiric verse and tended to avoid them in his more serious poetry, as the statistics just given show. The *Faerie Queene*

was meant to be a tremendously serious poem, written in an exalted style. It would not do, Spenser may have reasoned, to cheapen it by the use of rime-forms best suited to frivolous verse. As the poem progressed, however, his opinion of feminine rimes possibly changed for the better, and his style was permitted to become in many ways less serious and elevated; consequently, when he began to write the fourth book after an intermission, he consciously employed feminine rimes in conformity with his general policy of less restraint. Possibly he thought his poem was too stiff metrically and wished to make the movement more natural and free. This deliberate return to the use of feminine rimes accounts for their unusual frequency in the first few cantos of Book IV. After a while the conscious purpose to use feminine rimes became less and less acute, and so we have a corresponding decrease in their number through the last two books.

FLOYD STOVALL

WERE THE MYTHOLOGICAL POEMS OF THE EDDA
COMPOSED IN THE PRE-CHRISTIAN
ERA?

“Concerning the mythological poems of the Edda, it follows from their very contents and their relation to paganism that they were composed in heathen times. Precisely this fact is an excellent point of departure for dating them.”

I quote this assertion from Finnur Jónsson's (shorter) 'History of Icelandic Literature';¹ but with more or fewer reservations this is, indeed, the sentiment of practically all scholars who have ventured opinions on this vexed question of the date and provenience of the Eddic lays.²

So far, neither the study of metre, of language, of legendary form, nor of specific references, or any other philological method known to us, has rewarded scholars with tangible criteria acceptable to all, or even a majority, of scholars. Under such conditions the only good chronological hold for approximately dating at least a few lays has seemed—and the above quoted remark illustrates this faith—has seemed the conversion of Western Scandinavia accomplished about the end of the tenth century.

To be sure, the having to rely solely on this all too broad fact only tends to converge our attention on its precariousness and the dubiousness of the results gained therefrom.

With this in mind I shall here bring together the evidence available, and also offer some general considerations, with the professed intention to demonstrate the unreliableness of this criterion.

The Scandinavians were the last of the Germanic tribes to be Christianized. Their first contact with the new faith was had in Viking expeditions—increasingly from the eighth century down—along the shorelands, both of the Carolingian empire and

¹ *Den Islandske Litteraturs Historie*, 1907, 35; no such categorical expression is given it in his comprehensive '*Den Oldnorske og Oldislandske Litteraturs Historie*;' but the viewpoint is the same. Cf. especially pp. 37-54. In the following I quote from the second edition (1920 f).

² For the literature, see Sijmons, *Einleitung*, CCVI ff. Nothing of incisive value on the point here mooted has since appeared.

of the British Isles, where the rich churches and cloisters lured them with expectations of booty. After the establishment of Scandinavian kingdoms in the littorals and archipelagoes of the West, intermarriage with natives—all Christians by this time—is frequent, and generally followed by the conversion of the conquerors or their settled offspring. It has been doubted³ whether the effects of this process ever made themselves distinctly felt in the homeland—with small reason, I believe. For the fact remains that many returned, bringing news from these parts. From the West came King Hákon the Good, fosterchild of Æthelstan, who made a valiant but unsuccessful attempt (936) to convert his Norwegians. The failure was due no doubt quite as much to the active political opposition of the nobles as to a general unreadiness to absorb the new ideas. Thanks, possibly, to fear of missionary endeavor on the part of the sons of Eiríkr, who had also been subjected to Christian influences while in England, Earl Hákon Sigurðsson, a crafty, uxorious tyrant zealous for the old faith, succeeds to the royal power, if not title. He is overthrown by Ólaf Tryggvason (995) who, in an hour of defeat had been converted in the West and who now in a surprisingly short time, “with the energy of a Viking and the fanaticism of a recent convert,” manages to Christianize Norway, however superficially.

However, all in all, a more solid influence, both by continued political and spiritual pressure, was exercised on Norway from the South, by way of Denmark which had been Christianized some two generations earlier, under Harold Bluetooth. It is of him the Large Jellinge Runestone boasts that “he made the Danes Christians.” And for all the apostasy of his son, Svein Forkbeard, the ground won there was never wholly lost. Most of the missionaries and emissaries of the Hamburg-Bremen archiepiscopate take their way to the farther North through Denmark; and we may safely assume that most of the new cultural and religious thoughts of the time percolated to the North through the medium of its closest racial and geographical neighbor; just as, centuries before, the Cult of Othin had thus come.⁴

³ Strongest, by Finnur Jónsson, *Norsk-Islandske Kultur- og Sprogforhold i 9. og 10. Århundrede*, chap. 1-5, who dwells too exclusively on the negative evidence of language.

⁴ Cf. Chadwick, *the Cult of Othin*, chap. 3.

Obviously, with such century-long and multifarious contacts on two sides, it would be strange if West Scandinavian lays that came into being during, say, the tenth, or even the ninth, centuries, showed no influence of the new religion. It is to be observed, nevertheless, that the number of indubitable references to Christianity in the Edda is exiguous. There certainly are none in the mythological lays, barring the *Gróugaldr*; and very few in the heroic lays. Is it safe, herefrom to infer, as has been done,⁵ that the bulk of these lays originated in pre-Christian times?

Let us examine the cases of certain or possible references first.

The only direct occurrence of the word Christian in the entire Eddic corpus is to be found in *Gróugaldr*, stanza 13, in the eighth 'galdr,' or magic spell, communicated by the *völva* to Svipdag:

þann galk þér átta ef þik áti nemr
nótt á niðvegi:
at þot miþr megi þér til meins gþroa
Kristin dauþ kona.

(This eighth heed thou, if without find thee
 a misty night on the moors:
 lest ill o'ertake thee, or untowardness,
 from the wraith of a Christian wretch!)

The poem is found only in Paper MSS. But all agreeing, there is no call for violently emending the reading *kristin dauþ kona* to *kynstr* ('magic'; this is a word occurring only in prose) *dauþrar konu*, or *kynstrdjorf* ('strong in magic') *kona*, as Gering proposed; or, still worse, to *kveldriþur kona*, as did Vigfússon. Finnur Jónsson, while admitting that the lay is not particularly old, infers from this reference that the poem must date from the very last times of paganism, or else the very first times after the introduction of Christianity,⁶ and similarly Mogk.⁷ But already in 1893 Falk⁸ convincingly argued that the reference appears, rather, the attempt of a much later age—the 13th century—to stamp Gróa a heathen witch; a view which is further supported

⁵ E.g. Sijmons, *loc. cit.*, CCLXII.

⁶ *Lit. Hist.* I, 220.

⁷ *Grundriss*, 53 (607).

⁸ *Arkiv f. n. Fil.* IX, 357.

by the great dependence of this lay on other Eddic poems in point of vocabulary, and also by the evident sophistication and polish indicating conscious and recent authorship.

Few are, at present, inclined to deny a Christian tinge in the preparations for Atli's burial in the Greenlandish *Atlamál*. But then, this lay shares with *Gripisspá* the distinction of having practical unanimity as to provenience and date.

All other occurrences are at best doubtful if not wholly negative.

At first blush, *Guthrúnarkviða III* would seem to be a clear case of Christian influence: Guthrun, Atli's wife, clears herself of the suspicion of adultery with Thiothrek by successfully undergoing the ordeal of boiling water. We know that the *ketillak* was introduced into Norway by Olaf the Saint. Unfortunately, however, this nevertheless does not furnish the eleventh century as the date *a quo*. On the one hand, as was pointed out by Maurer,⁹ the ordeal is in the poem itself implied to be foreign, or still imperfectly known in the North, since it is still best managed by 'Saxi, the Southron lord,' stanza 7.¹⁰ On the other, Guthrun declares herself ready 'to swear all oaths' as to her innocence 'by the white, holy stone'; by which, not improbably, is meant one of the phallic symbols so frequently encountered in the North. Still more rankly heathen would this reference be if we adopt Th. Petersen's recent suggestion¹¹ that the *jarknasteinar* which she fetches up from the bottom of the kettle (stanza 9) are identical with the phallic symbols of marriage by which she has just sworn. Nor need this naive mixing of Christian and heathen rites surprise us in early Christian times. Also, the punishment of the calumniatrix Herkja—she is cast into a foul swamp—certainly harks back to an age-old Pan-Germanic custom which supposedly disappeared with heathendom.¹²

However, we would be mistaken for these reasons to attribute the lay to the end of the heathen period, with Finnur

⁹ *Z. f. d. phil.* II, 443.

¹⁰ Again, the abolishment of the ordeal by Hákon Hákonsson in 1247 is hardly a safe date *ad quem* because the very news of this act may have stimulated interest in it on the part of an Icelander.

¹¹ *Festschrift für Mogk*, 496 f.

¹² Cf. Detter-Heinzel, *Anmerkungen*, 510; *Hálfs saga*, ed. A. LeRoy Andrews, note p. 89.

Jónsson;¹³ for it has all the ear-marks of a much later time. Not only is the spirit of Guthrun unbelievably conciliatory for an earlier period—she is deeply concerned about Atli's despondency although she lays her brothers' death at his door; and Atli is unfeignedly overjoyed at her cleansing herself of suspicion—but the very presence of Thiothrek at Atli's court is sufficient to establish late origin. On the other hand it is true that the mere fact of the lay not being made use of by Snorri or in the *Völsunga saga* should not be taken as evidence for very late origin. Its legendary form is so much at variance with the other lays treating of Guthrun and Atli that later authors may have chosen to disregard it.

Among the mythological poems, *Völuspá* is by some scholars supposed to be profoundly influenced by Christian ideas, whether directly or, as a whole, conceived as a counterblast against them; others as stoutly maintaining that its basic conception is purely heathen. In another connection¹⁴ I have thrown out the suggestion that even this noble poem was, conceivably, didactic in purpose. Pondering deeply on the origin of all things, the past and future of the world, the poet wove together the shreds and wisps of cosmogonic and eschatological conceptions fluttering about from of old in myths and magic lore into a coherent whole which need not shun comparison with the Hebrew and Vedic accounts of Creation. He may have added a touch, he may have colored it with his own views of life, he may have contributed figures from his own mythopoetic, austere imagination—with what view in mind, no one will ever know for certain. Whether or no the apocalypse is dependent on Christian lore is purely a matter of opinion. At any rate, and that is the point here, it will never yield any chronological hold.

No doubt, a number of interpolations were made in his work and are plainly discernible as such; but I look with distrust on the vaticinations of Müllenhoff and Boer who, with enviable self-assurance, have shown us how to take the thing apart. I go still further in calling in question the wisdom of the

¹³ *Loc. cit.*, 220.

¹⁴ *The Germanic Review*, I, 85.

greater number of editors who calmly omit the supplementary lines of the Paper MSS. in stanza 65 (*kþmr enn ríki* etc.):

<i>semr hann dóma</i>	<i>ok sakar legg,</i>
<i>véskop setr</i>	<i>þaus vesa skulu.</i>
(he settles strife,	sits in judgment,
and lays down laws	which shall last alway.)

because, forsooth, they do not agree with their *a priori* views as to non-Christian origin. And yet it is quite conceivable that *Völuspá* was composed a century or two after the introduction of Christianity.

In the case of *Hávamál*, however, I readily grant that much of it may be classed among the oldest intellectual possessions of the North whose ethnic and ethical idea conceptions it bodies forth so admirably. As to stanzas 139, 140, few will at present be inclined to follow S. Bugge in his contention¹⁶ that the conception of Othin as the "hanged god" (*hangatýr*) necessarily is dependent directly on the Crucifixion; especially since Sir James Frazer has shown the deceptiveness of such similarities.¹⁶

My reasons for thinking *Vafþræðnismál* and *Grimnismál*—both generally, assigned to the tenth century—and especially *Alvissmál*, considerably later, in fact, productions of the Icelandic Renaissance, I have set forth elsewhere.¹⁷ The argument that the eschatological speculations such as fill the minds of these poets, as well as that of the *Völuspá* poet, betray the period of approaching Christianity and are meant to demonstrate the power and wisdom of the gods,¹⁸ is of course worth considering, but far from compelling.

That *Skírnismál* cannot belong to the oldest lays seems evident from the fact pointed out by Mogk,¹⁹ though not by him made use of sufficiently, that the ring *Draupnir* mentioned in a passage above suspicion of interpolation, belongs distinctly to later Baldr myths. Neither can the *vafþlogi*, vaguely referred to as established around a maiden of giant kin, be accounted old. It may be also be pertinent to remember Neckel's observa-

¹⁶ *Studier over de Norrøne Gudesagns Oprindelse*, p. 291ff.

¹⁶ The Golden Bough, Pt. IV, vol. 1, chap. V.

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.* 74.

¹⁸ Boer, *Die Edda*, II, 59; Finnur Jónsson, *Lit. Hist.* I, 44.

¹⁹ *Loc. cit.*, 46 (600).

tion²⁰ that the peculiarly erotic nature of the Gerth motif singles it out as foreign to the North.

The *Hárbarðsljóð* yield no definite hold whatever; for the suffixed article found in them sporadically, and supposedly indicating late origin, might easily have been added by the late copyist or the collector, no firm metrical structure interposing. If Finnur Jónsson²¹ asserts considerable age for this lay because of its masterly dialogue and characterization, and finds corroboration for this view in the (supposedly) many accretions added in the course of time, this is in consonance with his general, distinctly Romantic, attitude of, like wine, "the older, the better," and *vice versa*. The present case aptly demonstrates the possibilities of this *in circulo* reasoning. Mogk's observation²² on the poem: „Dass man die Götter zum Gegenstand solcher mannjafnaðr macht, zeigt, dass der alte Glaube in Verfall geraten . . .” is by all means a *non sequitur*; for it postulates for Germanic antiquity a rigid orthodoxy and implied reverence such as is true of no polytheistic religion. If the analogy of Lucian be thought of who pours scorn on the old gods, certain Homeric episodes come to mind, too, which immediately destroy its force. In *brymskviða*, regarded as unquestionably heathen, certainly no reverence is shown to Thor, dressed up in woman's weeds!²³ In other words, there is no cogency in this reasoning, either way.

Very nearly the same is true of the argument afforded by *Lokasenna* which Finnur Jónsson²⁴ insists was composed during times when the old faith in the gods was as yet unshaken. According to him, the poet wished to depict the demoralization and irreligiosity of his own times—personified in that enemy of the gods, Loki—about to destroy the good old faith and morals . . . wished to show that all this wickedness would in the end subside; that the disbelief of the times would give way to the truths of the old faith etc. etc.” “In Christian times,” he says in another place, “the composition of such a poem would be simply unthinkable, unless there was the express purpose

²⁰ *Die Überlieferungen vom Gotte Baldr*, 138.

²¹ *Loc. cit.* I, 154.

²² *Loc. cit.* 37 (591); cf. also Finnur Jónsson, *Lit. Hist.* I, 83 ff.

²³ Cf. Neckel, *Beiträge zur Eddaforschung*, 49.

²⁴ *Loc. cit.* I, 186 f.

to ridicule the old gods and heathen beliefs." "On the other hand, (still quoting), if the poem had a Christian author, then the conclusion would needs be altogether different—Thor, too, would then have been made to come off second-best, instead of saving the situation." But, as was pointed out by Sijmons,²⁵ it is hard to believe that so witty a poet would allow sheer physical force, represented by Thor, to have the last word against the superior vituperative powers of Loki. Nor does he, in fact: in the end, after all, the whole company of gods, including Thor, sit there shamed and sullied, even though Loki has been shown the door. The lay is a *jeu d'esprit*, a *chronique scandaleuse* of the Northern Olympos, irresponsible and bitter, and written with an abandon such as one is not accustomed to seek under the grey skies of the far North, but which yet is by no means without parallels there. Witness, not only the Gallic Kielland (and many others) of the nineteenth century, but the superbly Heinesque *Skipartma* of the fifteenth.

As to the two lays celebrating Thor's exploits, *brymskviða* and *Hymiskviða*, I confess to a feeling that they, too, are conscious art to a far greater degree than is generally thought to be the case; though a considerable difference in their relative age is to be admitted. Concerning their relation to the new faith, about the same holds true as of those already discussed: from their complete silence about it nothing can be safely inferred.

Neither *Baldrs draumar* nor *Hyndlulíð* will alter our conclusion that in no mythological poem can the mere absence of direct or indirect reference to Christianity be sufficient proof of pre-Christian origin.

And now, to view the problem from another angle: does silence about the new faith necessarily imply unacquaintance with it? By all means the possibility is to be reckoned with that the entirely 'heathen' viewpoint of various lays may be due, not to unadulterated paganism, but to the fact that Christianity was already regarded as a matter of course, a thing no longer debatable; or at least as a condition of affairs which may be reasonably assumed and does not need to be particularly mentioned, in a lay.

Just as we should expect, there is plentiful and significant blending of heathen and Christian elements in the poems of

²⁵ *Loc. cit.* CCCXLV.

the skalds who were contemporary with the great upheaval.²⁶ Thus the talented Hallfrþór vandræðaskáld, the faithful follower of Ólaf Tryggvason, specifically mentions his regret at having to exchange Othin for the White Christ—Othin who yet has given him his gift of song!²⁷ In other skalds, such as Eilífr Goðrúnarson, there is an odd mixture of Christian and pagan elements in the kennings. He and others plainly show the confusion, and at times, mental anguish, attendant on the great change. A century or so later, and the Icelander had no more squeamishness about composing on purely heathen themes than, say, a Christian Esthonian or Finnish runo singer in the nineteenth century about inditing a new song to Väinämöinen.

Specifically, we have to recall, in this connection, the singularly apathetic or tolerant, almost enlightened, attitude of the Icelandic community as a whole with regard to adherence to the 'older manner.' They kept their convictions in fairly separate compartments—much as we do. At one and the same time, clerics penned the *Postola sögur*, the *Martu sögur*, and both clergymen and laymen amused themselves with the *Fornaldarsögur*—some of which reflect or, better, resuscitate, the spirit of the Viking Age with remarkable fidelity; and skalds composed not only spiritual lays like *Harmsól* and *Placitásdrápa*, but also others which, like *Krakumál* and the poems in the *Orvarodd saga* and *Hervarar saga*, vie with the Helgi lays of the Edda in glorifying the slaughterous deeds of sea-kings. If we were wholly dependent on internal evidence we should class some of these as typical productions of the Viking Age. In *Krakumál*, e.g., neither language nor versification nor kennings would prevent assumption of, say, late tenth century origin.²⁸ As Finnur Jónsson himself says concerning the last stanza of that fine lay: "Than the author of these lines, none has expressed more tersely, more clearly, and more truthfully, the essentials of the old heathen conception of life and of

²⁶ Cf. Kahle, *Das Christentum in der altwestnordischen Dichtung*, Ark. f. n. Fil. 1901, p. 3 ff.

²⁷ *Lausavisa* 7. (Finnur Jónsson, *Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning*, B. 158.)

²⁸ The single suspicious kenning *odda messa* = 'the mass, or song, of the swords,' i.e. 'battle' would not militate seriously against comparatively early origin.

death and of the life after death in Valholl with the god of war."²⁹ Would it be safe to infer that, hence, these lays are pre-Christian?

Again, the whole literary activity of men like Ari, Snorri, Saxo, and the many unnamed authors of sagas and Eddica minora, when dealing with subjects of the mythical age shows that they were able to project themselves with remarkable success into the spirit of heathen antiquity. In fact, most of them exhibit a decided lack of interest in Christian lore, but all the more in native myth and ancient history.³⁰ In other words, however slender this movement in extent, in scholarship, in great works, we are bound to class it properly as a Renaissance movement; and its products as, culturally, equivalent to those of the Renaissance proper and of eighteenth century Classicism. Like them it was essentially reminiscent, an upper class movement in ideals and presuppositions.

Granted that Goethe's '*Iphigenie*,' Racine's '*Phèdre*,' Thorvaldsen's '*Jason*' are not true Greek art: Yet are they, considered purely as works of art, fully equal, and probably superior, to many genuine works of antiquity unthinkingly vaunted to the skies. With respect to Old Norse lays we lack, as stated, the certain criteria to distinguish work of the Renaissance period from that of earlier times—lays of the ninth and tenth centuries, handed down by word of mouth, from poems of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries directly committed to parchment. It is not a detraction from any merit they may possess to surmise that a number of Eddic poems belong to the later date: they may be good though not old.

However, I do not wish to be understood to imply that all of the Eddic poems mentioned are late; only, that the nimbus of antiquity must be dispelled from poems that are, supposedly, "pagan in spirit."

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²⁹ *Loc. cit.* II, 152.

³⁰ This was observed by R. Keyser, *Efterladte Skrifter, Nordmandenes Videnskabelighed* etc., I, 531.

VOM OPTATIV DES KINDLICHEN SPIELS

Dieser kleine Aufsatz soll vom „Optativ des kindlichen Spiels“ handeln. Mit gleicher Berechtigung könnte man ihn einen Konjunktiv heissen, selbst wenn man ganz davon absieht, dass ja „der deutsche Konjunktiv formal dem idg. Optativ entspricht und die Funktionen des idg. Konjunktivs mit übernommen“ hat. (Vgl. Paul, Deutsche Grammatik, Halle 1920, Bd. IV, S. 155 f.) Ich habe mich für ‘Optativ’ entschieden, um das Wunschbetonte seiner Funktion in unserem Fall stärker zu unterstreichen, weil oberflächliche Betrachtung leicht darüber hinwegsehen könnte. Und das wäre ein Versehen, das—umso bedauerlicher wäre, als gerade sein Optativcharakter—das Wesentliche dabei ist.

Aus der Literatur kann ich leider kein Beispiel anführen. Der Leser wird ihn aber unschwer erkennen, wenn er irgendwo darauf stossen sollte. Jedem Deutschen ist er ausserdem aus den Spielen seiner Kindheit geläufig. Ich glaube nicht, dass damit zuviel gesagt ist. Andererseits aber vermute ich, dass er dem Deutsch verstehenden—ja selbst sprechenden—Nichtdeutschen geradezu unbekannt ist, es sei denn, dass er den Grund zu seinen Kenntnissen der Sprache als Kind, mit deutschen Kindern spielend, gelegt hat.

Wählen wir ein Beispiel; zuvor aber gestatte man mir, etwas vorzuschicken: Um mich keiner sprachlichen Ungenauigkeit schuldig zu machen, muss ich mich meiner Heimatmundart bedienen, des Frankfurtschen, einer hessischen,—mittelrheinfränkischen—Mundart. Jeder, der die deutschen Sprachverhältnisse kennt, wird das begreiflich finden. Denn er weiss, dass Kinder beim Spielen—ja überhaupt ausserhalb der Schule fast immer—in allen Teilen Deutschlands die ortsübliche Mundart sprechen. Und er weiss ausserdem, dass der Gebrauch der Modi in den einzelnen Mundarten sehr verschieden ist. Besonders bezüglich des Konjunktivs ist dieses Kapitel auch formal recht kompliziert, weil nicht selten die primären Konjunktivformen sekundären Bildungen gewichen sind, vorausgesetzt natürlich, dass primäre jemals bestanden haben. Unter solchen sekundären verstehen wir in Bezug auf

zahlreiche mitteldeutsche Mundarten—das Frankfurterische einschliessend—die Umschreibung des einfachen Konjunktivs des Präteritums mit *ich täte* und *ich würde*. (Vgl. hierzu Behaghel, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache, Strassburg 1916, S. 270, §311.) Behaghel bemerkt, dass „die einfache Form hier nur bei Hilfsverben und einer kleinen Anzahl häufig gebrauchter sonstiger Verba möglich“ ist. Da es sich nun bei *ich täte* oder, wie die Frankfurter Mundart sagt, *ich dät*—*ich würde* kommt hier nicht in Frage—, um einen Konjunktiv handelt, wenn auch um einen umschriebenen, so liegt im Grunde genommen der gleiche Modusgebrauch vor wie in der Schriftsprache oder in solchen Mundarten, in denen vielleicht der einfache Konjunktiv naturgemäss angewendet wird.

Ich komme zu unserem Beispiel: Kinder spielen Eisenbahn. Sie sitzen rittlings hintereinander auf einem gefällten Baumstamm, der den Zug darstellt. Räuber überfallen ihn, und es kommt zu einem Gefecht. Es gibt Tote, Verwundete und Gefangene. Dabei hört man etwa Folgendes: „Also der Baum *wär* jetz die Eisebahn. Da *däde mer* druf fah'n. Un dann *käme* Räuwer, un da *däde mer* druf schiesse. Und dann *wärn* e paar dervo¹ dot un *däde* fortgetraache wer'n. Und dann *müssde* Schandarme komme, un einer *müsst* der Richder seiñ, und der *müsst* die Räuwer zum Dot verurdeile, und dann *müssde se* dotgeschosse wer'n, usw.“

Für die sprachliche Richtigkeit dieser Probe verbürge ich mich als Philologe und ehemaliger Frankfurter Junge, der die Schriftsprache gleichsam als Fremdsprache lernen musste, und der jeden bedauert, dessen stilistischen Bedürfnissen das reiche Schatzhaus einer heimatlichen Mundart von verbildeten Eltern oder Erziehern verriegelt worden ist. Das nebenbei

Betrachten wir unser Beispiel! Ich habe es so eingerichtet, dass es in zwei Hälften zerfällt. Die erste reicht von „Also der Baum“ bis „fortgetraache wer'n,“ die zweite von „Un dann *müssde*“ bis „dotgeschosse wer'n, usw.“

Die Sätze der ersten Hälfte—mit einfachem oder mit *ich dät* umschriebenem Konjunktiv des Präteritums—sehen auf den ersten Blick aus, als seien sie Nachsätze eines Vordersatzes etwa in der Art von „wir nehmen an“ oder „gesetzt.“ Der Konjunktiv wäre dann der Modus der ideellen Möglichkeit,

¹ fi ist als nasaliertes n zu sprechen wie in franz. *un*.

also ein Potentialis. Die Annahme eines solchen Vordersatzes ist zulässig, keineswegs aber notwendig für den Potentialcharakter unsrer Konjunktivsätze. Denn ebensogut können sie auch als selbständige Aeusserungen angesehen werden. Wir dürfen nicht vergessen, dass es sich hier um volkstümliche—also keineswegs literarisch affizierte—Ausdrucksweise handelt, um einen Sprachgebrauch also, der sich wohl von den vergangenen Zeiträumen bis zur Gegenwart nicht wesentlich geändert haben wird. Diese Annahme scheint mir durch die Tatsache gestützt zu werden, dass auch die meisten der heute abhängigen Konjunktivsätze ursprünglich selbständig waren. (Vgl. Paul, a. a. O., S. 157, §376.) Vordersätze wie „wir nehmen an“ oder „gesetzt“ sind als gelehrt und volkstümlicher Redeweise fremd von der Hand zu weisen. Wohl aber pflegten wir Kinder gelegentlich zu sagen: „*Mer wolle jetz emal schbiele, der Baum da wär die Eisebahn.*“ Hier haben wir einen durchaus volkstümlichen Vordersatz, der aber, wie gesagt, keineswegs als gedacht vorausgesetzt werden m u s s, um den folgenden Potentialis zu rechtfertigen.

Ich habe den hier erscheinenden Konjunktiv als den Modus der ideellen Möglichkeit bezeichnet. Besser vielleicht könnte man ihn Modus der ideellen Wirklichkeit nennen. Denn das im Spiel Vorgestellte ist dem Kind eine wesentlichere Wirklichkeit als die durch sinnlich wahrnehmbare Eigenschaften der Erscheinungswelt bestimmte Realität seiner Umgebung, die ihm als Spielzeug dient. Unter dieser Voraussetzung wäre der hier verwendete Konjunktiv an Wirklichkeitswert für den Sprechenden sogar dem Indikativ überlegen. Man schätzt den Ernst, mit dem Kinder spielen, nicht zu hoch ein, wenn man sagt, dass die ideelle Wirklichkeitswelt ihrer Spiele und der in ihr wurzelnde Sprachgebrauch für sie keine geringere Weihe besitzt als die Symbolik der Religion und ihrer Sakramente für den Erwachsenen, der sich seinen Kinder glauben erhalten hat. Könnte man sich nicht beispielsweise den Indikativ in den Einsetzungsworten des Abendmahles „Dies *ist* mein Blut“ oder „Dies *ist* mein Leib“ vertreten denken durch unsren Konjunktiv „Dies *wäre* mein Blut“ und „Dies *wäre* mein Leib“, ohne dadurch der Heiligkeit der Handlung Abbruch zu tun? Katholiken und Lutheraner würden daran natürlich Anstoss nehmen, während die Anhänger der Zwing-

lischen Anschauung genau das ausgesprochen fänden, was sie heilig halten, nämlich das symbolisch Gemeinte des Vorgangs. Man wird an dieser Zusammenstellung eines kirchlichen Sakramentes mit kindlichem Spiel kein Aergernis nehmen, wenn man sich klar macht, dass es für Werturteile keinen absoluten Massstab gibt, da, wie bereits erwähnt, das Kind sein Spiel mindestens ebenso ernst nimmt wie der Erwachsene die Symbolik einer sakralen Handlung. Es hat eben „jeder auf seiner Stufe recht,“ wie Hans Much in einer seiner Schriften sagt.

Wenn ich in der Ueberschrift dieses Aufsatzes vom *Optativ* des kindlichen Spiels spreche, so will ich damit neben dem Konjunktivcharakter des hier angewandten Modus seine Wunschbetontheit unterstreichen. Denn jeder der hier ausgesprochenen Sätze erhält zugleich einen Wunsch, der sich dadurch vor andern seines Geschlechtes auszeichnet, dass, ähnlich wie bei einer Zauberformel, seine Aeusserung gleichbedeutend mit seiner Erfüllung ist. Da sich diese Erfüllung aber nicht im Bereich der dinglichen Wirklichkeit, wohl aber in dem der ideellen—höheren—vollzieht, der der nüchterne „Tatsachensch“ vielleicht noch eben den Charakter des Potentiellen zubilligt—wenn auch mit äusserstem Widerstreben!—, so wird gerade er den Gebrauch des Konjunktivs des *Praeteritums* am Platz finden, weil der des Praesens in der 1. und 3. Person den Imperativ vertritt, also die Form der Aufforderung zum Vollzug einer im Bereich des *T a t s ä c h l i c h e n* liegenden Handlung, wenn auch dieser Gebrauch in der neueren Sprache stark eingeschränkt ist. Das hängt hauptsächlich damit zusammen, dass der Konjunktiv des Praesens mit dessen Indikativ formal weitgehend zusammengefallen ist. (Vgl. Paul, a. a. O., S. 156, § 375.) Gerade wegen dieser formalen Uebereinstimmung ist denn auch frühzeitig eine Umschreibung mit einem Hilfsverb eingetreten. Dieses Hilfsverb ist im Ahd., Mhd. und bis weit in die nhd. Zeit hinein *müssen*, (in der jüngeren Sprache *mögen*). (Vgl. Paul, a. a. O., S. 157.) Belege zu *müssen* (aus Paul, a. a. O.): ‘fon got ër *muazi* habên munt’ (Otfrid an Ludwig 32); ‘mit saelden *müeze* ich hiute ûf stên (Walther 24, 18); ‘eine freche Faust *müsse* euch nie berühren’ (Herder).

Ich habe in der zweiten Hälfte unsres Beispiels den Wunschcharakter stärker hervortreten lassen, indem ich eine Optativumschreibung mit dem Konjunktiv des Praeteritums von

müssen anstelle der nicht so eindeutigen Ausdrucksform der ersten Hälfte eingeführt habe. Denn während bei der Umschreibung mit dem Hilfsverb *tu*n in erster Linie der Abstand von der nackten Tatsächlichkeit—ich vermeide mit Absicht den Ausdruck 'Wirklichkeit'—zum Ausdruck kommt, besitzt das Hilfsverb *müssen* schon an sich Optativcharakter, der, wie wir gesehen haben, den Sätzen der ersten Hälfte unsres Beispiels wohl auch innewohnt, aber mehr zu fühlen ist als er ausgesprochen wird. Auch von *müssen* ist der Konjunktiv des *Praeteritums* genommen. Also auch hier ist die Entrückung aus dem Bereich der Tatsachenwelt in den einer höheren Wirklichkeit zum Ausdruck gebracht durch Vermeidung des Praesens dieses Hilfsverbs, dessen Konjunktiv seinen Imperativcharakter für das Sprachgefühl noch nicht gänzlich eingebüsst hat, wenn er auch nicht mehr geradezu in imperativischem Gebrauch ist.

Ohne dass sich übrigens die Bedeutung im Geringsten ändert, kann man die Umschreibungen mit *tu*n und *müssen* in beiden Hälften des Beispiels beliebig vertauschen. Ich könnte daher—ebensogut sagen: „Also der Baum *müsst* jetzt die Eisenbahn seißen. Da *müsstede mer* druf fah'n. Und dann *müsstede* Räuwer komme usw.,“ und in der zweiten Hälfte: „Und dann *däde* Schandarme komme, un einer *wär* der Richter usw.“

Diese beliebige Vertauschung ohne Aenderung des Sinnes wäre undenkbar, wenn der Konjunktiv des *Praeteritums* beider Hilfsverben nicht die gleiche Vorstellung vermittelte.

Ich möchte schliesslich hier noch zwei Fälle ähnlicher optativer Konjunktive anführen, die mit unserem Fall, wenn auch nicht identisch, so doch nahe verwandt sind.

Paul, a. a. O., S. 159 (Mitte), erwähnt eine Verwendungsart des Konjunktivs „bei Vorschlägen, in denen man angibt, was etwa geschehen könnte, vgl. 'Riemer *käme* etwa den 9. zu Schillers Gedächtnissfeyer. Ihr *brächtet* ihn Sonnabend wieder zurück. Wir *blieben* den Sonntag zusammen, und dann *ging* ich Montag oder Dienstag fort' (Goethe, Briefe 21, 254, 19).“ Auch hier optativer Charakter des Konjunktivs des *Praeteritums* verbunden mit echter Potentialfunktion. Der Unterschied gegen unsern Fall liegt darin, dass die Verwirklichungsmöglichkeit im *Tatsächlichen* vorhanden ist und überdies zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt.

Der andere Fall findet sich in Curme's *Grammar of the German Language*, New York 1922, S. 299, § 169. 1. C. Der Verfasser führt ihn an als Beispiel für 'Unreal subjunctive of purpose' und sagt dazu: "The subjunctive here often loses the element of unreality and is used after the manner of the subjunctive of modest statement to express modestly a wish that may be fulfilled." Sein Beispiel lautet folgendermassen: "Und das hat damals einen so grossen Eindruck auf mich gemacht, dass ich dich bitten möchte, du machtest es auch so und liessest auch zwei Kuppen aufsteigen und auf der zweiten Kuppe *stände* die Kirche von Adamsdorf (Fontanes Poggenpuhls, Kap. XII)." Hier haben wir genau den gleichen Modusgebrauch wie im obigen Goethezitat Pauls. Auch Curmes Definition trifft für unsern Optativ des kindlichen Spiels nicht zu. Die Wunschäusserung unsrer spielenden Knaben ist eher diktatorisch zu nennen als 'modest,' denn die Vorstellung von einer *Nichterfüllung* von Wünschen im Bereich jener höheren Wirklichkeit, in der sich das kindliche Spiel vollzieht, ist eine *contradictio in adiecto*.

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BODMER AND KLOPSTOCK ONCE MORE

Of Bodmer's various epics his *Noah* appears to have been nearest his own heart. Even if there were no other available evidence, his repeated and thoroughgoing revisions of the text would be a good index of his own fond and long-continued interest in the poem. Moreover, it was the epic of his upon which certain of his contemporaries—prominent among them Gemmingen and Lavater—felt moved to bestow their highest praise, a praise which, though obviously sincere, strikes us today, in some cases at any rate, as extravagant. Wieland was another who recorded his high personal admiration for the *Noah*; but his earlier favorable attitude toward the poem he subsequently felt moved to repudiate when he became aware of Bodmer's extensive literary indebtedness. This volteface was also due, in part, to his own inner change or, more accurately perhaps, it is to be regarded as symptomatic of a recovery, a reassertion of his true self; but the altered personal relation which had sprung up between himself and Bodmer was, I suspect, not without its influence in the matter.

When I entered upon the task of ascertaining what borrowed literary material went into this biblical poem, I did not, even distantly, realize the magnitude of the undertaking. But once under way, it was not long before I discovered that I had launched forth upon a piece of work which would make far greater demands upon my time than I had anticipated. Nor, in view of the length of the *Noah* and the number and variety of contributory works involved, is the solution of this particular problem quite so simple a matter as some may suppose. Though my search has not been without gratifying results—I have thus far succeeded in tracing twenty of the author's sources—, I should be the last one to suppose that I have exhausted the subject of the literary indebtedness involved. Rather, I am convinced that in the *Noah* there is embedded still more borrowed material of one kind or another. But even with the results thus far produced by my investigation, I am inclined to think that my literary study has not been devoid either of interest or value, for, assuredly, Bodmer with his varied activities as author, critic, literary investigator, historian, trans-

lator, and patron of literature represents one of the conspicuous personalities of the formative literary period in which he lived.¹ Quite apart from the immediate success of my examination, I trust the fruits of my labor may be regarded, in a modest way, as a contribution to the larger question of literary production, which in the last analysis is usually, if not indeed invariably, to a greater or lesser extent either a psychological process of suggestive and often molding influence, or of direct derivation; not infrequently, of course, a literary work may reveal evidence of both kinds of influence.²

¹ In this connection see the concluding remarks of my article *Bodmer and Milton* in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, volume 17, p. 601. To signalize at least one of a number of Bodmer's specific services, the enthusiastic interest which he evinced for certain works of English literature—besides recommending their authors to Continental readers—prepared the way for Klopstock and Lessing, and thus helped to discredit the pseudo-classicism of the Gottschedian group—an attack which broke the supremacy of French influence upon German literature. At that crucial time, largely under Bodmer's leadership, Switzerland, as F. T. Vischer puts it, was more German than Germany itself ("war deutscher als Deutschland selbst"). For a reference to Bodmer's helpful and stimulating interest in Greek literature see footnote 8.

² In this connection I refer the reader to a quotation from Hamann in my article *Bodmer and Milton* in *J. E. G. P.*, XVII, p. 589; cf. also a passage in my article *A French Source of Bodmer's Noah* in the *Philological Quarterly*, July, 1924, p. 171. The practice, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, on the part of certain authors (e. g., Shakespeare, Dryden and Voltaire) of rewriting literary works of others, either wholly or in part, is merely one phase, but an interesting one, of the subject of literary influence; except for a deliberately parodic effect it is less known in our own day. For a reference to more recent cases of literary indebtedness cf. my article *Bodmer's Indebtedness to Voltaire* in *Modern Philology*, Aug. 1925, p. 87 footnote.

An unusual example of literary borrowing is dealt with by W. K. Fleming in his article "Some Truths about *John Inglesant*." (Cf. the *Quarterly Review*, July 1925.) After reading Mr. Fleming's presentation one suspects that J. H. Shorthouse as the author of the well-known and much praised novel *John Inglesant* was probably the most extensive, painstaking and systematic literary borrower of his time. To quote Fleming's own conclusion, the novel is "packed tight with literary borrowings" and is in fact "a miracle of ingenious dovetailing into its text of a quantity of unacknowledged verbatim quotations from seventeenth-century writers." I can recommend the convincing article to any one interested in the subject of literary indebtedness. See further A. Steiner's *W. H. Prescott and Jakob Wassermann*, *J. E. G. P.*, Oct. 1925. In the matter of literary loans, Goethe, both in theory and practice, maintained a characteristically tolerant and broad-minded attitude. Concerning the question of

Some of the material which I have collected in the course of my examination of the *Noah* I have already published in various articles. In one of these I have shown that in certain respects Bodmer's epic resembles Klopstock's *Messias*.³ That likenesses between the two works should exist is not surprising, since both were conceived and written as biblical epics. Influenced by some of the same literary sources, they were, moreover, produced during the same literary period and in part even under the same roof.⁴ But still other factors were responsible for some of their common features.

Although Klopstock was by nature more inclined to enter willingly, nay, enthusiastically, into the social pleasures of life than was the more retiring, more puritanically-minded Bodmer, still the note of religiosity in their two epics is conspicuous not only because of their somewhat overlapping scriptural themes, but also because at heart both authors cherished kindred religious interests. Bodmer as well as Klopstock at this time favored religious themes in poetry and regarded moral beauty as one of the chief ends to be furthered by a poetic treatment of virtue and loftiness of sentiment. Their purpose, then, was largely, though by no means wholly, moralistic. Thus, as I have stated elsewhere, in a sense not pure but applied poetry was their motto—an ethical conception which is a far remove from the theory "Art for art's sake."⁵ This some-

originality in literature and art the following passage from Tieck's *Sternbalds Wanderungen* (ed. of 1843, p. 109) is apropos: "Das eigentliche Erfinden ist gewiss sehr selten, es ist eine eigene und wunderbare Gabe, etwas bis dahin Unerhörtes hervorzubringen. Was uns erfunden scheint, ist gewöhnlich nur aus älteren schon vorhandenen Dingen zusammengesetzt, und dadurch wird es gewissermassen neu; ja der eigentliche Erfinder setzt seine Geschichte oder sein Gemälde doch auch nur zusammen, indem er teils seine Erfahrungen, teils was ihm dabei eingefallen, oder was er sich erinnert, gelesen, oder gehört hat, in Eins fasst." Cf. also the concluding remarks of my article *Bodmer and Milton* in the *J. E. G. P.*, vol. 17, p. 601.

³ Cf. *Bodmer's Indebtedness to Klopstock* in the Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, March 1926, page 151-160.

⁴ Cf. my article *Bodmer and Milton*.

⁵ *Ibid.* Wackenroder and Tieck had a similar though somewhat more mystical Christian conception of art, a conception which was characteristic also of the typically romantic painters, of whom Overbeck, the leader of the so-called "Nazaries", may be cited as an example. Goethe, with special reference to writers like Wackenroder and Tieck, regarded what he characterized

what utilitarian view, however, was not peculiar to Bodmer and Klopstock; rather, it was to a certain extent characteristic of the time or, as one might say, was then more or less in the air, and doubtless accounted in a measure for some of the high tributes of praise which at the time, as remarked above, were pronounced both upon the *Messias* and the *Noah*. Such epochal coloring of criticism is a proof, if such be needed, that the critic is quite as subject to contemporary influences, is, in other words, quite as truly a child of his time as is the poet or other type of creative artist. Nor is this at all surprising. As Alfred Kerr rightly remarks in his *Das neue Drama*, criticism is not a science but an art; to quote his own words: "Kritik ist eine Kunst, keine Wissenschaft. . . . Sie wird umso grösser sein, jemehr sie Kunst ist."⁵

Other resemblances between the two epics in question are due to the fact that Bodmer, as I have shown in another article, borrowed freely from Klopstock;⁶ as an important source of the *Noah* the *Messias* both as to substance and form was thus bound to leave its imprint upon certain distinctive features of Bodmer's epic.

Despite their similarities, however, the two works present also striking and important differences. These differences, in my opinion, certain European scholars have failed to bring into fitting relief as compared with certain general likenesses which they have been at pains to emphasize. Such a procedure has led them to conclusions which in some cases are not only

as "die neukatholische Sentimentalität . . . das klosterbrudrisierende, sternbaldisierende Unwesen" as a serious menace to art. (Cf. the Weimar ed., vol. 48, p. 122). It was to the onslaught of the liberal group known as Young Germany that decadent German romanticism finally succumbed. Some of Nietzsche's bitterest polemics, I might remind the reader, were provoked by what he regarded as Romanistic tendencies in some of Richard Wagner's later works—an ascetically and meekly Christian note which to the champion and glorifier of the superman was so profoundly antipathetic as to cause him to renounce and assail his former friend. Here it may be pertinent to recall that aestheticism permeated with the spirit of religion we find again in Ruskin, to whom, indeed, the identity of art and religion appears to have been virtually axiomatic.

⁵ It is interesting to note that in this matter Friedrich Schlegel entertained a wholly different view. Cf. his *Jugendschr.* II 353 where he says: "Die Kritik [ist] zur Wissenschaft geworden."

⁶ Cf. my *Bodmer's Indebtedness to Klopstock*.

inaccurate and misleading but even, I fear, positively erroneous. At the outset one may say, such differences as exist are, naturally enough, largely the result of the personalities, poetic theories and literary abilities of the two authors, for, both as men and as writers, Bodmer and Klopstock present, after all, certain distinctive individual qualities. Some of their irreconcilable *personal* characteristics soon came to the surface during their meeting at Bodmer's home in Zurich—a meeting which because of such incompatibilities was destined to prove mutually disappointing.

Although both authors were indebted in a literary way to the works of others, Bodmer's lesser measure and inferior order of poetic ability led him to borrow more extensively and, one is justified in maintaining, more slavishly, than did Klopstock. Moreover, the *Noah* was indebted to certain literary works of which the *Messias* reveals no traces whatever. In so far, then, as the two authors differed in poetic talent, borrowed from different sources, and deliberately sought to imitate different models, one would even *a priori* have assumed that their respective epics would differ one from the other, as indeed they do. And even in those cases where Bodmer and Klopstock put under contribution the very same literary work, they frequently borrowed from a common source widely different material, as was only natural in view both of their individual preferences and their specific needs. All these factors, then, helped to account for the distinctive and, in some respects, widely dissimilar qualities of the two biblical epics.

Having previously discussed some of their resemblances, I deem it desirable from a scholarly point of view to deal also with some of the more notable features which differentiate the *Noah* from the *Messias*. This, therefore, I propose to do in the present article. Incidentally I may remark that Goethe somewhere, if I am not mistaken, touches upon the value of deliberately noting and defining dissimilarities between things and phenomena as compared with the frequently more spontaneous process of observing similarities.

Bodmer's intimate acquaintance with Milton's *Paradise Lost* is amply attested not only in his *Noah* but also in several others of his works. Moreover, it was to his lasting credit that he expressed a profound appreciation for Milton's masterpiece

at a time when the English poet had not yet, on the Continent, come into his own. In his *Noah*—to repeat a previous statement of mine—I have succeeded in tracing in every single one of his twelve cantos the unmistakable influence of Milton, the poet who was to him a veritable cult, as is shown by abundant evidence in a number of his writings. In the course of my examination of the *Noah* the impression has more than once been borne in upon me—to my surprise, I confess—that Bodmer was not only deliberately borrowing from his revered Milton, but was actually attempting to do what Boileau called “lutter contre son original.” At other times, however, I realized that when he was not imitating Homer, Milton or Young, he was vying rather with Klopstock whom, for a time at least, he hoped, and was even pleased to think, he might surpass. Though Klopstock, too, was influenced by Milton, it is nevertheless true that the *Messias* reveals fewer Miltonian features than does Bodmer’s *Noah*. Here then, we have at once a characteristic and important difference between the two poems.

Both Baechtold and Muncker give the impression that Bodmer’s infernal spirits are indebted exclusively to the corresponding figures in the *Messias*. They are in error; of this my own investigation has convinced me. I have before me sufficient material to show, as I hope to do on another occasion, that there is discernible also an undeniable influence of the satanic spirits in *Paradise Lost*.⁷

Some of the influences of Milton, Young, Thomson, Dryden, Newton, Whiston, Voltaire, Dante, and others upon Bodmer I have previously discussed. In a subsequent article I intend to point out also some of Bodmer’s indebtedness to Homer. Here, as bearing upon my present purpose, I wish merely to say that in his *Noah* Bodmer is more given to “Homerizing” than is Klopstock in his *Messias*. This is due in part to his poetic theory, but also to another fact, namely, his careful study and profound appreciation of Homer.⁸

⁷ In various matters concerning Bodmer I have elsewhere felt constrained to take issue with a number of European and American scholars.

⁸ Bodmer not only read his Homer with appreciation, but in 1755 he published his *Proben aus der Odysee* in *Fragmente der erzählenden Dichtart* (by Bodmer and Wieland). Cf. the Goedeke *Grundriss* (1907) 3rd ed., IV, p. 13. This was followed in 1767 by his *Die ersten sechs Gesänge der Ilias* which appeared in the *Calliope*. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 14. His unflinching admiration for Homer is further attested by the fact that as late as 1778 he published his *Homers Werke*. *Aus*

In a letter to his friend Zellweger Bodmer once wrote that he intended "die Kritik einiger Kunstrichter auf die Probe zu stellen, ob dieselben ein Werk anerkennen würden, das in Miltons und Homers Geist gedichtet sei, ohne deren Namen an der Spitze zu tragen;" the work which he had in mind was his *Noah*. This letter is cited by Baechtold in his *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in der Schweiz*.⁹ Despite this and other pertinent evidence, however, he puts himself on record as believing "Die Form [i.e., of the *Noah*] war zunächst der *Messiade* nachgebildet; . . . Milton diente, auch nur äusserlich in Einzelheiten, wie in der Erzählung des Sündenfalls und in Gestaltung der Engel als Vorbild."¹⁰ Besides the mass of direct, detailed evidence which I have succeeded in collecting, and which, as already stated, I hope later to publish to show the error of the position both of Baechtold and Muncker, I shall take this opportunity to remark that in his letter Bodmer, expressly states that he would not have his *Noah* compared with the *Messias* but rather with the *Odyssey*, for the reason that the *Noah* is human—like much of *Paradise Lost*, I may add—while the *Messias* is divine. Here Bodmer put his finger, as it were, upon one of the important and, in fact, essential differences between his own *Noah* and Klopstock's *Messias*.

Again I am constrained to take issue with Baechtold when he asserts, "Noah war inzwischen von einem (Klopstock entronnenen) Engel durch die Erde geführt worden, die Greuel der Menschen zu sehen."¹¹ This statement and others of his, as well as certain conclusions of Muncker¹² and Gustav Jenny,¹³ I hope to deal with in a future article.

Also in regard to other points Muncker's position seems to me untenable. He fails, for example, to provide for the influence exerted upon the spirit of Continental authors of the

dem Griechischen metrisch übersetzt. This translation it was which Herder, with some qualification, pronounced "einen Nachgesang Homers." It is interesting to note that, as Goedeke points out, this Bodmerian version of Homer was used by Schiller. As a translator both of Homer and Milton it was perhaps only natural that Bodmer should acquire a more intimate acquaintance with their works than did Klopstock.

⁹ Cf. p. 599.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 603.

¹¹ Cf. his *Gesch. d. deutschen Lit. in der Schweiz*, p. 604.

¹² In his *Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock*, 2nd edition 1900.

¹³ In his *Miltons Verlorenes Paradies in d. deutsch. Lit. des 18. Jahrhunderts*.

time by such men as Richardson and Young,¹⁴ when he makes the unqualified assertion that Bodmer's "pathetische Reden, rührende Empfindungen und fromme Betrachtungen" were altogether due to the influence of the *Messias*.¹⁵ Furthermore he fails, in my opinion, to take account of the pietistic and puritanic cast of mind prevalent in the Switzerland or, at any rate, the Zurich, of Bodmer's day. But I feel compelled to take issue with Muncker on still other points.

Continuing his comparison of the *Noah* and the *Messias*, he says, "Hier wie dort lag ein biblischer Stoff, wunderbar im einzelnen und als Ganzes, zu Grunde."¹⁶ But that is true, indeed preeminently true, of *Paradise Lost*, the epic which had enthralled Bodmer a quarter of a century before the *Messias* saw the light of day and which, so far as the available evidence indicates, seems never to have lost its fascination for him. To repeat here what I have stated elsewhere: the direct literary influence of *Paradise Lost* upon the *Noah*, as my somewhat careful examination has convinced me, was, both as to content, spirit and form, nothing short of amazing;¹⁶ in other words, it was greater and more varied than upon the *Messias*.

"Hier wie dort," to quote Muncker again, "waren Teufel und Engel in geschäftige Bewegung gesetzt."¹⁷ But what, I ask, is more strikingly characteristic of Milton's epic than that? And when Muncker further declares, "Ja, der 'Noah' zeichnete sich vielleicht noch darin vor dem 'Messias' aus, dass er ein anschauliches Gemälde entwarf von den einfältigen Sitten einer patriarchalischen Urzeit, die in den Tagen, da der Heiland auf Erden wandelte, längst verschwunden war,"¹⁸ I must retort at once that it is precisely this Bodmerian distinction, this marked deviation from the Klopstockian manner which constitutes a direct and important indebtedness to *Paradise Lost*.

Obviously Bodmer found the more conventional, one may say more orthodox, epic style and temper of Milton distinctly

¹⁴ Young's *Night Thoughts* represents one of the important sources of the *Noah*. Cf. my article *Bodmer and Young* in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, April 1925, pp. 211-18.

¹⁵ Cf. his *Friederich Gottlieb Klopstock*, 2nd ed., p. 164.

¹⁶ Cf. my article *Bodmer and Milton*.

¹⁷ Cf. his *Klopstock*, p. 164.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 164.

more congenial to his own nature than he did the pronounced lyric strain of Klopstock. At this point it will perhaps not be amiss to recall that one of the most characteristic of Klopstock's qualities, as revealed in the *Messias*, is his habit of unrealizing, or in other words, etherealizing his subject matter; as Schiller's famous dictum has it, "Klopstock zieht allem, was er behandelt, den Körper aus, um es zu Geist zu machen." Indeed, in the *Messias* a characteristic preoccupation with ineffable emotions and spiritual ecstasies, in other words, a more or less sustained unepic supersensuousness is preeminently Klopstock's besetting sin.¹⁹ Nor, judging by Bodmer's own epic performance, had this pronounced Klopstockian peculiarity escaped his critical faculty: rather, one is forced to conclude, in the *Noah* he actually betrays a studied effort to avoid the realm of the all-too-ethereal. In this matter, then, of distinctive tendencies, to be regarded of course as the result of their respective poetic individualities, we see the two authors parting company, Bodmer, as was to be expected, by preference adhering more closely to the manner of Milton—and Homer, I may add—, at any rate so far as in him lay; and in doing so, he remained true to that degree to his own avowed theory that the sensuous element is one of the chief charms of poetry.

To consider several external matters—which nevertheless in the question before us must be admitted to have their weight as contributory evidence—it is fitting to point out that not only in the length of his epic, but also with respect to its division into twelve cantos, as against Klopstock's twenty, Bodmer imitates Milton and not Klopstock. Moreover, to touch also upon a matter of diction, in his deliberate and frequently even bold, use of foreign words and phrases Bodmer distinctly resembles Milton, while Klopstock's marked Teutonizing tendency was responsible for his painfully scrupulous avoidance of foreign elements; throughout the unusually long *Messias* one meets with surprisingly few foreign terms, which is by no means true of the much shorter *Noah*. In other words, here

¹⁹ That the numerous Klopstockian passages in question are by no means devoid of a certain poetic impressiveness I willingly grant, though I confess I cannot appraise them as highly as Herder apparently does. I say apparently, for his critical remarks in the matter strike one as curiously and disappointingly non-committal. Cf. Fragmente II.

Bodmer's manner is diametrically opposed to that of Klopstock and, in a measure at least, found its encouragement in the example set by his idolized Milton in *Paradise Lost*; indeed, it seems fitting to add in this connection, considerable of Bodmer's terminology and phraseology was derived directly from Milton. As bearing upon my subject, I must not neglect to point out also that Klopstock's more successful hexameters likewise serve, as a matter of literary technique, to differentiate the *Messias* from the *Noah*. This, however, is not to be taken as implying that Klopstock's hexameters are always above criticism, for they are not. Finally, in the *Messias* Klopstock's superior poetic sense secures him against certain disturbing incongruities and banalities which, unfortunately, Bodmer—particularly in the earlier editions of his *Noah*—does not always avoid.

To Muncker's statement that Bodmer rated Klopstock "hoch über alle andern Dichter,"²⁰ I have already had occasion to refer in a previous article²¹ where, I am confident, I have definitely disposed of his error, for such it unquestionably is. Here I feel moved to remark that certain of Muncker's pronouncements appear to me not only untenable but, in view of his well-merited reputation for serious, authoritative scholarship, rather astonishing.

While Klopstock's pietism leads him to adhere more closely both to the spirit, the fable and the language of the bible, Bodmer's romantic predilection for the unusual, the adventurous, the marvelous, can be satisfied only by the unhampered eclecticism of a widely roaming reader, who is at the same time a conspicuously imitative writer.²² Here again Klopstock and Bodmer stand far apart.

A fondness for the idyllic is present both in the *Noah* and the *Messias*, but Klopstock's lesser share of that quality is offset by his pietistic fervor and his more pronounced and more consistently sustained biblical pathos.²³ Moreover, distinctly

²⁰ Cf. his *Klopstock*, p. 165.

²¹ Cf. my *Bodmer and Milton* where I quote Bodmer to the effect that in his judgment *Paradise Lost* is the supreme epic of modern times.

²² In this connection see my article *Bodmer as a Literary Borrower* in the *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. I, pp. 110-16, where I take issue with Cholevius, Hirzel and Baechtold.

²³ The idyllic notes of the *Noah* frequently betray an unmistakable influence of *Paradise Lost*.

Klopstockian, though not Bodmerian, are the apostrophe to religion²⁴ and the almost oratorio-like solemnity of appeal in certain passages of the *Messias*.

Thus the two epics, despite their resemblances, reveal not only far-reaching but also essential, deep-rooted differences both of matter and manner—differences as to sphere of action, type of episodes, degree of epic realism, poetic diction, literary texture, and, finally, the nature and extent of the two authors' respective literary indebtedness.

Considered merely from the circumstances of their genesis as to time, place, general theme and poetic purpose, one might have expected the *Noah* and the *Messias* to show a greater family likeness, as it were, than as a matter of fact they do. Quite apart from the specific subjects and the personal styles of the two authors, the difference in the features of the two epics is great, very great, in fact, as my investigation has convinced me, but not in the sense, as I trust I have made clear, that Bodmer's *Noah* is merely a "weak imitation of the *Messias*"²⁵; such a characterization is, to say the least, seriously misleading because unjustified by the facts of the case. With my garnered evidence before me I feel amply prepared to substantiate my dissenting view.

In attempting, by way of summary, to account for the distinctive, individual features of the two epics under consideration, three factors are deserving of special mention, though of course there are others. First, the *Messias* had not even been begun when Bodmer sketched the original plan of his *Noah*; second, the literary personalities and the theories of poetry of the two authors show certain distinctive well-marked differences; third, in the matter of literary indebtedness, both as to kind and extent, Bodmer and Klopstock reveal surprising divergences. From our present-day point of view Suphan's critical estimate of the *Messias* is not so very wide of the mark when he pronounces Klopstock's epic to be a series of "sermons in hexameters."²⁶ I for my part, however, should hesitate to

²⁴ Cf. the *Messias*, IV, 450 ff.

²⁵ Cf. the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. I have met with the same categorical statement elsewhere.

²⁶ Cf. his *Friedrichs des Grossen Schrift über die deutsche Literatur* where on p. 12 he uses the term "hexametrische Predigten" with reference to the *Messias*. Such a summary criticism of course fails utterly to do justice to the passages of impressive beauty which the poem most assuredly contains.

grant its equal applicability to the *Noah*, a work whose moralistic fable, unlike the *Messias*, is interspersed with various episodic material of novel and marvelous nature, nay, at times even of the gruesome type. For such epic themes and incidents, most of which were derived from other authors, Bodmer had an avowed fondness; in this respect he approaches more closely the manner of Homer, Dante and Milton than of his own more lyrical contemporary, Klopstock.²⁷

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²⁷ It is obvious that I can not subscribe unreservedly to Ermatinger's conclusion: "In der Auffassung der Welt und der Dichtung blieben sie (viz., Bodmer and Klopstock) eins." Cf. his *Wieland und die Schweiz*, p. 15.

REVIEWS

POEM ON THE ASSUMPTION, Edited by J. P. Strachey;
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at the University Press, 1924. Pp. xxviii, 66.) (Cambridge
Anglo-Norman Texts. General Editor: O. H. Prior.)

This is the first of what, it may be hoped, will be many volumes, of a new series of "Cambridge Anglo-Norman Texts," brought out under the auspices of the Cambridge Anglo-Norman Society, conducted under the general editorship of Professor O. H. Prior, and published by the Cambridge University Press. As the initial volume of the series, it contains a preface by the general editor, in which the position of Anglo-Norman among Old-French dialects is defined as a purely artificial language forced upon an alien Germanic population for political purposes by William the Conqueror. And, if such was the cause of its introduction, the vast body of Anglo-Norman literature of what may be called a purely technical character, which has survived, works on geography, history, saints' lives, written for didactic purposes, in the course of three centuries by members of the clergy, clerks and others, shows the influence of the English language in its phonology, accent, vocabulary and syntax. Two characteristics, indicated already by the author in an article in the *Romania* in 1923, as calling for further study, are those linguistic forms which point to the influence of various English dialects upon Anglo-Norman phonology and spelling, and the newly developed system of versification, according to which only the stressed vowels, and not all the syllables of a verse, were taken into account. The study of the first phenomenon furnishes indications, which will serve as a guide to the various English localities in which the different Anglo-Norman works were written; observation of the latter phenomenon will establish the fact that Anglo-Norman verse compositions were not written regardless of metrical rules, as has been assumed by those scholars of Old-French, who have judged them by the norm of Continental verse compositions. A detailed comparative study of the language of the three poems, published in this volume, by the same author, affords a criterium, by which one may date them, relatively, if not absolutely.

According to this test, the earliest, and by far the most interesting of the three poems, is the translation of two chapters of Book II of the *Visions* of St. Elizabeth of Schöngau (d. 1164), devoted to the assumption of the Virgin, edited by Professor

J. P. Strachey. Dr. M. R. James in his description of the manuscript containing it (Pembroke College, Cambridge, 112), has noted that it came perhaps from the monastic library of Bury St. Edmunds,¹ or again, from that of Reading. The translation of this particular episode of the *Visions* would have appealed to a member of the Benedictine order for two reasons. St. Elizabeth was first a nun, and later the prioress of the Benedictine convent of Schöngau. The English Benedictine foundations, and precisely those of Reading and Bury, had shown their particular devotion to the Virgin Mary by introducing and propagating in the first half of the twelfth century, that new accretion to Catholic belief and liturgy, the cult of her Immaculate Conception (E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, 1918, 242-9; E. Vacandard, *Études de critiques et d'histoire religieuse*, III, 1912, 229-241), and a new account of her assumption, a cult established in the Occident, since the end of the seventh century (Vacandard, *op. cit.*, 110-114) would have been welcomed by them. The editor of the poem has noted (p. 14) that it was based on the version of the group of manuscripts, which contains only the vision of the assumption. It was noted in that form in the catalogue of the Benedictine Priory of St. Martin at Dover, drawn up in 1389 (M. R. James. *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, 1903, 456, No. 139): "Visio elizabet de assumcione," where the *Incipit* is also noted: "Visio reuelata domine," and in the fourteenth century catalogue of the library of the Benedictine abbey of Peterborough (S. Gunton, *A History of the Church of Peterburgh*, 1686, 211, B xii), where the item: "Narratio de Assumptione S. Marie," is followed by that of: "Visio Elizabeth de Assumptione ejusdem." A manuscript, of what it would seem is the complete *Visions* of St. Elizabeth, is noted in the Peterborough catalogue (Gunton, *op. cit.*, 221, E xiv): "Vita cujusdam Virginis nomine Elizabeth quae [sic] stigmata Jesu Christi recentia, & manifesta in corpore ejus apparauerunt" (cf. *A. SS*, 3d. ed., Junii IV, 512, "et vulnera passionis suae quasi recenti cruore madentia), with the briefer title: "Visiones Elizabeth," in the catalogue of Glastonbury Abbey, compiled 1348-9 (John. Glaston., *Chronica*, ed., T, Hearne, 1726, 435). One can not find an assured mention of the French translation of the episode in the catalogues of the English monastic libraries, but the "Assumptio Sanctae Mariae, in Gallice," one of the books presented by one of its monks, Thomas de Overy, in the fourteenth century (*Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, ed., W. D. Macray 'Rolls Ser.') 1886, lxxv, for date of gift xl-xli), and the "Rithmus quidam de assumptione beate virginis in gallice"

¹ In Dr. James's latest contribution to the history of this library, "Bury St. Edmunds Manuscripts," *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, XLI, 1926, 255, 258, 259, he fails to suggest this possibility as to the source of the Pembroke manuscript.

noted in the catalogue of the Augustinian Friars at York. c. 1400 (James, in *Fasciculus Joanni Willis Clark dictatus*, 1909, 80; for date. 5-6), may well have been it. A twelfth century fabrication of the Abbey of Ramsey attributed the institution of the feast of the Conception of the Virgin to Helsinus, abbot of Ramsey in the preceding century (Bishop, *op. cit.*, 238-9 : 249 : Vacandard, *op. cit.*, 230-1). This work was the source of the Norman poet, Wace's poem on the feast of the Conception, which was often followed in manuscripts by one of the two redactions of the same author's poem on the Assumption (P. Meyer, *Romania*, XVI, 523-4; *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXXIII, 365), as was the case with a manuscript in the Peterborough library (Gunton, *op. cit.*, 220, Q xiv): "Conceptio S. Mariae Mariae cum Assumptione ejusdem Gallice." But the latter poem is sometimes found independently (Meyer, *Rom.*, XV, 54; XXV; 554), and the entries in the medieval catalogues, noted above, may have been of this work, or of the more widely copied poem on the same subject by Herman de Valenciennes (A. Långfors, *Les Incipit des poèmes français antérieurs au XVIIe siècle*, I, 1917, 377), if it is not necessary to consider still another poem, attributed to Gautier de Coincy (Långfors, *op. cit.*, 341; for other later versions, *Ib.*, 44, 86, 409). But the chances are that the French poem, found in two English libraries, was the Anglo-Norman version of St. Elizabeth's *Vision*, which has in fact survived in a manuscript from some English monastic library.

The only other indication of an English interest in the nun of Schöngau, is the appearance of her name among the additions in the calendar in Richard Whytford's *The Martiloge in Englyssh after the Use of the chirch of Salisbury and as it is redde in Syon with addicyons*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1526, ed., F. Proctor and E. S. Dewick (Henry Bradshaw Society, III) 1893, 95. One might assume that the members of the only English Brigettine foundation would naturally be interested in a visionary like their own patron saint, even if one fails to find mention of her visions in the early sixteenth century catalogue of the Syon library, which contained not only several copies of the *Revelations* of St. Bridget in the Latin original, but also copies of those of St. Matilda, both in Latin, and in an English version, printed in 1520 (?), of those of St. Catherine of Sienna, and of the English version of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1493 (ed., M. Bateson, 1898, 107-9; 115 : 102, 107, 113; 149; 222). And one also fails to find noted in the catalogue the English translations of the *Life of St. Briget*, and the *Revelations* of St. Catherine, made for the community (*Ib.*, xiii-xiv).

Professor H. J. Chaytor, the editor of the short "Poem on the Day of Judgement," found in an early thirteenth century

manuscript (St. John's College, 111), has pointed out the source of the latter part of this poem in an earlier Anglo-Norman poem. He also notes that a passage where St. Bernard is cited, is a translation of a passage in the "*Meditationes devotissimae ad humanae conditionis cognitionem*, caput III, p. 1052 H. in the folio edition of 1620." It is unfortunate that he did not consult the edition of this work in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (CLXXXIV, 485-494), where he would have been informed that it is wrongly attributed to St. Bernard (Cf. P. L. CLXXVII, 165-6; B. Hauréau, *Les oeuvres de Hugues de S. Victor*, 1886, 183), and he would have realized that his further reference to another passage of the same writer, as the possible source of another theme of other lines of the poem, was uncalled for. It is evident that the section of the tractate, *Meditationes*, which contains the "Ubi sunt" formula, was found as a separate piece in *collectanea* such as the *Flores Bernardi*, a fact which explains its appearance in this Anglo-Norman poem, and in a Middle-English prose translation—where the original is attributed to St. Augustine—serving as an introduction to some verses on the same theme (C. Horstman, *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole and his Followers* 1896, II, 374-5). These verses are a translation of a Latin poem also wrongly attributed to St. Bernard (T. Wright, *The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, 1841, 147-8; cf. Hauréau, *Des poèmes attribués à Saint Bernard*, 1890, 26-8), while both the prose piece and the poem furnished suggestions for the elaboration of the theme in the Middle-English poem, which has been entitled *The Sayings of St. Bernard* (Cf. *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, ed., F. J. Furnivall, 511-522, 761-3; J. E. Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, 1916, 389, 824; *First Supplement*, 1919, 977, 1017).

Finally, the third poem, *Divisiones Mundi*, written in the rarely used six-syllable metre, is largely based, as has been shown by the citation by the editor Professor Prior, of parallel passages, almost necessary for the understanding of the text, on the *De philosophia mundi*, and the *De imagine mundi*, of the author known as Honorius Augustodunensis. It is one more item to be added to the list of geographical and ethnological compilations commencing with Solinus, the sources of medieval scientific conceptions (F. Pfister, *Berl. philol. Wochenschrift*, 1912, 1131-3), and to the history of *Mirabilia* in England (M. Förster, "Zur altenglischen Mirabilien," *Herrigs Archiv*, CXVII, 1906, 367-70). Since Dr. James in his description of the manuscript containing this poem, has pointed out that in the light of the other documents included, the manuscript evidently was in the library of the Hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem at Waterford, Ireland, where they had three foundations (C. L. Falkiner, "The Hospitals of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland," *Proc.*

Roy. Ir. Acad., XXXVI, C, 1906-7, 285, 314), and since there was a "Corbaile" in the county of Waterford (*Ib.* 291), it is not necessary to go far afield in an attempt to identify the birth-place of place of Perot de Garbelai, the author of the poem, with some one of the 616 townlands of that name, or its equivalent, "Corbally," existing in medieval Ireland (E. Hogan, *Onomasticon Goidelicum*, 1910, 297). Further, it is to be noted that "Perotes," which is not a common Irish name, until the sixteenth century, and then probably of recently introduced English settlers, is found as a family name in an Irish document as early as 1371 (H. J. Lawlor, "A Calendar of the Register of Archbishop Sweteman," *Pr. R. Ir. Acad.*, XXIX, C, 1911, 236). And is it merely by chance that among the few Hiberno-French authors (M. Espositio, "Notes on Mediaeval Hiberno-Latin and Hiberno-French Literature," *Hermathena*, XVI, 1910-11, 69-71; "Further Notes etc.," *Ib.*, 331-3), the most important, the late thirteenth century Dominican Jofroi de Waterford, was the translator of the pseudo-scientific work, the Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum*, as well as of Eutropius and of Dares? It is true, that written as they were in continental French, due to the unexplained cooperation of Serval Copale, these translations of Jofroi do not offer the same linguistic interests as the translation of Perot. The latter, as Professor Prior points out, is written, as is another work, which he proposes to publish, in an Anglo-Norman dialect, "which contains distinctive features of the South, and even more strictly speaking of the South-West of England."

To conclude this somewhat extensive review of these editions of three poems, one can express gratitude for the publication of the first volume of a series of Anglo-Norman texts, valuable both for its scholarly qualities, and for the suggestions that it carries of further work to be done in the fuller elucidation of its contents.

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A CRITICAL EDITION OF FORD'S PERKIN WARBECK.

By Mildred Clara Struble, Ph.D. University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature, Vol. 3, January 1926. Seattle: University of Washington Press. Pp. 214.

"In this edition of *Perkin Warbeck*," the Preface declares, "I aim to present a comprehensive list of annotations for the first modern reprinting of the original quarto, and to give in the Introduction enough background material for a critical consideration of the play." Attention is thus drawn to the distinction of this text as a modern reprint of the original quarto. The author of this dissertation recently contributed to *Anglia*

a brief but important article, showing that Ford's source for this play was not solely Bacon's *History of Henry the Seventh*, but also Gainsford's *True and Wonderful History of Perkin Warbeck* (1618), and that the two narratives had been carefully picked over for details of the composite whole. This argument Dr. Struble amplifies in the Introduction.

The work differs from another American edition of the *Perkin Warbeck*, likewise published in 1926, in Professor F. E. Schelling's anthology of *Typical Elizabethan Plays*. Schelling gives a very brief introductory note, evidently written before Miss Struble's source study was printed, a few footnotes, mainly textual, and a modernized text. Dr. Struble, on the other hand, has an introduction of thirty-two pages, notes covering fifty-one pages, an appendix reprinting Gainsford's history of Warbeck in fifty closely printed pages, four pages of bibliography, and a single-page glossary. The text of the play, intended as a literal reprint of the 1634 quarto, is based on the Huth copy of that quarto, now in the Huntington Library, California, checked in some cases with the Yale University quarto of the same date. One should expect to find this edition, then, much more satisfactory to scholars than is the less ambitious text of Schelling.

The hope is unfulfilled. Material collected in this volume is compendious, but the editor presents it in ill-digested form and with singular neglect of accuracy and clearness. One notices these facts in the table of contents, which omits all mention of the Glossary to be found on page 160, and fails to indicate the nature of the fifty-page appendix. Other shortcomings need specific and somewhat detailed consideration, with due credit for whatever excellence the work may possess.

More carefully composed than other portions of the book is the Introduction, discussing Ford's life and works, the value of the play, and its relation to its sources and to the political doctrine of the divine right of kings. Under the last topic the editor sets forth persuasively the thesis that much of *Perkin Warbeck* is merely a lawyer's protest against the favorite governmental theory of the Stuart dynasty. Consistently throughout the work Dr. Struble views the play rather as an historical document than as a piece of literature. The strongest claim that this edition can make as a contribution to knowledge is in its exposition of Tudor and Stuart history and of contemporary allusions. In detail, however, the Introduction is wanting in coherence and in finish of style. Misprints are much too numerous.

Such faults are more pronounced in the Notes and in the Appendix. The Notes are too frequently quoted or compiled from previous editions of the play, or from the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The reprinting in the Appendix of Gainsford's entire history may be justified for source study, but no

page heading sets forth the title of the work, and diligent search has failed to discover what text of Gainsford is here reprinted. The only text mentioned in the Bibliography is that of the *Harleian Miscellany*, without reference to date, volume, or pages. If the *Harleian Miscellany* text of 1810, Volume XI, was used, the entire system of capitalization and italics has been changed. In any case, however, the page references to Gainsford, so frequent in the Notes, are wholly confusing. The numbers given are not those of the reprint in this volume, nor is the pagination consistent with that of the 1810 *Harleian Miscellany*. As for typographical errors, they again abound; on page 134, for instance, we have "Phillorir" for "Pillorie," "friar" for "fairs," and "Hallie" for "Halle."

Yet many of these editorial lapses might be passed over with less misgiving if the text of the drama were satisfactory. Be it remembered that modern reprints of the play were easy to obtain even before Professor Schelling used it for his anthology; Dr. Struble names seven editions appearing in the past century. But this one is "the first modern reprinting of the original quarto," and seems to offer something to the scholar who is estopped from travel to the Huntington Library or the library of the Elizabethan Society at Yale for sight of the quarto. Faithful reproduction of the printed word is all that is demanded.

Does, then, the editor possess a clear eye and a strong conscience? This question must be answered in the negative. It so happens that still another copy of the 1634 quarto is in the Wrenn Library of the University of Texas. A close comparison of almost any page in the two texts will make clear the careless printing of the new edition. For example, take the title-page. That of the quarto is reproduced in fac simile in Schelling's edition. Comparing either the original or this reproduction with that given in the book under review, one notes that Dr. Struble prints the words "Perkin Warbeck" in bold lower case letters instead of capitals, that an unauthorized space appears between the words "Strange" and "Truth" on the next line, and, what is more important, that "some-times" on the line below is enclosed in square brackets rather than in parentheses. Then the act headings of this new edition are phenomenally inconsistent in the printing. Act I has the heading, "Actus primus, Scaena prima," all in roman; but the next head runs, "*Actus Secundus: Scaena prima*," all in italics. The third reads, "ACTUS TERTIUS: SCAENA PRIMA," all in capitals; the fourth, "ACTUS QUARTUS: Scaena prima," half capitals, half lower case roman; the last act, "ACTUS QUINTUS: *Scaena prima*," half capitals, half lower case italics. Just one of these heads, the second, faithfully reproduces the quarto; all act headings in the original are con-

sistently italicized, with only the initials in capitals. But this confusion of capitals and lower case letters, italics and roman, is repeated on practically every page. One instance will suffice: page 47, which carries the opening lines of the drama. The act heading, as already mentioned, is in roman, instead of italics; the first stage direction is in roman, instead of italics; the speakers' names in lines 1 and 14 are in roman, instead of italics; lines 21, 22, and 23 begin with lower case initials in place of the capitals of the quarto; and in line 24, the words "Mercie" and "Iustice" are in roman, instead of italics.

Such errors may be more readily overlooked than these misspellings, found on the same page and those following:

- Page 47, l. 5: For "ordained," read "ordaind."
 l. 12: For "thoroughly," read "throughly."
 l. 13: For "glorius," read "glorious."
 Page 48, l. 39: For "blesseed," read "blessed."
 l. 43: For "fersh," read "fresh."
 l. 71: For "fill'd," read "filld."
 Page 53, l. 244: For "whose," read "whoes."
 l. 248: For "vnmarried," read "vnmarried."
 l. 282: For "Iubilee," read "Iubile."
 l. 283: For "Deliell," read "Daliell."

Similar errors are found numerously throughout the text. Even more serious *errata* are those given below, where wrong words are used, or the sense is changed.

Page 41, Dedication, l. 14: For "l op.," read "Lop.," undoubtedly an abbreviation for "Lordship," just as "Lops.," about ten lines lower on the same page, stands for "Lordship's."

Page 46, Dramatis Personae: Between "Surrey" and "Vrswicke" insert "Bishop of *Durham*," the second speaker in the play.

Page 47, l. 26: For "and," read "in."

Page 49, l. 80: For "Amongst vnthankfull beasts," read "Amongst vnthankfull men. *Daw*: Vnthankfull beasts." The effect of the omission is to change the sense completely, and also to add more than a half-line to the King's speech by subtracting it from Dawbney's.

Page 52, l. 230: For "How now?," read "How how?"

Page 60, S. D.: For "*Noblemens Lightly*," read "*Noblemen slightly*."

Page 72, l. 45: For "hew's," read "hew'd." Compare the corresponding Note, page 136: "'hew's' given as 'hew'd' in later versions." Certainly, and also in the earlier version.

Page 72, l. 50: For "Slewe," read "flewe."

Page 74, l. 162: For "wronge," read "wrongs."

Page 75, l. 203: For "of the Revells," read "of Revells."

Page 83, l. 23: For "quiltless," read "guiltless."

Page 97, l. 46: For "worse," read "worst."

l. 53: For "neere," read "neerer."

Page 109, Epilogue, l. 6: For "conjure," read "censure."

This list of errors is by no means exhaustive. So many were discovered on other pages that one suspects that the text is utterly untrustworthy from beginning to end. The seriousness of the case lies in the rarity of the quarto that is supposed to be followed. Because of its rarity these mistakes can be checked by comparatively few critics, and they are likely to deceive the very elect. But the errors of judgment shown in other parts of the work indicate that the editor, however successful an investigator in other respects, was not qualified for the task of editing a rare sixteenth century text. Few young doctors of philosophy are. It is to be regretted that an institution of good standing in America should by accepting this dissertation and then publishing it twice set the seal of approval on such careless work.

ROBERT ADGER LAW

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THE DEATH OF CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE. By J. Leslie Hotson. London: The Nonesuch Press; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925. Pp. 76.

SHAKSPERE'S DEBT TO MONTAIGNE. By George Coffin Taylor. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925. Pp. vi+66.

It is a worthy achievement for a university press to bring out in a single year two such monographs. Before 1925 Elizabethan scholars may well have believed that the door was closed to further knowledge of the circumstances attending Marlowe's death, and likewise that the last word had been said concerning Montaigne's influence on Shakespeare. Without undue crying of his wares each of these two writers proves such doctrines erroneous. Each first sets forth clearly results attained by previous investigators of his particular problem, outlines his own cause, produces his evidence, and rests the case with the jury. That men engaged in research should be so governed by common sense and orderly procedure is refreshing.

Dr. Hotson relates modestly but with unquestionable zest the full story of his hunt. By chance meeting the name of Ingram Frizer while engaged on another quest in the British Public Record Office, he immediately suspected that here he had the name of Marlowe's slayer, who had been variously denominated as Archer, Fraser, and Ingram. Baffled in one attempt after another to follow the trail thus uncovered, he finally guessed aright that Frizer was pardoned for the homicide by Queen Elizabeth, and that the official record of the pardon-

ing still existed. This record he finally discovered, together with a full record of the coroner's investigation that preceded. The coroner, William Danby, found that Marlowe had been slain in self-defence by Frizer at the home or inn of the widow Eleanor Bull at Deptford Strand on May 30, 1593. With Frizer, Nicholas Skeres, and Robert Poley, Marlowe seems to have been drinking in this house most of the day. The witnesses testified that in a quarrel over payment of the score, Marlowe leaped from a bed on which he was lying, attacked Frizer from behind with Frizer's own dagger, and wounded him twice on the head. Unable to escape between his two companions, Frizer, according to the witnesses, seized the dagger from Marlowe, and gave him a wound three inches deep over the right eye, from which Marlowe instantly died. On this representation Frizer received his pardon June 28, less than a month from the day of the homicide.

This official record sets at rest numerous legends as to Marlowe's dying with curses on his lips, and as to his death from supernatural punishment. Not satisfied with laying these ghosts, Dr. Hotson traces the subsequent careers of all of the three named companions of Marlowe. The record of each is so unsavory that Professor Manly terms them two swindlers and a government spy. On the basis of still another document Dr. Hotson concludes that Marlowe on the eve of graduating from Cambridge was sent abroad on a delicate diplomatic mission.

Little room is left for controversy over any of this evidence. Practically all the facts are established now by documentary proof except on one important point: Did the witnesses at the coroner's inquest speak the truth? Hotson thinks that they did, though he does not argue the point at length. Since the monograph was published, however, three such different authorities as William Poel, George Greenwood, and John M. Manly have publicly expressed extreme skepticism of the witnesses' story on the ground of its improbability. Professor Manly goes further in his suspicion that the o'er-hasty pardoning may have had some connection with the summoning of Marlowe to trial with Kyd shortly before May, 1593.

While freely acknowledging the value and the general excellence of Dr. Hotson's monograph, may one quarrel with him on a small matter of taste? An enthusiastic investigator is sorely tempted to depreciate the work of his forebears, and while Hotson generally resists this temptation, in recounting the mistakes of others, he occasionally exercises little charity. Particularly severe is he in reference to the late John H. Ingram for "his profound ignorance of a very plain Elizabethan hand," and his "reprehensible faculty for invention." Just at this sentence in his book the insertion of an erratum slip calls

attention to the fact that Hotson's printer by mislabeling the reproduction of a manuscript, has done his best to perpetuate all the errors of Ingram. Some sticklers for the observance among scholars of the rules of ancient courtesy will see in this lapse of the proof-reading eye a rare case of poetic justice.

Professor Taylor, in the second monograph under review, deals, not with a question of historic fact, but with the far more subtle problem of influences, where truth is never literally demonstrable. Several scholars of reputation, notably J. M. Robertson and Miss Norton, have said that Shakespeare owes to Florio's translation of Montaigne's essays a considerable debt. But the extent of this influence had never been clearly defined, and the vast majority of Shakespeare critics were willing to acknowledge it only in the case of one long passage from *The Tempest*. To set forth evidence for extensive influence, and then, so far as can be done, to define the effect of this influence, are the two objects of Dr. Taylor's endeavors.

The very nature of the problem forces the author to rely chiefly on the time-worn method of argument by parallel passages. Dangers of this device Professor Taylor frankly recognizes, and he uses it with sanity and discretion. Instead of one passage echoing Montaigne he cites more than a hundred, and the vast majority of these, in the opinion of the present reviewer, carry conviction. All these passages he tabulates with reference to the Shakespearian plays in which they occur. In every play written by Shakespeare after 1603, when presumably Shakespeare first made full acquaintance with Florio's work, he finds echoes, but, with the exception of *The Tempest*, they are most frequent in the plays nearest in composition to 1603. To these citations, which cover seventeen closely printed pages in the text and about five more in an appendix, Taylor adds a list of approximately seven hundred and fifty words and phrases from the Florio Montaigne used also by Shakespeare but never in any play antedating 1603. On this basis he rests his case. Briefly and cautiously he discusses the nature of Montaigne's influence on the English dramatist. This, he inclines to think, lies largely in the phrasing rather than the thought, though he admits the use by Shakespeare of "certain isolated ideas and of certain phases of his conception of the natural world and of man." That Shakespeare became in any sense a disciple of Montaigne Professor Taylor does not believe.

The prevailing good sense of Taylor's attitude in this discussion is very persuasive. He easily gains the respect of the reader, and then by the sheer bulk of his evidence proves his thesis to most of us beyond a peradventure. The critic who will read his evidence patiently and still deny the truth of the debt must want discourse of reason.

Still some portions of the evidence submitted are not in themselves convincing. For instance, the single phrase, "goatish disposition" is not necessarily an echo of Montaigne's "apish disposition." A similar statement might be made as to many of the parallels that Taylor himself discounts by relegating them to an appendix. Then the list of words and phrases common to both authors is rather too long. Surely Shakespeare knew the noun "fasting" in the Bible, where it occurs so frequently, and the word "flay" in a famous stage direction of the old *Cambises*, the play which he ridicules in *Henry the Fourth*, about 1598. So "auricular" must have suggested "auricular confession," a phrase bandied about commonly in the anti-papal controversies of Shakespeare's youth, and appearing, for example, in Arthur Brooke's preface to his poem of *Romeus and Juliet* that Shakespeare used certainly as early as 1595. "Powdered beef" must have been in common speech by 1590; it is found in the old play of *Leir* (played in 1594), as is also the phrase "honorable mind," the possible progenitor of Shakespeare's "honest mind," if we are to seek for another progenitor than Montaigne's "honest-minded." Montaigne's phrase "his hour was come," is not so likely to have suggested "My hour is almost come," in the theologically phrased speech of Hamlet's Ghost, as is the biblical statement of John ii. 4: "My hour is not yet come." Nor is Montaigne's mention of "mumps and mows" so apt to have suggested the "mopping and mowing" of Flibbertigibbet, "who since possesses chamber-maids and waiting-women," as is Harsnet's account of three chamber-maids, containing the words "grinne, mow, and mop like an ape," for Shakespeare certainly knew Harsnet. All this is to say that Dr. Taylor weakens his argument by pushing it slightly too far. These seem all to have been fairly common Elizabethan phrases, and it is the uncommon phrase used by both Shakespeare and Montaigne that really counts. Hence subtracting all the doubtful examples will add to the force of Taylor's contention. "The remenant of the tale is long ynough."

Again it should be stressed that both these monographs are worthy contributions to American scholarship, brief as they are and unostentatiously set forth. In their directness of attack, their thoroughness in treating small but important problems, their sense of balance, the two authors have proved themselves true disciples of that master to whose unselfish co-operation with successive generations of graduate students so much that has come out of Harvard University is due.

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THE COMPARISON OF INEQUALITY. The Semantics and Syntax of the Comparative Particle in English. By George William Small. Distributed by the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. Printed: Greifswald, Abel, 1924.

There is no plethora in English of such syntactic investigations as Dr. Small has made in this Hopkins dissertation. Our understanding of the nature of a familiar construction is greatly illuminated by exploring its origins as far back as the available linguistic material allows and revealing its associations with constructions in other Indo-Germanic languages. The study of the means used for expressing the comparison of inequality involves the examination of etymological, semantic and psychological factors, and the various problems are handled by Dr. Small with judgment and intelligence.

One of the questions involved in this study is whether the expression of comparison by means of a particle or clause is historically earlier or later than its expression by means of a case—ablative, genitive, or dative. Both constructions are so old that there is no evidence on which to settle the claims of priority. Dr. Small believes that the clause-construction is older and that the use of a case-form represents an abbreviation. His reason for this view is that the clause is more widely applicable, but his argument does not preclude an independent and parallel growth of the two methods of expression.

A second question of fundamental interest is the original force of the particles introducing clauses of comparison, in order to reveal the psychological notions that lie at the root of the construction. The two ideas that are inherent in comparison are temporal sequence and opposition. Dr. Small not only establishes the original temporal meaning of *than* (which is apparent enough from its kinship with the demonstrative adverb *then*) but also discovers a number of early Old English examples in which *þonne* has a clearly adversative force. This adversative character in the particle of comparison is confirmed by analogous uses of other particles in English and Indo-Germanic. The manner in which the meaning of the particle shifted from its original demonstrative quality till it became a mere symbol of comparison is suggested by a series of examples assembled in an appendix. Another appendix brings the results of the present study to bear on the general question of how the hypotactic or subordinating construction develops from a more primitive parataxis.

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NORSK RIKSMÅLS-ORDBOK, for Rettskrivning og Ordbøining, av Torgeir Krogsrud og Didrik Arup Seip. Steenske Forlag, Kristiania, 1924. 223 pp.

Within its scope, Krogsrud and Seip, *Norsk Riksmåls-Ordbok* excellently fulfills its purpose. Its limitations are clearly suggested by the subtitle "for rettskrivning og ordbøining." The book aims to give an adequate guide both to spelling and to inflectional forms for those wishing to or those forced to adopt the orthography officially established by the law of 1917. To one who has a ready knowledge of the language, as for example school children or students in Norway, or educated people in official or business positions, the book will be of exceedingly great value. For those who have not such knowledge, the volume can be used only as a supplement to other dictionaries. Pronunciation is not indicated (not even accent), and for guidance here one must turn to Ivar Alnæs, *Norsk Uttale Ordbok*.¹ And finally for definitions and etymologies one must resort to still other works. It would in the long run, even for the Norwegians, be an economy to combine at least some of these features; and for us of the English speaking world, it would be a blessing to get a volume containing them all to serve as a supplement to the now out-of-date dictionary of Brynildsen.

It is, however, not fair to criticize the compilers for not accomplishing what they did not set out to do. The volume contains a remarkable amount of information in proportion to its size. By means of a well worked out scheme of symbols and abbreviations everything necessary for the accurate writing of the language is given. All double forms and variants resulting from the present tendency toward amalgamation of the old riksmål and the spoken language are indicated. The range of the vocabulary is great—the exact number of words is not stated, but roughly estimated I judge there are not far short of fifty-thousand including compounds and derivatives.² Not only have the editors included a great many specifically Norwegian words gradually being adopted in the written language, but they have given adequate attention to the common cultural terms borrowed from other languages, even to the inclusion of many now rarely used except by the most conservative. To the former class belong words like *andvegesbenk*, *beine v.*, *bjart*, *bustein*, *burot*, *børje*, *dannekvinne*, *danneman*, *dugurdsøkk*, *hjon*, *lyd* (=folk) etc. etc.

¹ The first edition published in 1910 contained only about 14,000 words, and is now out of date. A new edition just published is said to have about 25,000.

² Prof. Flom estimates about 29,000, *Scand. Studies and Notes*, vol. VIII, p. 88.

A goodly number of proper nouns (historical and geographical) is also included. The choice seems arbitrary; and the treatment of them is more radical than of the bulk of the words. That such forms as *Færøiene*, *Glomma*, *Mjøsa*, *Dramselva* are included is necessary, for the regulations of 1917 favor them; but that they should be the only ones included seems unreasonable so long as a majority of the educated people say *Færøene*, *Glommen*, *Mjøsen* etc. Other names that are unstable have not been listed. Shall we write *Sandvika* or *Sandviken*; shall we write *Bestum* or *Bestun*, etc.? And why should we suddenly begin to speak of *Magnus Berrføtt*?

In inflectional and grammatical information the volume is just as complete as in the matter of words. Included are all doublets in forms resulting from cross-currents of the written and spoken language. Allowed and preferred forms are indicated. The editors here conform with the authorized rules of the Department of Church and Education and cannot therefore be criticized for apparently illogical handling of the question. At times, however, when the regulations allow a certain latitude, it seems that more discreet use of it might have been made. Thus in the handling of the plural of words in *-er*, the editors cite the plural in *-e* as preferable but *-er* as allowed in almost every case. In the rules for composition by the same authors,³ a note is added, "I dagligtalen brukes flertallsform på *-er* ogsaa i ord som *skipperer*, *jegerer*, *kjellerer*, *skytterer* m.pl., og *-er* er ikke forbudt i disse og andre lignende ord." That the form is not forbidden does not force one to shape an "allowed form" for words where it seems certain that even the most colloquial usage has never employed it. The ponderosity of forms like *afrikanerer*, *allegorikerer*, *dobbelgjengerer* etc. is such that one should not encourage their use. Again the rules seem arbitrarily applied in the following: *alter* plur. unchanged (the still common plur. *altre* is ignored); the plur. of *gds* is given as *gjess* and *gjesser* (I wonder whether any educated person ever used the latter); *gran* fem. with allowed common gender (why not common with allowed feminine? This, however, agrees with the approved lists of the government).

In conformity with the present tendency toward phonetic spelling, foreign words are normalized "if in common use." Again the qualification permits inconsistencies. Why should *byrå*, *depesje*, *fasong* etc. be Norwegianized, but *baisse* (used every day in the business world) retain its French form?

The scheme of abbreviations is one that makes proof-reading a particularly difficult task; it has been handled effectively so that few errors have crept in. I have discovered the following: p. 3, *analog* adj. -l c. (should be -i c.); p. 19, *sikade* se *cikade* (should be *cikade* se *sikade*; under 's' the word is not listed);

³ Krogsrud og Seip, *Rettskrivningsreglar*, 5te utgave, Kristiania, 1922.

p. 35, *fiilet(e)* (should be *fillet(e)*); p. 38, *fokeer* (should be *fokéer*); p. 73, *jobb c. -e c.* (should be *-e v.*).

This dictionary does, however, supply a real need and will prove useful in schools and colleges in this country as well as in Norway. To the philologist it reveals the whole tendency of linguistic development in Norway during the last decades; and to him who wishes to adopt the recent orthography and thus be up-to-date, it is indispensable.

HENNING LARSEN

NOKKRAR SÖGULEGAR ATHUGANIR UM HELZTU HLJÓÐBREYTINGAR O. FL. Í ÍSLENZKU. Eftir Jóhannes L. L. Jóhannsson. Reykjavik, 1924. Pp. 152.

The author of these 'Historical Observations on Mainly Sound-Changes etc., in Icelandic,' emphasizes throughout the Middle Icelandic period, which he delimits 1300-1600. Such a treatise on Icelandic phonology with the attention directed especially to that great transition period will surely be exceedingly welcome to students of Old Icelandic at this time, for it has been rather neglected hitherto. But I am glad to be able to say that we are about to be supplied with some needed tools also here, editions of the texts and special studies, from workers in the field in Copenhagen and Reykjavik. More of that later. Also to set 1300 up as the dividing line between the Old and the Middle period, and 1600 as the line between the latter and Modern Icelandic seems to me much better than such dates as 1350 or 1400, or 1550, when important changes had not been completed and other important ones had not begun (see also the author, p. 135).

There is first a brief chapter on fundamental changes of Old Icelandic, pp. 1-6. Then follow discussions of such matters as 'gj and kj for g and k,' 'vowels before ng and nk,' 'u- for ó-,', 'z for k and ð for t', 'ö for e and e for ö,' the writing of ll for rl, gð and fð, ll before d and t, and a number of other orthographic-phonological problems. He has searched the charters industriously, and he often gives long citations of examples, with the earliest and later dates, so that we have the facts before us. And when he turns from the writing to the sound and the steps of the sound-change he is, I believe, nearly always right. There is a good discussion of OIc. *é*, Modn. Ic. *je*, pp. 11-19. Why should OIc. *mér* and *lét*, have developed a *j* before the *é* (after such consonants as *m* and *l*), so that from *lét* we jump at once to *ljét*? It seems an unnatural development; the *j* remains unexplained. With Jóhannsson, the change was the opening of the last half of the formerly closed *é* (so that it ends in a vanish). The *é* became *é^o*, then this became the long diphthong *ie*, the change beginning ca. 1340. The author finds such a form as

liet first for 1341. I would like to suggest here that even the initial stage of the change might have been represented by *ie*, as the writing *ee*, *ee*, could hardly have been employed. Hence the earliest occurrences of the writing *liet* does not necessarily show that the new diphthong is there full-fledged.

It is interesting to note that many of the changes discussed are first evidenced in the north of Iceland. That part of the country is a kind of center of innovations; in some cases it is the west of Iceland. Some changes are paralleled by similar things in Western Norway, where they had set in some thirty years before. There is apparently a definite connection here. In some cases a new feature is especially characteristic of certain texts (and locality?), as in the XIVth century *ir*, *ur*, *it*, *ut*, for *ið*, *uð*, in the 2nd pers. pl., of verbs. But this (introduced from Norway, where it was common) did not find general acceptance. It will surprise most that the author finds the form *rn* for *nn* (*Sveirn*) for as early a date as 1332. Hence the *ðdn* for *rn* (as *hoddn* for *horn*) of Icelandic and West Norwegian¹ to-day goes back to the XIVth century.

I will finally call attention especially to the author's observations on the writing of *s* in Old and Middle Icelandic. It requires merely the observation of the assonances *fljóðs: grjóði*, and *branz: handa*, and *barz: jarðar*, to see that *s* is not *ts* in all such cases, but is here *ts*, *ds*, and *ðs*.

GEORGE T. FLOM

1. *SHELLEY IN GERMANY*. By Solomon Liptzin. [Columbia University Germanic Studies]. New York, Columbia University Press, 1924. VII and 97 pages.
2. *THE WEAVERS IN GERMAN LITERATURE*. By Solomon Liptzin. [Hesperia, Schriften zur germanischen Philologie, herausgegeben von Hermann Collitz, Nr. 16]. With two illustrations. Goettingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1926. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press. 108 pages.

It seems strange that the first of Liptzin's studies should have found more response on the other side of the ocean than it did here. I know only of a few short newspaper reviews. But his treatise deserves more attention, furnishing, as it does, a much greater amount of new material than we are accustomed to find in doctoral theses. Liptzin adds a number of important facts to our knowledge concerning the influences of English literature upon Germany. Price, in his elaborate study on *English-German Literary influences* (*Univ. of Calif. Public. in Modern Philology*, vol. 9, pp. 1-116, Berkeley, 1919-1920), mentions Shelley only four times. Liptzin, on the other hand, discusses the influences of the English poet upon German literature in 93 pages. He brings

¹ And some parts of central Norway, as Valdres.

forth numerous instances in which Shelley is mentioned or criticised by German poets; he also gives an almost complete bibliography of translations of single poems and of greater works. The possible direct influences of Shelley's works upon German writers, Liptzin has traced with great care.

He divides his thesis into four periods. "In the first period from 1814 to 1834 Byron was the idol of poets and salons; Shelley was either unknown or disregarded". The second period from 1834 to 1848 was the period of "Young Germany" and of the Political Poets. "Writers in this generation looked upon Byron and Shelley as comrades who had died in the vanguard fighting the same forces which they themselves were opposing". Here I miss a reference to Friedrich Engels who in his youth became deeply interested in Shelley and even planned to translate the English poet; he had begun already to render "Queen Mab". (See: Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels, I.*, Berlin 1920, pp. 34, 49, 50, 142). A poem "Ein Abend" which Engels published in Gutzkow's *Telegraph fuer Deutschland* in 1840, under the pseudonym of Friedrich Oswald, shows the influence of Shelley whose words "To-morrow comes!" are used as a motto. (See: Friedrich Engels, *Schriften der Fruehzeit*, ed. by Gustav Mayer, Berlin 1920, p. 127). Liptzin should also have gone through the files of the newspaper *Das Ausland*. In the *Blaetter zur Kunde der Literatur des Auslandes* which, since 1836, formed a section of this periodical, I have found three anonymous articles on Shelley. (I: 2. Jahrg. 1837, p. 269 ff. II: 3. Jahrg. 1838, p. 13 ff. III: *ibid.*, p. 441 ff). The articles contain a number of extracts from Shelley's works. Aside from these extracts, the *Blaetter* published a number of translations which space forbids me to mention under their original headings. (Comp: Jahrg. 2, pp. 13, 52, 105, 126, 141, 252. Jahrg. 3, pp. 66, 329. Jahrg. 5, pp. 212, 274, 275, 293.). In Jahrg. 3, 1838, p. 139, we find fragments of a story by "Mrs. M. W. Shelley" under the title "Frankenstein, oder der moderne Prometheus". All these translations tend further to emphasize Liptzin's assertion of a "Shelley vogue in the eighteen-forties". The same trend is shown in a note in the *Magazin fuer die Literatur des Auslandes* also overlooked by the author; here (in vol. 17, 1840, p. 4) fragments of a Faust-translation by Shelley are mentioned with the following conclusion: "Haette er das Ganze bearbeitet, so wuerde unstreitig jede spaetere Uebersetzung unnoetig gewesen seyn, denn gleich ihm waere doch kein anderer dem Genius des Originalen so verwandt gewesen".

In the third, realistic period, from 1850 to 1880, "Shelley, the dreamer of Messianic dreams, was rejected as naive and unworldly. The fourth period from 1880 to the present has shown a revival of interest in Shelley in Germany, a revival, however, that has been limited almost entirely to scholars". In

this connection Heyse should have been mentioned. The hero of his *Merlin* (Berlin, 1892) takes Shelley's *Beatrice Cenci* along when he moves to the country to live in conformity to his poetic ideals (Vol. I, p. 183). Rosamunde, the heroine of Georg's first drama, is said to have acted "ähnlich wie Shelley's Beatrice Cenci" (Vol. 2, p. 123). Both quotations, however, show only a superficial interest in the English poet; Heyse was not influenced by him very deeply. Among those interested in Shelley, Nietzsche should not have been omitted. To be sure, in his *Schopenhauer als Erzieher* (1874. Taschenausgabe. Vol. 2, p. 228), he calls Shelley "einen ungewöhnlichen Menschen". But in *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* (1885-86. T. A. Vol. 8, p. 212) he exclaims "wie fremd klingt die Sprache jener Rousseau, Schillers Shelley, Byron an unser Ohr" and in *Der Wille zur Macht* (1884-88. T. A. Vol. 10, p. 200), Nietzsche counts Shelley's pessimism among the "Verfalls- und Erkrankungs-Phänomene". These notes betray a lively interest in Shelley.

All those additions, however, are of minor importance and only add to the great value of Liptzin's efforts. His results are chiefly negative. But this fact in itself is interesting enough, and any future work on English-German literary relations will have to discuss the underlying reasons. One should not expect that Shelley's almost German attitude towards life aroused only temporary interest in Germany. As a possible reason Liptzin suggests the difficulties of Shelley's style which are considerable even for English readers and certainly presented an unusual problem to German readers as well as translators.

The other of Liptzin's studies shows more positive results. Though this treatise on *The Weavers in German Literature* also brings in many new facts, the stress is laid upon the discussion of them; the greater maturity of the author is apparent even in the choice of the subject. Liptzin destroys definitely the legend of a literary revolution in the eighties, by showing that the proletarians played an important rôle in German literature since 1840. Perhaps he could have made more clear the fact that all the literature discussed by him aroused an interest only in small circles. This holds true at least as far as socialistic literature is concerned. But it can also be stated of the other works dealing with the proletarians. Few of them were reprinted; many formed part of almanacs and periodicals. We must, therefore, consider this whole literature as an undercurrent that came into daylight only with Hauptmann's *Weavers*. For the overwhelming majority of the German reading-public, Gutzkow, Spielhagen, and Raabe were the authors dealing most thoroughly with the problems of the new age of industrialism. This remark, however, by no means alters Liptzin's statement that the weaver material revealed first the antitheses in modern industry and society. We may safely call

the weavers the literary forerunners of the proletariat. To have recognized them as such is the most valuable contribution which Liptzin's book has made to the literary history of the nineteenth century. Perhaps it would have come out more clearly if Liptzin had inserted a few paragraphs on works of literature and art dealing with other representatives of the proletariat, such as Griepenkerl's drama *Auf der hohen Rast* (1860) which brings miners upon the stage, or as Johann Peter Hasenclever's (1810-1853) painting "Die Arbeiter vor dem Magistrat" (in possession of the Westfaelischer Kunstverein at Muenster).

It should be mentioned here that Liptzin's studies have completely changed our view of social lyrics in the nineteenth century. This one may conclude from the chapter on Chamisso just published in the *Philological Quarterly* (Vol. 5., p. 235-241) which is to form part of a more elaborate study referred to as "The German Social Lyric" on page 105 of the Weaver treatise.

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NOTE

In Beihefte 8 and 9 of *Die Neuere Sprachen* (Marburg, 1925) Everhard Moosmann writes for "Primaner," or advanced pupils, two "Vorlesungen" in English concerning Shakespeare's *Henry the Fourth, Part I* and *Macbeth*, respectively. These studies are informal expositions of the contents of the two plays rather than translations, and the students are advised to use them along with parallel texts of the plays in English and German. However, most of Shakespeare's lines are actually paraphrased in simple modern English. Considering the difficulty of presenting this material to young Germans, the task is surprisingly well done, so as to bring out, on the one hand, the humorous thrusts in dialogue between Falstaff and Prince Hal, and on the other, the bold fancies of Macbeth's soliloquies. One keenly sensitive to English idioms naturally finds a few slips, as the tense in "a bloody battle which was just fought," the frequent use of "mind" for "remember," and an unintentional exemplifying of Falstaff's obscenity. Coming to larger matters, the present reviewer conceives of Falstaff as less cowardly and Macbeth as more human than Moosmann seems to picture them. Yet, as a whole, the exposition of what Shakespeare wrote is both faithful and clear.

ROBERT ADGER LAW

MILTON'S USE OF BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS

Much has been said, largely in a secondary and incidental way, of Milton's use of Scripture. Statements concerning his Biblical usage have ranged from the most commonplace generalities to such a subtly erudite remark as that made a century ago by Sumner in the Preface to his English translation of the *Christian Doctrine*. There have been, however, no systematic attempts to arrange our knowledge of Milton's use of the Bible, and little or nothing has been added to that knowledge for at least a century.

It is partly to remedy this lack of definite and systematic accounts of Milton's Biblical usage, and partly to point out some new facts in connection with it that the present paper is intended. I propose to ask and if possible to answer the following specific questions in connection with his Biblical usage, including citation and quotation:

1. What, if any, were his peculiarities of citation and quotation?
2. What versions, other than English, did he use, and which did he regard most highly as evidenced by that use?
3. What form of the Bible does his quotation indicate as that which he regarded as of ultimate authority?
4. To what English version did he usually refer?

A large amount of labor is involved in securing adequate bases on which to answer these questions, for one soon discovers that Milton's usage and practice with Biblical quotation varies considerably. In order to obtain valid generalities concerning his practice, a virtually complete examination of his Biblical quotations in the prose works must be accomplished, and especially must there be included a consideration of the quotations in the posthumous *de doctrina Christiana*. My results herein set forth are based upon collation with his authorities of all quotations, by chapter and verse, which appear in the standard prose works: *Of Reformation in England*; *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*; *The Reason of Church Government*; *Animadversions Upon the Remonstrant's Defense*; *An Apology for Smectymnuus*; *Of Education*; *Areopagitica*; *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*; *The Judgment of Martin Bucer Concerning Divorce*;

Tetrachordon; Colasterion; The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates; Eikonoclastes; A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes; The Likeliest Means to Remove Hirelings; The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth; Of True Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration, all in English; and *Defensio pro populo Anglicano* and *Defensio Secunda* in Latin. To this list should also be added the Latin *de doctrina Christiana*. Needless to say, the prose works which are not included in this list, either contain no chapter and verse Biblical quotations or so few that they are negligible. All of the quotations which occur in the above listed works have been collated with a Biblical text, except those in the *de doctrina*. For this work, I have in all actually collated about twenty-five hundred of the five to ten thousand direct Biblical quotations which appear therein, and of these twenty-five hundred collations, from a thousand to fifteen hundred appear as consecutive quotations in the first seven chapters of the work. The remaining thousand or fifteen hundred which I have compared with a Biblical reading are scattered throughout the remainder of the work, a liberal though not a consecutive number of them occurring after the fourteenth chapter of the first division of the work, or after Skinner's hand had become exhausted and the handwriting of Jeremy Picard remains. For purposes of collation, I have used Sumner's admirable edition of the Latin, which, whenever desirable, I have most fortunately been able to compare with the photostatic copy belonging to Columbia University of the original manuscript in the Public Records office, in this way securing a certainty of procedure which would have been impossible from any printed edition.

For the remainder of the prose, I have used Mitford's text, except for *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, for which I have used a photostatic copy of the Yale first edition, and an original second edition copy belonging to the Library of the University of Michigan.

Certain striking peculiarities of Milton's employment of Scripture become apparent whenever he quotes Biblical passages to any great extent. Always artful in the adaptation of written material to his reading public, perhaps he was never more so than in the way in which he fitted Biblical passages into his various prose writings. When he was writing for and addressing

himself to the general reader, he seemed always to avoid precise citation and actual chapter and verse reference, as when in the *Of Reformation in England* he gives no precise references at all, but only general ones such as in the following passage:

which indeed is fleshly pride, preferring a foolish sacrifice and the rudiments of the world, as Saint Paul to the Colossians explaineth,

In the second chapter of *The Reason of Church Government* occur other such generalized references which are without specific chapter and verse citation, although it is apparent that they are almost exact quotations. This particular practice is observable almost everywhere in Milton's prose, but more noticeably in the prose written with an eye for the general reader; and its opposite, specific citation with accompanying quotation, is equally noticeable in the more technical works, reaching its fitting climax in the highly specialized treatise, *de doctrina Christiana*, where practically every reference to the Bible is given by chapter and verse with actual quotation.

Another equally apparent peculiarity of his Biblical usage was Milton's continual adaptation of the particular quotation employed, to fit the sentence in which he wished to use it. Examples of this adaptation are found in the English *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, as the following passage indicates:

and hath this absolute charge given it, Deut. xxv, to blot out the memory of sin, the Amalekite, from under heaven, not to forget it.

The Biblical passage he was here quoting reads:

thou shalt blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven; thou shalt not forget it.

This passage is peculiar in two respects, the first being the necessary change from the direct imperative of the second person singular to the infinitive form for syntactical purposes within the sentence into which the quotation has been worked; and the second being the amplification of the proper name "Amalek" into the phrase "the sin." The first of these peculiarities only is of importance here, constituting as it does a good illustration of Milton's common practice in his prose of adapting a quotation to a peculiarly Miltonic setting.

There is one other peculiarity of his usage of quotation which should be mentioned, and that is the way in which he

tended to clip Biblical passages in order to make them briefer and more pointed as he employed them. He did this in both English and Latin, and it is therefore a peculiarity of his use of quotation in general rather than one entirely pertaining to his style. A good instance of this is found in the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, in his employment of a quotation from 2 Cor. 6:14, where the reading of the Authorized Version is:

Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers

Milton shortens this to read:

Misyoke not together with infidels

The same kind of procedure may be noted in the Latin *Pro populo* again, when his italicized quotation from Psalms 149:8, 9 reads

vinculis coërcerent inque eos jus scriptum exercerent

His genuine original here was:

ad vincendum reges eorum catenis, et honoratos eorum compedibus ferreis;
Ad exercendum in eos ius scriptum, quod decus est—

Another even more striking “clipping” of an easily established original occurs later in the same Latin work, when in referring to 1 Chron. 29:11,12, Milton quotes as follows:

tua sunt omnia in caelo et in terra, tuum est, Jehova, regnum, divitiae et gloria a facie tua sunt, vis et potentia.

His original for this passage reads:

Tua est, o Iehova, magnitudo, et potentia, et gloria, et aeternitas, ac maiestas, imo omnia in caelo et in terra: tuum est Iehova regnum, ut qui te extollis supra omnia in caput. Nam divitiae et gloria a facie tua sunt, et tu dominium habes in omnia, et in manu tua vis et potentia.

In this passage the process is obvious enough: he was taking what he needed or wanted and letting the remainder go. The posthumous *de doctrina Christiana* likewise contains many such clipped quotations. There are in fact so many of them strewn throughout both his English and Latin prose that it seems unnecessary to cite more of them.

It very early becomes apparent to anyone following Milton's use of Biblical quotation that he was by no means confined to a limited number of sources for that quotation. I have discussed

elsewhere his linguistic equipment in connection with the entire question of his capacity for study of the Scriptures.¹ To capitulate briefly, he was equipped to read the Bible in Latin, in Greek, and in Hebrew, including the Targumim or Aramaic paraphrases of the Old Testament, and the Syriac version of the New, together with the available commentaries of those several versions. No difficulties present themselves in connection with the possibilities of his having employed various Biblical versions; rather the insistent problem here is to connect him as fully as possible with particular versions on the basis of his own quotations.

Neglecting, for the present, discussion of the English version customarily quoted by Milton, I shall turn at once to those versions of the Bible other than English which his quotations indicate that he employed.

A century or more ago Sumner pointed out that Milton usually employed the Latin Bible which was the work of Tremellius and his editor, Junius, for which conclusion Sumner gave at least one minute detail in substantiation.² Such a statement, as far as it goes, is essentially correct. About three-fourths of the Old Testament quotations, among the two or three thousand I have checked in the *de doctrina*, agree with Tremellius as edited by Junius.

But Milton's actual quotations make apparent several other facts regarding the nature of this Bible and his use of it, which Sumner did not specifically recognize and which have never been to my knowledge pointed out.

The Junius-Tremellius Bible first appeared from 1575-79, and subsequently in two different major forms. One of these in 1585 was printed as a tall folio with copious marginal notes, which were for the greater part written by Tremellius. The folio editions contained, in addition to Tremellius' Latin Old Testament with this large amount of marginal notation, a complete Latin translation of the Apochrypha done by Junius, and two Latin translations of the New Testament, one being of the fragmentary Syriac version by Tremellius, and the other

¹ *Milton's Semitic Studies*, Chicago, 1926. Chap. 3.

² Charles Sumner, ed.; *The Christian Doctrine*, Cambridge, 1825. Pp. xv-xvi.

from the Greek by Beza. The other form in which this Bible appeared was printed, usually in quarto, without notes, with the Apochrypha, and after 1585 with only Beza's translation of the New Testament. Both forms used only Tremellius translation for the Old Testament. I have used both forms of this version, the folio being dated 1617 and the quarto 1651, there being many other variously dated printings of both.

The first amplification of Sumner's statement to which I wish to call attention is that Milton undoubtedly used the folio edition with marginal notes. This is quite evident from a number of his quotations in the *de doctrina* in which the use of Tremellius' notes is apparent. There are a number of such quotations, of which I offer only the following as confirmatory evidence: Ps. 14:1; Gen. 17:1; and Prov. 15:11. Milton's quotation of Ps. 14:1 is as follows:

dicit enim stultus in corde suo, non est Deus

Tremellius reads for the same verse

dicit stultus cum animo suo (a); non est Deus

The important element in the Tremellius reading here is the indication of a marginal note. This marginal note in the folio edition reads "Heb. *in corde suo*," which is the expression Milton has used in his quotation, and the literal translation of the Hebrew בְּלִבּוֹ .

Milton quoted Gen. 17:1 as:

Ego sum Deus omnipotens (sufficiens)

Tremellius reads:

Ego sum Deus fortis omnipotens (a)

Again in the folio the marginal note is present as indicated, in this case reading:

"Heb. *Shaddai, i. qui sum sufficiens*"

This again is a literal rendering of the Hebrew,

$\text{אֲנִי אֱלֹהֵי שָׁדַי}$.

In the quotation from Prov. 15:11 Milton again deviates from Tremellius.

Milton:

infernus et perditio coram Jehova, quanto magis corda hominum.

Tremellius:

infernus et perditio coram Jehova sunt, quanto magis animi hominum (a)

Once more in the folio the notation mark is present, the note now reading

Heb. corde filiorum hominis

The Hebrew reads:

שָׂאוֹל וְאַבְרָהָם נָגַד יְהוָה אֵף כִּי-לִבּוֹת בְּגֵי-אָבָם

The same kind of discrepancy between Milton's quotation and the reading of Tremellius occurs a sufficient number of times to make it extremely improbable that Milton would always have made the precise change from Tremellius he did unless the marginal notes had been before him. Consequently the first amplification of Sumner's statement regarding Milton's use of a Tremellius Bible is in order; Milton used a folio edition of the Junius and Tremellius Bible, with the full critical apparatus contained therein.

The use of such an edition accounts for a very large number of his apparent deviations from the Latin text of Tremellius for the Old Testament such as I have indicated. Moreover, another entire group of deviations may be accounted for on the basis of another fact, in no way indicated by Sumner, which arises from connecting Milton with the folio edition of this Bible, and which constitutes an important discovery concerning all of Milton's Bible reading and citation.

Tremellius translated the Old Testament in its entirety from the original Hebrew. He was, as is well known, a thoroughly competent Semitic scholar, and his translation of the Old Testament became almost as standard a Protestant Latin translation as the Vulgate was Roman Catholic. In addition to this work, he also edited and translated the Syriac version of the New Testament, which appeared as early as 1569. Junius' chief contribution as an editor to the work of Tremellius was to add to the latter's excellent Old Testament an equally excellent and standard Latin New Testament. He, Junius,

accomplished this by selecting the Latin translation of Beza, and in the folio editions of the Junius-Tremellius Bible, Beza's translation of the Greek and Tremellius' translation of the Syriac appear in parallel columns for all portions of the work which were present in the Syriac, and Beza's alone for the remainder.

It is to this translation by Beza and not to that of Tremellius as Sumner implies that Milton, throughout the *de doctrina*, refers. About the same percentage of all of the New Testament quotations which I have collated agree with Beza, as of the Old Testament agree with Tremellius. Occasionally there are New Testament quotations which agree with Tremellius rather than with Beza, but there are reasons for this. For instance, in Chapter Five occurs a very striking example of how a quotation from Tremellius' translation of the Syriac got into Milton's manuscript. He referred to Heb. 1:5 and quoted as follows:

nam cui dixit unquam angelorum, Filius meus es, ego hodie genui te. Ac rursum, ego ero ille in Patrem, et ille erit mihi in Filium.

Beza reads as follows:

nam cui dixit unquam angelorum, Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui/te? Ac rursum ego ero ei pater, et ipse erit mihi filius?

Tremellius, in the next column, reads thus:

Cui enim ex Angelis unquam dixit Deus, Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui/te? Ac rursum, ego ero illi in patrem, et ipse erit mihi in filium?

This passage clears up several uncertainties. What took place here is apparent when it is pointed out that Milton's quotation follows Beza quite faithfully until the word "genui" is reached and past. From that point on, the similarity is much nearer Tremellius; and there existed a good physical reason for this. In the dual-versioned New Testament of the folio edition, the Beza translation occupies always the outside column of the page; that is, when a reader confronts the open book, the page on his right bears the translation of Beza also on his right. But when the page is turned, and now becomes the page on the reader's left in the open book, Beza is still on the outside of the page, but now on the reader's left. This is very confusing, as I myself found in using the folio edition, for one must orientate one's self after turning each page, indeed when

passing from one page to another. For the passage cited, the Beza version begins at the bottom of the page to the reader's right and continues to the end of the page, terminating at the word "genui"; the reader then turns the page, and the Beza column is now where the Tremellius column was, and the Tremellius has taken the place of the Beza. What undoubtedly happened was that Milton's amanuensis made the very easy shift from Beza to Tremellius without knowing it, with the result as already noted. There are a number of other quotations quite obviously from Tremellius, although no others yield such an open reason for their being there. But by far the major portion of the *de doctrina* references to the New Testament are to the Latin of Beza. The second fact, therefore, regarding the folio Junius and Tremellius Latin Bible, yields new information concerning Milton's Bible citation: he generally used, or intended to use Beza's translation. That this was not only his practice for the *de doctrina*, but generally, becomes apparent upon checking his quotations in *Pro populo Anglicano*. I cite but two of these here, 1 Cor. 7:21,23; Rom. 13:(1); which are respectively as follows:

Milton:

Servus vocatus es? ne sit tibi curae; sin autem potes liber fieri, potius utere; pretio emti estis, ne estote servi hominum.

Beza:

Servus vocatus es? ne sit tibi curae; sed sin potes etiam liber fieri, potius utere; pretio emti estis, ne estote servi hominum.

These are so nearly identical that no comment seems necessary concerning them. The others vary not one whit:

Milton:

omnis anima potestatibus supereminentibus subjecta esto, non est enim potestas nisi a Deo, quae autem sunt potestas a Deo sunt ordinatae.

Beza:

omnis anima potestatibus supereminentibus subiecta esto. non enim est potestas nisi a Deo: et quae sunt potestates, sunt a Deo ordinatae.

Milton offers very few quotations from the Apochrypha, but those which he gives agree in their entirety with Junius' Latin translation in the folio edition of the Junius-Tremellius

Bible, as the following in their identity with that translation testify: Wisdom 11:17 (18) and 2 Macc. 7:28.

Milton:

qui creavit mundum ex informi materia

Junius:

quae creavit mundum ex informi materia

Milton:

ex rebus quae non erant

Junius:

ex iis (rebus) quae non erant

The Vulgate readings for these passages are sufficiently different from Milton or Junius as to rule out the Vulgate translation of the Apochrypha:

Wisdom 11:18—quae creavit orbem terrarum ex materia invisita

2 Macc. 7:28—quia ex nihilo fecit illa Deus

On the basis of observation of his actual practice, illustrations of which have been provided, it appears certain: (1) that Milton customarily used a Junius and Tremellius Latin Bible for purposes of citation and quotation; (2) that this Bible was the folio edition with marginal notes; (3) that, contrary to Sumner's implication, Beza was used for the New Testament almost always, Tremellius being reserved for the Old; (4) and that Junius' translation was followed for quotation from the Apochrypha. The great bulk of Milton's Latin quotations of Scriptural passages, when collated, fully warrant these mutually dependent conclusions.

The determination of the precise nature and form of the version Milton usually employed clears up many of the apparent discrepancies between his quotations as they appear in his work, and the readings of the version from which they were quoted. Many apparent variations are thereby made virtual identities.

However, by no means all of the quotations found in Milton's work yield to this treatment. There are many variant quotations which correspond to none of the versions or translations I have mentioned.

Some of these variants agree with the Vulgate, though very infrequently, in fact so rarely do Latin quotations agree with

the Vulgate, especially from the Old Testament, and then only in the *de doctrina*, that Baldwin's assumption that this version had any particular influence upon Milton's *Nine Psalms Done Into Metre* seems unwarranted.¹ The posthumous *de doctrina* contains, as already stated, the only quotations which correspond at all to Vulgate readings, and out of the two or three thousands which I have checked, only two Old Testament quotations from the Vulgate appear. The first of these is quite clearly from the Vulgate, probably because of the influence of memory. Milton quotes Deut. 6:4 as follows:

Audi Israel, Dominus Deus noster, Dominus unus est

Now the word 'Dominus' in Latin translations of the Old Testament may always be suspected to be of Vulgate origin, and one must usually consult the Hebrew itself in order to secure the name of the Deity which 'Dominus' connotes. In this case, Hebrew reads:

שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוָה יְהוָה אֵלֵינוּ יְהוָה אֶחָד

The Hebrew word here is the same יְהוָה which caused Jerome so much trouble in Ex. 6:3, where he transliterated it ADONAI, though usually elsewhere in the Vulgate Old Testament it is rendered 'Dominus.' It was not until the sixteenth century that the word took any other than these two forms, but students of Hebrew at the Revival of Letters took the word יְהוָה as it stood and considered that the vowels accompanying it belonged to it, although scholarly opinion of today holds that the vowels appearing in יְהוָה are properly the vowels of אֱלֹהֵינוּ. When יהוה had been transliterated with the vowels appearing with it, the result was IeHoVaH, which became the Jehovah of the English and other European languages. The first recorded use of the Latin form Iehova was in 1516,² or sometime before the appearance in 1560-61 of Tremellius' translation of the Old Testament. Tremellius, like most translators after 1500, employed the word 'Iehova' almost uniformly wherever יְהוָה appeared in the Hebrew, and the appearance and adoption of the word at about the time of the

¹ E. C. Baldwin, *Milton and the Psalms*, Modern Philology, xvii: 457 ff.

² P. Galatinus, *de Arcanis Cath. Veritatis* II, ff. xlviij, 1516.

great Protestant translations of the Bible made its use in a way a mark of the Protestant Bible.

Tremellius translated the passage already quoted

audi Israel: Iehova Deus noster, Iehova unus est

The Vulgate reads:

audi Israel, Dominus Deus noster, Dominus unus est

This reading Milton followed, rather than that of Tremellius, but it is extremely unlikely that he did so with any conscious intent of following the Vulgate; it is more probable that he quoted from the memory of the set phrase 'Dominus Deus.'

One other instance of the same general nature occurs in Chapter Five of the *de doctrina*, when Milton quotes from Ps. 110:1. His quotation is

dixit Dominus Domino meo

The same factors are again operating here as in the previous quotation. The Hebrew reads

נָאֵם יְהוָה לְאֹרְנִי

Milton has translated אֹרְנִי, in the customary manner as 'Domino'; but he translated יְהוָה again as 'Dominus.' Tremellius reads:

dixit Iehova Domino meo

The Vulgate has for this passage

dixit Dominus Domino meo

Again, Milton has given a Vulgate reading; but again, it is improbable that he did so because he was quoting directly from the Vulgate itself, for these are the only two quotations of all of the hundreds which I have collated which refer to the Vulgate rather than to Tremellius' translation of the Old Testament.

For the New Testament, Milton provides a much larger number of quotations corresponding to the Vulgate. I have checked a score or more which cannot be accidental, but which nevertheless in no way indicate that Milton was in the habit of citing the Vulgate. They appear rather to have been quoted from memory, or perhaps copied down when the Vulgate was

the version most readily accessible at the moment. Several of them are unmistakably identical with the Vulgate, and some, as the quotation from Heb. 1:5, are quite apparently garbled mixtures of the Vulgate and Beza or some other versional influence. Instances of clear-cut quotations from the Vulgate are Titus 1:2:

Milton: qui non mentitur Deus

Beza: Deus ille mentiri nescius

Vulgate: qui non mentitur Deus

Ephesians 1:5:

Milton: praedestinavit nos ad adoptionem

Beza: praedestinavit nos quos adoptaret

Vulgate: praedestinavit nos in adoptionem

Jude 4:

Milton: olim praescripti ad hoc iudicium

Beza: olim praescripti ad hanc damnationem

Vulgate: olim praescripti in hoc iudicium

Cor. 2:7:

Milton:
loquimur sapientiam Dei in mysterio, quae abscondita est, quam praedestinavit Deus ante saecula ad gloria nostram.

Beza:
loquimur sapientiam Dei latentem in mysterio, id est, occultam illam, quam praefinierat Deus ante secula ad gloria nostram.

Vulgate:
loquimur sapientiam Dei in mysterio, quae abscondita est, quam praedestinavit Deus ante saecula ad gloria nostram.

Rom. 9:16

Milton:
non volentis, neque currentis, sed miserentis Dei

Beza:

nampe igitur electio non est ejus qui velit, neque eius qui currat, sed ejus qui miseretur, nempe Dei.

Vulgate:

non volentis, neque currentis, sed miserentis est Ded.

Jude 25:**Milton:**

soli sapienti Deo servatori nostro gloria esto per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum.

Beza:

soli sapienti Deo servatori nostro, gloria esto et magnificentia, robor et auctoritas, et nunc in omnia secula.

Vulgate:

soli Deo servatori nostro, per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum.

There occurs one very interesting quotation which is wholly negative in connection with the use of the Vulgate. In one of the early paragraphs of the Chapter *de Filio Dei*, Milton quotes John 1:1 as follows:

in principio erat sermo et sermo ille erat apud Deum, eratque ille sermo Deus &

Certainly there is nothing of the Vulgate in this well-known quotation, for that version has *verbum* wherever Milton has *sermo*. There are a number of other New Testament quotations which, quite obviously upon comparison, agree with the Vulgate. But they are neither large enough in number nor sufficiently consecutive in employment to indicate in anyway that they are more than irregularities. They establish, after a fashion, the fact that Milton knew and used the Vulgate sparingly. But the very infrequency of their appearance indicates that the Vulgate was far from being Milton's customary source for Latin Biblical quotation.

Certain it is that some of Milton's quotations which vary from the Old Testament Latin of Tremellius and from the New Testament Latin of Beza, fit the form of the Vulgate and thereby explain another whole group of variations. But there remains of the *de doctrina* quotations a considerable number which differ from Tremellius for the Old Testament, from Beza

for the New, and from the Vulgate for either Old or New Testament. To account for such variations as now remain is, in a manner, to reconstruct Milton's methods of dealing with the whole problem of canonical or ultimate scriptural text, and such accounting therefore becomes highly important.

It is very soon apparent when working with Milton's Biblical quotations that under ordinary circumstances, his procedure was as I have indicated: he used Tremellius for the Old Testament and Beza for the New. But Milton's scholarship was of a sufficiently profound nature, though far from being the most profound of its day, that when he came to a Biblical passage the Latin text of which, whether Tremellius or Beza, was unsatisfactory to him, he knew precisely how to circumvent the difficulty.

I shall consider those quotations in which there is evidence of dissatisfaction with his customarily employed Latin version, on the basis of whether they occur in the Old or in the New Testament, considering those taken from the Old Testament first.

Early in the *de doctrina* occurs a quotation from Ps. 18:32 which affords considerable insight into Milton's methods of dealing with a scriptural passage when the Latin translation was not to his liking. He was discussing the unity of Deity, and comes upon the plurality in form of the Hebrew word אלהים and notes that the Hebrew is a genuine plural, for in the quotation cited the word appears in both singular and plural forms. Milton's quotation is as follows:

quis est Deus praeter Jehovam, et quis rupes praeter-quam Dii nostri.

He continues with his own Latin: "qui versus confirmat singulam et plurale in hoc nomine idem valere:." What he says of the employment by the Hebrew of both singular and plural forms in the same verse and with apparently identical meanings is true as the Hebrew for the passage shows:

יְיָ מִי אֱלֹהִים מִבְּעֵרֵי יְהוָה גַּם-יִצְהַר וּגְלָתִי
אֱלֹהֵינוּ.

Everything which Milton says of the Hebrew employment is true; אֱלֹהִים is clearly singular, and אֱלֹהֵינוּ is a plural construction with pronomial suffix, but there could have been but one way for him to have known this, which would have been

to have noted the fact when he was reading the Old Testament in the original Hebrew. No Latin Old Testament version even suggests such a treatment in the Hebrew of the words applied to Deity. Tremellius' Latin reads:

quis est Deus praeter Iehovam, et quis rupes praeterquam Deus noster

The Vulgate has the same reading, as it should, for except in the original Hebrew there is no necessity for the distinction between singular and plural such as is contained therein.

In this perfectly characteristic quotation by Milton of an Old Testament passage it is possible to discover just what form of the Old Testament he considered the ultimate authority for textual purposes. It is clear from this quotation that he was pushing back to ultimate authority, and the instance also becomes a most convincing element in the alignment of him with the "Renaissancemensch" conception of ultimate authoritative source, which consisted in cutting through ephemeral and inconsequential derived sources in order to arrive at the absolute and ultimate.

Milton has left enough of these quotations of the original Hebrew in his quotations of Joshua 24:19; of Is. 51:16; and of Gen. 19:18, 21, 24, to indicate in his treatment of them that while he considered Tremellius a most useful tool for the Biblical scholar, the ultimate authoritative form of the Old Testament was the original Hebrew. On the basis of the larger portion of his Old Testament quotation, he seemed to feel that for ordinary purposes Tremellius was a sufficient approximation to the Hebrew original; but whenever he became dissatisfied with Tremellius, he went directly to the original and quoted it, either directly or in Latin translation of his own devising. An illuminating instance of his quarreling with the translation of Junius and Tremellius occurs in Chapter X of the *de doctrina*, pages 164 and 166. As ruthlessly as a decade earlier, he was here exposing the shams and hypocrisy surrounding marriage and divorce. Twice in as many pages he cites the reading of Junius and Tremellius for two separate passages, in both cases rebelling against their purposely distorted and inaccurate translation. He pointed out, and rightly, that the Hebrew itself carries a different meaning. In each instance he supplied a closer translation of the Hebrew, thereby of course and as he

intended, lending scriptural authority to his own argument without, however, in any way distorting the Hebrew.¹ The form of the Hebrew canon has been so uniformly the same since the time of the Masoretes that it is unnecessary to speculate upon the particular edition of the Hebrew which he employed. I have already surmised elsewhere that he probably used the Buxtorf Rabbinical Bible published at Basle in 1620.²

For the New Testament also, Milton appears to have been reluctant to rest content with Latin translations, however good. In the main, he employed Beza; but as with the Old Testament, he could and did pass from the Latin of Beza to the Greek original whenever occasion demanded. At the opening of Chapter Six of the *de doctrina*, he quotes the Greek original and supplies his own Latin paraphrase. Citations of the Greek original are quite common among his Biblical references, as would naturally be expected. But I wish to point out on the basis of his quotation of John 8:42, Luke 22:29, Matt. 28:18, Philippians 2:7,9, and Acts 16:31, 34 that Milton held the Greek version of the New Testament to be as much the ultimate authoritative version for that Testament as he held the Hebrew of the Old to be its ultimate version. Just as for the Old, he ordinarily trusted to Tremellius, so for the New he ordinarily trusted Beza; but always when he wished he went directly to the Greek original for verification, citation, or quotation.

¹ *de doctrina*, cap. x, pp. 164 and 166. "Levit. xviii.18, *mulierum ad sororem suam non accipies ad inimicandum et relegendum nuditatem ejus supra eam in vita ipsius*. His Junius *mulierum ad sororem suam vertit mulierem unam ad alteram*, ut haberet unde polgamiam illicitam esse probaret, interpretatione plane violenta ac rejicienda." Except for the phrase "mulierem unam ad alteram" Milton has not quoted Tremellius here. He has rather translated the Hebrew

וְאִשָּׁה אֶחָדָה תִּהְיֶה לָּא תִקַּח לְצֵרֶר לְנָלוֹת עִרוֹתָהּ עֲלֶיהָ בְּחַיֶּיהָ

which might be also translated "uxorem ad sororem eius non accipies, ad lacesendum, ad revelandum nuditatem eius super eam in vita eius." His objection to Junius' translation of Malachi 2:15 as "nonne unam effecit, quamvis reliqui spiritus ipsius essent? quid autem unum?" for the Hebrew

וְאִם אֶחָד עָשָׂה נְשָׂאָר רֵיחַ לוֹ וְכִּי הָאֶחָד

(et ne unus fecit, et residuum spiritus ei, et quid unus?) is equally justified

² Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

It is unnecessary to speculate upon the Greek version which he used as the following passage in comment upon Acts 20:28 clearly implies the use of Beza's Greek redaction:

neque vero Graecorum codicum certa hic fides est; quorum quinque teste Beza legunt τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ; et suspicatur is τοῦ κυρίου ex margine irrepsisse; cum proclivius sit suspicari irrepsisse, quod additum est, καὶ θεοῦ.

Beza's note on this passage in the edition of Geneva, 1589, reads:

Dei, του θεου. In quinque exemplaribus legitur κυριου καὶ θεου, *Domini et Dei.* Suspicio autem του κυριου initio fuisse adscriptum ad marginem a quodam qui Dei vocabulum sit explicaret adversus Anthropomorphitas, ne Paulus viderentur cohaerere, interpositam esse particulam καὶ. Sed haec ego tanquam divinans dico. Hoc quidem certum est, explicanda haec esse per κοινωτικῶς ἰδιοματων; quod dicendi genus non ita est ἄμωρον, neque reprobandum (ut post Eutychem impie quidem dicere ac scribere nunc audent) sed summam nostrae consolationis continet: illud nimirum diserte explicans quod ait Iohannes, *Verbum factum esse carnem:* ita ut qui vere Deus est, vere θεῶν ῥῶπος sit factus.

Among Milton's Biblical quotations are several which indicate quite clearly all of the apparatus which was involved when he "quotes Scripture." I have already pointed out that he may always be assumed to have employed Latin and Hebrew or Latin and Greek according as the passage is from the Old or New Testament, for any quotation he may make. These versions do not, however, exhaust the number of versions he may have used, as many of his quotations or their surrounding text indicate. For the Old Testament, besides and in addition to the Hebrew, he used the Aramaic Targumim, or the "Chaldee Paraphrase" as it was called in the seventeenth century. Milton mentions his use of this version of the Old Testament in the *Apology for Smectymnuus* in commenting upon how much the targumists have softened the vigorous expression of the original Hebrew. The Aramaic Targumim must therefore be included in any survey of the Old Testament Versions which he knew and used.

For the New Testament, he has discussed enough variants in the Syriac to indicate very clearly that he employed that version to a considerable extent. He refers in the *Tetrachordon* to the Syriac reading for Matt. 19:344, and again in the *Areopagitica* he notes the Syriac for Acts 19:19. There are a number of highly interesting references to the Syriac version of the New Testament in the *de doctrina*, not all of which need to be dis-

cussed here. Milton quotes Acts 20:28 "ecclesiam Dei, quam per proprium sanguinem acquisivit," and then adds

verum Syriaca versio non *Dei*, sed *Christi ecclesiam* scribit; ut nostra recens *Domini ecclesiam*.

The Syriac reading here is "Church of the Meshiha" or as Milton states, "Christi ecclesiam."

Milton's comment upon this disputed reading is highly informative of all that was involved in his use of Scripture and more especially in his quotation. He says:

Verum syriaca versio non *Dei*, sed *Christi ecclesiam* scribit; ut nostra recens *Domini ecclesiam*. Neque vero codicum certa hic fides est; quorum quinque teste Beza legunt *rov kuplou kal theov*; et suspicatur is *rov kuplou* ex margine irrepisse; cum proclivius sit suspicari irrepisse, quod additum est *kal theov*. Neque ex illo Rom. 9:5 *qui est supra omnes Deus benedictus in saecula, Amen*. Primum enim apud Hilarium et Cyprianum hoc loco *Deus* non legitur; uti nec apud alios patres nonnullos, si qua Erasmo fides: qui etiam ex varia interpunctione, in dubium vocari hujus loce sententiam posse ostendit, utrum de Filio, an potius de Patre intelligenda haec clausula sit.

This passage, together with the citation and comment on 1 John 3:16 which follows it a few paragraphs later, makes evident the fact that Milton had at his service critical apparatus of no mean magnitude. Versions, variant readings, commentaries, comparisons of various manuscripts, all the apparatus of the Biblical scholar were known to him together with their usages. If in his discussion of such passages he settles no textual questions, he at least gives every indication by their citation of being aware of the best critical practice of his day.

Milton's customarily employed English version of the Bible was the Authorized.¹ His quotations in his English works agree very largely with the James version, and a list of the English Bibles connected with him indicates that his own family Bibles were copies of the Authorized Version, while those of his wife were of the Genevan. Baxter listed the English Bibles connected with Milton as follows²:

1. *Breeches Bible (Genevan Bible, 1560)*:

A copy of this edition is said to have been sold to Mr. Herbert Dodd (of Dodd, Mead and Co.) and to have subsequently disposed of by them to Mr.

¹ E. C. Baldwin, *The Authorized Version's Influence Upon Milton's Diction*. Modern Language Notes, xxxvi: 376-7.

² Wynne E. Baxter, *Notes and Queries*, 11S. iii. 109 (1911).

Buckler, then of the American Legation in Madrid, and by him sold at auction in 1907 to Mr. Alfred J. Barker for \$1225. The purchaser declared Milton's signature to be a forgery, Dr. Aldis Wright being of the opinion that it was that of Major John Milton of the City of London Trained Bands. Cf. *Daily News*, 12 Nov. 1907, and 10S. ix. 27. If the article in the *Times* of 13 Dec. 1907, be correct (which it probably is), the description of the Book as a "Breeches" Bible is incorrect, and the book in question is that next described.

2. *Genevan Version, London (Chr. Barker), 1588, 4 to.*

This is a quarto in black-letter. The poet's signature is written (John Milton/feb. 24:1654) on a piece of rough paper 3½ inches by 1½ inches, pasted inside the front cover. Underneath this are written "William Minshull, Nantwich" (said to be a relation of Milton's third wife), and "Thos. Minshull, Middlewich." On the third fly-leaf are "Mary Mathews, Middlewich," and "Eliz. Mingham"; on the second fly-leaf, "J. Mathews." At the top of the title of the New Testament is the signature "Elizabeth Milton, 1664 (2 years after Elizabeth Minshull married Milton as his third wife). On the last leaf (imprint) are the names "L. Mathews," "Wm. Minshull," and "Eliz. Mingham, 1730." On the fly-leaves at the end are "Elizabeth Minshull" and the following note:

Dec ye 27 1714 I gave this Book to my
mother, the widow Matthews, but if she
dyes before me, I desire that it should be
Return to me againe.

Wm. Mathews.

There are two other signatures of the Mathews family and a pedigree of several of them. Milton married Elizabeth Minshull 26 Feb., 1662/3, and after Milton's death in 1674 his widow retired to Nantwich, where her family lived. She died there in 1727. The signature *Elizabeth Minshull* on the fly-leaf at the end suggests that the book belonged to her before her marriage with Milton and that his signature in 1654 (2 years after he became wholly blind) must have been cut out of some document and inserted. The volume in any case has an interesting connection with Milton.

3. *British Museum Bible, London. Printed by R. Barker, 1612, small 4to.*

The first 4to edition of the Authorized version printed in Roman letter. The entries in this Bible were published in facsimile with other autographs and documents, by order of the trustees of the British Museum on the occasion of the Milton Tercentenary.

4. *Authorized Version, London (? Robert Barker), 1613, small 4to.*

A copy of this edition with alleged autograph of John Milton was formerly the property of George Offor (2S. 12:233). This is probably the next to be described.

5. *Authorized Version, London (Robert Barker), 1614, small 4to.*

A copy with the autograph of John Milton on the back of the title-page of the New Testament was in the possession of George Offor. Cf. *Sotheby's Ramblings*, 1861, pp. 128-9. This copy was destroyed by fire while at Sotheby's sale in 1865.

6. Bible seen by Dr. Birch, 1749-50, who described it as 8vo. printed by Young in 1636 (Hunter, 1850, p. 54). There is no such known edition as a Young of 1636.

7. Bible mentioned by Thomas Kerslake in the *Athenaeum*, 5 Jan. 1884. There is no similarity between the signature appearing in this Bible and any of the other signatures. This is worthless as a Milton Bible.

To summarize Baxter's listing, Bible Number 7 is worthless; Number 1 is identical with Number 2, and Number 5 with Number 4 and destroyed by fire; which leaves but two Bibles which can be connected with Milton. These are his own family Bible which is in the British Museum (No. 3), and the Bible of his third wife (No. 2). Number 6, seen by Birch, may still be in existence, but its whereabouts are unknown. Thus the only Bible extant which can be connected directly with Milton and which he apparently used for a long period of time was a copy of the Authorized Version. This substantiates the indication of his English quotations which point toward his almost constant use of the Authorized Version as his regularly employed English version.

From this examination of Milton's Biblical quotations it is possible to draw the following conclusions:

Milton used Tremellius' Latin for quotation of the Old Testament, but could and did go to the Hebrew itself whenever dissatisfied with the Latin; he used Beza's Latin for the New Testament, but continually employed Beza's Greek version. He quoted from Junius' Latin translation of the *Apochrypha* to which he had access in the Junius-Tremellius folio edition. He employed the notes and critical apparatus contained therein. For English quotation, he used the Authorized Version. He knew and used the Aramaic Targumim of the Old Testament and the Syriac version of the New. He was familiar with intricate problems of exegesis and the textual criticism practised in his day. He could on occasion note and sometimes cite variant readings from various versions and manuscripts. In brief, virtually all of the scholarly apparatus of the Biblical student of his day was at his command.

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DIE GRUNDLINIEN DER NOVELLEN-KOMPOSITION PAUL HEYSES

Unter den deutschen Novellisten nimmt Paul Heyse auch gerade wegen seiner berühmten "Falkentheorie" als Theoretiker eine bedeutende Rolle ein. Die folgende Untersuchung macht es sich zur Aufgabe, die Beachtung dieser Theorie in der Praxis der Novellen Heyses zu beobachten und darüber hinaus, aus den Novellen selbst die Hauptzüge der Kompositionstechnik festzustellen.

Nach Heyses "Falkentheorie" soll der Stoff der Novelle "in wenigen Worten vorgetragen schon einen charakteristischen Eindruck machen, wie der Inhalt jener Geschichte des Dekameron vom 'Falken,' in fünf Zeilen berichtet, sich dem Gedächtnis tief einprägt." (*Jugenderrinnerungen und Bekenntnisse*, Berlin, 1910, S. 348.)

Diese Theorie ist in Heyses Novellen durchaus befolgt, wie die folgenden Proben ausweisen.

Der lahme Engel. Trotz grösstmöglicher Verschiedenheit von Stand und Alter verlieben sich die Vizgräfin Beatrix und der arme, niedriggeborene Uc Brunet in einander. Sie trennen sich infolge der überlegenen Einsicht der älteren Frau und infolge des rohen Dazwischenfahrens des Bruders der Vizgräfin; nach langen Jahren treffen sie wieder tragisch zusammen: der zurückkehrende Geliebte findet Beatrix im bräutlichen Schmucke mit einem seligen Lächeln auf den Lippen an einem Verjüngungstrank verschieden.

Die Rache der Vizgräfin. Eine geistig und sittlich hochstehende Frau ist an einen nicht für sie passenden Gatten gefesselt; ein berühmter Troubadour weiss sie für sich zu gewinnen, betrügt sie schändlich, und sie selbst nimmt grausame Rache, indem sie ihn zu der schon lange versprochenen Liebesnacht bestellt und ihn bei der Gelegenheit mit seinem treuesten Freunde zusammen betrügt.

Der verkaufte Gesang. Zwei dichtende Brüder einigen sich aus praktischen Erwägungen heraus, dass nur der eine von ihnen dichten, der andere dagegen das väterliche Schloss verwalten solle. Unglücklicherweise wird die prosaische Aufgabe durch das Los dem wirklichen Dichter, die poetische dem, der

im Grunde nur ein gewandter Vermacher ist, zugewiesen. Die Liebe bringt wieder alles ins Lot und weist jedem die ihm zukommende Lebensaufgabe an.

Die Dichterin von Carcassone. Eine Dichterin wird von ihrem Manne einer anderen Frau zuliebe schmählich hintergangen. Er selbst wird auch betrogen, büsst lange und schwer und hat der allsiegenden Liebe der Gekränkten Leben, Freiheit, Besitz und Ehre und schliessliche Verzeihung zu danken.

Ehre über alles. Ein Mann wird von seinem so sehr geliebten Weibe betrogen. Sein Leben ist vernichtet, doch klammert er sich an das Bewusstsein, dass seine eigene Ehre unbefleckt sei, da er keine Schuld trägt. Als er dann mit der Treulosen zufällig wieder zusammentrifft, erwürgt er sie schliesslich, um seiner übermächtigen Liebe nicht auch noch seine Ehre zu opfern, indem er die Verstossene wieder zum Weibe nimmt.

Der Mönch von Monteaudon. Er hat die Frauen wegen des Schminkens gehöhnt und wird schliesslich von einer Frau dazu gebracht, das verleumdete Verfahren an sich selbst zu üben.

Um diesen "Kern" der Novelle, schreibt nun Heyse die eigentliche Novelle herum.

Im Gegensatz zur alten Novelle, die das stoffliche Interesse durchaus in den Vordergrund stellte, sieht die moderne Novelle seit Tieck ihre Aufgabe darin, das Psychologische zu entwickeln.

Auch bei Heyse ist das psychologische Interesse durchaus in den Vordergrund gerückt, ja die psychologische Analyse bildet die eigentliche Novelle, und alles andere dient nur als Mittel zu diesem Zweck. C. F. Meyer sagt einmal von seiner eigenen Novellentechnik: "Bei der Ausarbeitung suche ich alles so einzurichten, dass die einzelnen Teile ausnahmslos auf einen und denselben Punkt, d. h. den Mittelpunkt, hinschauen" (Adolf Frey: *Conrad Ferdinand Meyer, sein Leben und seine Werke*, Stuttgart und Berlin, 1918. S. 236). So dient bei Heyse alles und jedes dazu, uns die Handlungsweise seiner Personen und die als Ergebnisse daraus resultierenden Schicksale verständlich zu machen, die psychologischen Grundlagen bis in ihre letzten, kleinsten Ursprünge hinein zu verfolgen, die letzten Verästelungen des Gewebes anzuzeigen, die die Anfangsgründe der späteren Geschehnisse sind.

"Dass es auch für die Novelle eine Technik gäbe, die aus einem fruchtbaren Motiv die Handlung so folgerichtig ge-

geschlossen entwickeln wird, wie der Musiker durch seine Meister in der Komposition dazu gelangt, ein Thema von wenigen Takten zu einem Sonaten- oder Symphoniesatz auszubilden, davon haben die wenigsten Novellisten einen Begriff, während das Publikum vollends die dichterische Produktion überhaupt als eine Gabe Gottes betrachtet, die dem Talent in "Weihestunden" durch die Inkarnation zuteil werde" (J. und B., S. 345).

"Darauf aber wird es ankommen, dass der Erzähler bei jeder einzelnen Aufgabe sich frage, auf welche Weise aus dem fruchtbaren Motiv möglichst alles zu machen wäre, was darin an psychologisch-bedeutsamem Gehalt im Keime vorhanden ist. Zwar ist eine verschiedene Lösung des Motivs je nach der Eigenart des Verfassers möglich, doch ist die Forderung ganz allgemein unerlässlich, das *Möglichste* an dichterischer und musikalischer Wirkung dem Thema abzugewinnen" (J. und B., S. 349).

"Es kommt bei novellistischer Komposition nicht auf ein Zusammensetzen von aussen her an, sondern auf ein Entwickeln von innen heraus. Zu dem Zweck wird er (der Novellist), wenn der dichterische Impuls von einem Handlungsmotiv ausgeht, die Gestalten, die dieselben darstellen sollen, so entwerfen, dass gerade solche Charaktere das zu Erlebende am tiefsten und nachdrücklichsten an sich durchzumachen geeignet seien. Gibt ein Charakterproblem den Anstoss, so wird er die Verhältnisse und Situationen suchen, in denen das psychologische Phänomen sich am schlagendsten offenbart. Eine Reihe von Möglichkeiten wird sich ihm darbieten, unter denen er seine Wahl zu treffen hat. Der Kreis aber solcher Möglichkeiten ist, wie gesagtstets ein beschränkter" (J. und B., S. 353).

Diese ersten psychologischen Grundlagen werden mit höchster Feinheit in die bei Heyse im Verhältnis zur ganzen Novelle immer sehr beträchtliche *Exposition* hineingearbeitet, so dass die Exposition äusserst eng mit der Ausarbeitung selbst verknüpft ist, in viel stärkerem Masse als bei anderen Novellisten die Grundlage alles folgenden bildet. Sie zeigt—ausser dass sie uns natürlich über die Vorgeschichte überhaupt unterrichtet—aus welchen Verhältnissen die Personen hervorgingen, wie sie gerade so wurden, wie sie sind, und wie und in welchen Verhältnissen sie nun als den ihnen natürlichen dahinleben, bis

dann der fremde Gährungskeim in ihr Leben eindringt. Eine Menge kleiner, zunächst nebensächlich scheinender Erwägungen über Schicksale, Charaktereigentümlichkeiten usw. bereiten sehr geschickt das Kommende, in der eigentlichen Ausführung Geschilderte, vor, so dass, wenn zum Schluss die Personen und ihre Taten verglichen werden, alles vor den Augen der Leser bis in seine ersten Anfänge hinein klar erkennbar ist.

“Die Führung der Handlung” in den Heyseschen Novellen ist zu allen Zeiten einfach. Novellen mit sich durchkreuzenden Handlungen, wie im “Verkauften Gesang”—wo ein Steigerungsmoment der einen Handlungslinie oft ein retardierendes der anderen ist und umgekehrt—und in der *Hochzeit auf Capri* sind für ihn ungewöhnlich.

Der Dichter zeigt uns nun bis in alle, auch die feinsten Einzelheiten, Schritt vor Schritt analysierend, wie vom Eindringen des ersten Gährungskeimes—wie ich oben das sogenannte “erregende Moment” bezeichnet hatte—an, die Personen nach und nach auf den abnormen Weg gedrängt werden, jeder innere Umschwung, jede äussere Handlung wird sorgfältig motiviert, und schliesslich sind wir mit den Handelnden auf der Höhe angelangt; jede einzelne Stufe, die auf diesen Gipfel führte, wurde uns gezeigt, und von jeder sehen wir den “Unterbau.”

Da in den Heyseschen Novellen von einem eigentlich dramatischen Bau wenig vorhanden ist, so hat auch die Technik des *Höhepunktes* mit der des Dramas gewöhnlich wenig zu tun. Einen wirklich dramatischen Aufbau mit einem Höhepunkt, zu dem hin und von dem her alle Verbindungslinien der Novelle laufen wie in *L'Arrabiata*, kommt sonst kaum noch vor. Sonst zeigt noch am ersten dramatischen Aufbau *Die Rache der Visgräfin*, aber der Höhepunkt springt doch innerhalb der ganzen Erzählung wenig in die Augen: Assalide sagt Guillem ihre Gunst zu. Wie verschwindet dieser gegen die Wucht der Katastrophe! *Der verkaufte Gesang* hat gar zwei Handlungen, deren jede ihren eigenen Höhepunkt hat, ähnlich wie zwei Motive—das der Krankheit der Heldin kann man nicht recht eine “Handlung” nennen, es ist mehr eine “Entwicklung”—mit eigenen Höhepunkten, in *Unheilbar* durcheinander gewoben sind. Etwa in *Lucile* erscheint der Höhepunkt, der Heiratsan-

trag, gänzlich blass. Der Schwerpunkt der Heyseschen Novellen, das "unerhörte Ereignis", liegt mehr in der Katastrophe.

Unmittelbar an den Höhepunkt schliesst sich die *Peripetie* an, kaum je stärker herausgearbeitet, oft ganz eng mit dem Höhepunkt selbst verbunden, schon in der Novellenpartie, die den Höhepunkt darstellt, vorbereitet, wie in *Clelia*, wo die Frau ihrem Liebhaber gleich zu Beginn der Liebesnacht erke ärt, dass es sich nur um diese eine Nacht handeln könne. Die Stelle, die dann als eigentliche Peripetie anzusprechen wäre, wirkt wenig farbenkräftig: der junge Offizier hört, als er am anderen Morgen abmarschbereit vor dem Hause steht, dass seine Geliebte ohnmächtig geworden sei, er will zu ihr ins Haus, wird aber von der Schwester zurückgehalten, um dann bald zu hören, dass die Ohnmächtige das Bewusstsein wiedererlangt habe. Auch etwa in der *Rache der Vizgröfin* wird die Szene, in der diese Herrn Marschall zu ihrem Ritter wählt, um sich an dem treuvergessenen Troubadour zu rächen, kaum recht lebendig.

Die Wucht der ganzen Erzählung liegt hier, wie mit Vorliebe bei Heyse, in der *Katastrophe*, die somit in den meisten Novellen den Höhepunkt darstellt, doch bildet sie kaum jemals das Ende der Novelle; mehrfach folgen noch in völlig undramatischer Weise längere Stellen rein epischen Charakters, die an die Katastrophe unmittelbar anschliessende Dinge berichten, etwa noch neue Bestätigungen für das Vorhandensein der Katastrophe herbeiführen. Ich greife zur Analyse *Lucile* heraus. Die Katastrophe besteht darin, dass der abgewiesene Liebhaber sich sein Glück durch eine Übrumpelung zu erzwingen sucht, als das geliebte Mädchen einmal gezwungen ist, eine Nacht unter seinem Junggesellendache zu verbringen, und dieser Versuch missglückt. Nachdem das Mädchen die Werbung des jungen Mannes zurückgewiesen hattewar wenigstens noch ein freundschaftlicher Verkehr zwischen den beiden Menschen möglich gewesen; seit dieser Nacht aber sieht der Künstler die Frau nie wieder. Doch wird das nicht etwa so einfach in einem Satze berichtet. Wir hören von der weiteren Tätigkeit des Künstlers, dass er einmal glaubt, sie zu sehen, dass er schliesslich sogar nochmals einen endgültigen Abschiedsbrief von ihr erhält.

Ist die Katastrophe nicht schon durch ein solches Absplitttern an ihrem Komplex undramatisch geworden, so geschieht

das aber durchaus in der Mehrzahl der Novellen durch einen der Katastrophe angehängten Absatz, der gewissermassen die Aufgabe hat, die im Leser durch die Darstellung erregender Ereignisse in der Katastrophe aufgepeitschte Phantasie zur Ruhe zu bringen.

So schlieszen die Heyseschen Novellen alle mit einem sanft verklingenden Ton, die Spannung schwingt allmählich aus, nie findet sich am *Schlusse* mehr Gewaltames, Erschütterndes. In diesem besondern Absatz schweift gewissermassen vom sicheren Port aus der Blick nochmals über die Ereignisse. So heisst es in *L'Arrabiata*, nachdem die leidenschaftlichen Ereignisse an uns vorübergezogen sind: "Als der kleine Padre Curato das nächste Mal aus dem Beichtstuhl kam, in dem Laurella lange gekniet hatte, lächelte er still in sich hinein. Wer hätte gedacht, sagte er bei sich selbst, dass Gott sich so schnell dieses wunderlichen Herzens erbarmen würde? Und ich machte mir noch Vorwürfe, dass ich den Dämon Eigensinn nicht härter bedrückt hätte. Aber unsere Augen sind kurzsichtig für die Wege des Himmels. Nun so segne sie der Herr und lasse mich's erleben, dass mich Laurellas ältester Bube einmal an seines Vaters statt über Meer führt! Ei, ei, ei *L'Arrabiata!*" Wir tun wohl gelegentlich zum Schluss auch noch einen weiteren Blick in das Leben des Helden oder der Heldin, wo es dann in ruhigen Bahnen dahinfliesst, sehr oft von wehmütigen Erinnerungen an die vergangenen bedeutenden Ereignisse begleitet (Die Rache der Vizgräfin); oder ein Liedchen zieht wohl gar das Facit der dargestellten Ereignisse, was beinahe wie eine angehängte 'Moral von der Geschichte' wirkt:

"Nicht weinen sollst Du, sollst frohlocken,
Und still Dich segnen früh und spät,
Wenn Deine Seele tief erschrocken
Am Abgrund unserer Liebe steht.

Der Lärm des Tages ist versunken,
Kaum dringt der Freude Gruss herauf.
Wir schauen stumm und wonnetrunken
Zu seligen Gestirnen auf.

Und wie des Friedens sanfte Welle
begräbt den schlanken Grund der Zeit
Wird's vor den Sinnen morgenhelle
Und tagt im Glanz der Ewigkeit."

Bei der Rahmenerzählung geben die zuhörenden Personen oder der Personenkreis oft noch im Schlusstück des Rahmens den Eindruck, den die Geschichte auf sie gemacht hat: Abscheu, Schrecken, Mitleid. Abschliessend kann man sagen, der Schluss der Heyseschen Novellen fängt den mehr oder weniger gewaltsam strömenden Fluss der Ereignisse in einem weiten, beruhigenden und klärenden Becken auf, an dessen Oberfläche die Wellen allmählich ausschwingen und schliesslich ins Allgemeine verleiten.

Also um die Grundzüge der Heyseschen Kompositionstechnik nochmals zusammenzufassen: im Mittelpunkt der Novelle steht der "Kern" (Falkentheorie), um diesen herum ist die feinste psychologische Analyse gekleidet, die in zwei, ihrem äusseren Umfange oft nicht sehr verschiedene Teile, die Exposition und die Ausführung zerfällt, beide getrennt durch das Eintreten des "erregenden Momentes."

Hinsichtlich der *Redeform* zeigt sich in Heyses Novellen zu allen Zeiten ein enger Anschluss an den dramatischen Gebrauch. Alles, was im Drama durch Zwischenbemerkungen erledigt werden würde, und was der Schauspieler durch Haltung, Gebärden usw. ausdrückt, gibt er in den Novellen, in denen er selbst erzählt, durch eigene Mitteilung, wo ein Erzähler auftritt, gibt dieser sie. So nehmen direkte und indirekte Redeform gegenüber dem rein objektiven Bericht durch den Erzähler einen ausserordentlichen Umfang in Heyses Novellen ein. Auch dieser technische Zug Heyses ist zu erklären aus dem technischen Grundzuge, möglichst die Personen seiner Novellen selbst handeln und sprechen zu lassen.

Der Wechsel zwischen direkter und indirekter Rede erfolgt in der Weise, dass nebensächliche Bemerkungen, Botenberichte usw. in indirekter Rede gegeben werden, Gespräche, die für den Gang der Handlung wichtig sind, in denen die Personen sich charakterisieren, Redestücke, in denen grösseres Leben pulsiert, dagegen direkt. Vgl. *Fanchetta*, S. 93, wo die Begrüssungsformeln zwischen der Freifrau und dem alten General, die rein konventionell sind, indirekt gegeben werden, dann aber die wichtigeren Stellen, so vor allem die Unterhandlung zwischen Mutter und Sohn über die Heirat, direkt. Die oben dargestellte Technik findet sich schon in den 1852 geschriebenen Novellen, wo z. B. in *Marion* Angaben über das Zeitalter und

seine Eigentümlichkeit, über die Jahreszeit und die Beschreibung der auftretenden Personen und ihrer Tätigkeit durch den Dichter gegeben werden, alles Dinge, die im Drama in Zwischenbemerkungen untergebracht werden; dann erwähnt der Dichter auch Dinge, die der Darsteller auf der Bühne nach Möglichkeit zu verwirklichen hätte, wie die folgenden: "das junge Weib sah sich um, ihre Wangen färbten sich leise und die Augen begannen zu schimmern. Sie liess die Hände sinken und sah dem Kommenden stumm entgegen." Nun geht es wie auf der Bühne weiter: Was die Personen sprechen, wird direkt gegeben, soweit es nicht eben nebensächlich ist und dann in indirekter Form mitgeteilt wird—Zwischenbemerkungen über Verhalten der Personen, Nebenumstände usw. gibt er Dichter indirekt: "Guten Tag, Marion, sagte der Mann in fast rauhem Tone. Ist jemand ausser Dir im Garten? Nein, Adam; so ist's gut; ich habe mit Dir zu reden. Du bist ein gutes Weib, Marion, und tust Deine Pflicht, aber ich muss Dir sagen, ich hala's doch nicht aus mit Dir. Die schönen Wangen der jungen Frau wurden totenblass. Aber sie schwieg und sah still vor sich hin" usw.

In der 1881 geschriebenen *Eselin* haben wir eine entsprechende Technik in der Rahmenerzählung.

Das hat dann schliesslich bis zu Versuchen Heyses geführt, Novellen überhaupt in Zwiesgespräche aufzulösen, allerdings erst in seiner späteren Zeit. So z. B. einige der *Plaudereien eines alten Freundespaares*, wo dann Zwischenbemerkungen wie in einem Drama in kleiner Schrift gegeben werden. Wir haben hier eine Dramatisierung der Novelle vor uns, gegen die sich Heyse *Jugenderinnerungen und Bekenntnisse*, S. 358 ausspricht: "Die Verwandlung jedoch der Erzählung in einen rein dramatischen Dialog, so sehr sie anfangs durch ihre scheinbare Lebendigkeit besticht, wirkt auf die Länge ermüdender, als der gelassene epische Stil, der nur hin und wieder bei gesteigerter Spannung sich dramatischer Mittel bedient. Als das Naturgemässeste ist es mir stets erschienen, das, was man erzählen will, so vorzutragen, wie man es Hörern mitzuteilen hätte, die einem in Person gegenüber sässen." Die erwähnten Versuche zur Dramatisierung sind tatsächlich auch nur als Ausnahmen anzusehen.

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THE VOCABULARY OF THE OLD ICELANDIC MEDICAL MS: ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY 23 D 43

A description of *MS. Royal Irish Academy 23 D 43 (D)* has been given by the present writer in *Modern Philology*, May, 1926. As there shown, *D* is a fifteenth century Icelandic medical MS. based on a Norwegian antecedent, the bulk of which is derived from a Danish original compiled from Latin sources.¹ One of the most significant phases of the MS. is its wealth of words not as yet recorded in lexica of Old Icelandic or Old Norwegian. As the printing of a complete edition has been unduly delayed because of lack of available funds, it has seemed important to publish at least the new lexicographic material.

The following notes aim to give all words found in *D* not yet recorded in standard lexica.² Many of the words are well known from Modern Icelandic or Modern Norwegian. Whenever it seems helpful, such modern parallels are cited. On the basis of present-day usage, it is safe to classify many of the idioms as Norwegian rather than Icelandic; they would, then, be part of the material carried over by the Icelandic scribes from their Norwegian antecedent.³ The evidence for such assignment is always stated. The bulk of the new words are compounds shaped to satisfy the needs of medical terminology. Usually the simplex makes perfectly clear the meaning also of the compound. Whenever the interpretation is at all doubtful, the Danish and Latin antecedents available are quoted. Of course we have no guarantee that the translation is accurate, but in general the compiler seems to have had a good knowledge of Latin.

¹ The MS was discovered by Mr. Edward Gwynn, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. A complete transcript of the MS was made by Professor Marstrander of the University of Oslo, formerly of the School of Irish Learning (not of Trinity as incorrectly stated by me, *Mod. Philol.* XXIII, 385), with some aid from Professor Oluf Kolsrud. My study is based on Professor Marstrander's copy, which I have collated fully with the original.

² I have included words recorded in recently edited texts when such words have not found their way to the dictionaries. In each case, I have given references to such earlier record. It has seemed important to give the additional evidence for words that might otherwise stand as nonce words.

³ *Mod. Philol.* XXIII, 389.

All references are to folios of the MS. Unfortunately this is somewhat complicated by incorrect binding and paging of the volume as we now have it. The MS. consists of seventy-three leaves plus a small strip of vellum inserted and numbered as an additional leaf. There has been continuous reading and continuous paging from 1 to 53; but between folios 8 and 9 are inserted twenty-one leaves bearing numbers from 9 to 29. The inserted leaves are here considered the *Secondary Series*; and references to them have prefixed the letter "S" to the folio number.

Throughout, the form of the MS. is given without normalization. No indication of vowel quantity is given. Usually no distinction is made between "o, o, ø"; these are listed under "o." Occasionally the form "ø" occurs. At times also "au = o." The fusion of "æ" and "ø" is complete; all forms will therefore be found under "æ." No distinction is made between "i" and "j."

The following table will make it possible for the reader to see readily in what section of the MS. each word occurs and also what parallels or antecedents are available for such sections:

- Fol. 1^r-3^v. Charms and conjurations. No immediate source extant. Parallels occur in the Icl. MSS. *A.M. 194, A.M. 434*; Norw. in Bang, *Norske Hexeformularer*; Dan. in *A.M. 187* and in Ohrt, *Danmarks Trylleformler*.
- 4^r-40^v. Book of Simples. A fragment of a Norw. antecedent is preserved in *A.M. 696 (N)*. The Norwegian version goes back to a Danish original closely related to the *K MS.* of Harpestræng.⁴ The ultimate source is Macer and Constantine the African.⁵ For four chapters the source is *17 St. J.*⁶ or some related MS.
- 41^r-53^r. Antidotarium. Goes back to a Norw. original now lost. Ultimate source is the *Antidotarium Nicolai* and other Salernian books of compound medicines.
- 53^v. A Lapidary. A version derived from *D* when that MS. was more complete than at the present time is extant in MS.

⁴ *Mod. Philol.* XXIII, 386.

⁵ *Mod. Philol.* XXIII, 387.

⁶ *Mod. Philol.* XXIII, 388.

L—2—27 *Trinity College (Dublin)*.⁷ The source is a Danish MS. closely related to the lapidary in *K*.

S9^r—S12^v; S14^r—S27^v. Leechbooks. Partial Icl. parallels in *A.M.* 655, *A.M.* 194, *A.M.* 434; Norw. in *A.M.* 673; Dan. in *A.M.* 187.

S27^v—S29^v and S13. Cook Book. Danish original extant in *K*.

* * * * *

aburd ? n. *growth ? condition ? attack ? disease ?* d.sg. helpur þvi aburdi er af kalldre naturu er 50^v. The form here clearly neuter; elsewhere always recorded as masculine. Aasen 28^a aaburd, m. *væxt, afgrøde*. Vigf. 39^a áburðr, m. *medic. salve, ointment*. So Fritz. I, 5, where also the meaning *attack* (= bera vápn á) is listed. Nowhere is a meaning parallel to that of *D* listed. The meaning *disease* might be suggested by O.E. onboren *imminutus*, *Wr. Voc.* II, 49, 60.

alldur-ræzdla ? f. *fear ? fear of age ?*:—þetta gras (i.e., pipilla = Pimpinella) hrindur alldur rædzlu fra manni S23^r. The reading apparently corrupt; MS. allð rædлу. The *Sw.LB.* p. 33, has an article on Pimpinella similar to our passage, but it contains nothing parallel to the above quotation. In the present form Norw. = Icl. -hræzla, f.

armkrika-ædur, f. *vein or artery in crook of the arm*. Possibly Norw. v. armkriki; cf. also armkvists-æðr listed by Kålund, *A.M.* 434, p. 399, as new Icl. word. *A.M.* 194, p. 64, l. 9: i decembre vek ena hēstu armkvists ēdi:—Maius betunicam ok pipinellam dreck þu ok skein þu neztu arm krika ædi 15^v.

armkriki, m. *crook of arm, bend at elbow*. Norw. Ross 10 armskrike, m. *albueleddets indre vinkel* Dal. Jæd. Ryf., Aasen 263^a handarkrike, m. *den krummede eller indböiede arm* B. Stift:—þessar þriar eru j armkrikanum 24^v.

armkriskædur, f. = armkrika-ædur q.v.:—skein efstzu armkrisk ædi S16^r = cephalica *A.M.* 187.

augna-nest, n. *canthus, corner on each side of the eye where eyelids meet*. DL. øgnæ næst. Probably Norw. in its present form. Ross 544 nest, n. *øiekrog, saavel ydre som indre*, Sæt. Tel. Ma. augne-nest. Ogsaa mask. Tel. (Mo, Moland) neste. Kalkar IV, 986 *øjenest, øjeende, lårekærtel*:—þat kiot er vex j augna nest 21^v.

⁷ H. Larsen, "Nok et Harpestræng Haandskrift," *Danske Studier*. 1924.

- augna-ra, f. *canthus*. Norw. The word is result of corrupt text in the only passage where it occurs:—Poss logur þurkar augnara verck 23^r = A.M. 434, p. 388, eyrnna vætu; S innæn þræ (Krist., p. 90); wanting in K. Aasen 386 kraa, f. vaa, *hjørne i et hus*; kro Voss, Hard. Rbg.; ro Tel. og Østl.; raa, ved Trondh.
- barns-burdur, m. *childbirth*. This form not recorded earlier. The MS. also uses the well-established form barn-burdur:—barns burd S12^v (in a title); vid barns burd S12^v.
- barns-efnni, n. *foetus*:—dregur fra henni fyrer fareth barns efnni 35^t = DL. forwrthæt barn föthæls (Krist. 169). Cf. Vigf. 116 efni, n. *a stuff or material*.
- barns-hals, m. *a child's neck*. DL. barnæ hals (Krist. 117):—geingur barns hals ur lidi 11^r.
- barns-leg, n. *uterus, womb*. In Mod. Icl. leg, n. in same meaning. Zoega 294. In Norw. leg, n. *leie, liggsted*, Tel., Aasen 432:—matrix enn äa noræna maka barns leg 49^v.
- barns-veni, n. *pregnancy, foetus*: vera med barns veni *to be pregnant*:—helldur su kona sem med barns vene er hennar blomstur firir naser ser æda verdur rotinn stoppud ok logd nedan vid berendinn þa kastar hun barns veni (*foetus*) 22^r = DL. konæ . . . thær mæth barn ær, tha kastær hun barnæ (Krist. 163). veni = væni, n. *a prospect* Vigf. 719. According to Dr. I. Reichborn-Kjennerud barne-von is still used in Tel. in the sense *pregnancy*.
- baru-blod, n. *a flow of blood*:—halltu apptur baru blodi þinu 2^v.
- belgi, m ? *belly* ? cf. Vigf. 57 beli, m. *belly*:—þa mun belgi duma enn sott batna S10^r.
- belgingur, m. *a puffing up, inflation*. Not recorded in O.N. or Norw. Zoëga 48^a lists it as Mod. Icl.:—gott . . . moti belging kvidar 46^r.
- biarnar-istur, n. (*paunch*) *fat of a bear*. The word is Norw.; the Icl. parallel is -istra:—biarnar jstur med fleski S16^v.
- biors-nyra, n. *beaver's kidney, castoreum*. Possibly Norw., found only in Antidotarium⁸; cf. Danish bjævergel, bævergel, bibergel, etc., Kalkar I, 213. Aasen 58 bjór, m. Hard. Tel. Rbg.:—diacastorium electuarium gert af biors nyra 44^v.
- blod-laukur, m. *Allium cepa, onion*? cf. *Våre Folkemed. Lægeurter*

⁸ *Mod. Philol.* XXIII, 387.

- p. 36:—Tak brod af blod laukum. Vid hiarta madka er um skafna malyrtt ok et optt fastande bædi S10^v. The passage is corrupt as shown by the parallel *A.M.* 434, p. 378: Vid madka þa er um hiartat skafaa, tak brodd af blot-laukum ok malurt ok et opt fastandi. The only other record of the word is in *A.M.* 673 (ed. Hægstad p. 4) tak blodlauka.
- blod-siukur, adj. *bloodshot* (of eyes):—vid blodsiuk augu S20^r. The only use of the word earlier recorded is in the meaning *dysenteric*, cf. Fritz. I, 157, citing *Heilag.* I, 515; so also *Mod. Icl.*, Zoëga 58.
- blod-stemma, f. *a means of stopping hæmorrhage, a charm for stopping blood*:—ef kona hefir of micit blod lat þa rist þu fyrir nefnda blodstemma 2^r. Norw.? Aasen 66 blodstemma, f. *standsning af blodet i et saar; ogsaa et blodstillende middel.* Kål. 399 lists it as new Icl. word. Blöndal, 90, lists it as *Mod. Icl.*
- blod-stemming, f. = blod-stemma q.v. Norw.? Aasen 749 stemming, f. *stopning, standsning*:—blod stemming 1^r; blod stemming vid sar S21^v.
- blod-þungi, m. *the state of being bloodshot* (of eyes). Cf. þungi, m. *tyngde*, Fritz. III, 1051, also *heaviness, drowsiness*, Vigf. 749: þat er gott vid blod þunga S19^r.
- blomstur-kold? f? *the centre of a flower, gynoeceum*:—allar hafa þær (i.e., the three kinds of Chamomilla) gular blomstur. kold j midunni 15^v. The scribe apparently has not understood the word and has taken 'kold' as an adj. We should expect a fem. plur. modified by 'gular' as 'koldar, koldir.' Possibly Norw. related to kold, f. *en fordybning i jorden, en lavt liggende flate*, Aasen 375. Or should we with *Trinity* read 'koll' acc. sg. of kollr, m. *a round top, skull, head?* *Trinity* p. 96 note: "Locum ita corrige: allar hafa þær gulan blomstr koll i midunni. blodin umhvervis eru sum svart en sum hvit." The compound blomstur-kollur, m. would have the same meaning as that postulated above for a supposed blomstur-kold, f.
- bor-kal, n. *the leaves of 'borra-blad'* q.v. 20^v.
- borra-blad, n. translates *Lappacium, burdock*, 20^r. Aasen 72 borre, m. *Arctium lappa*.
- boru-logur, m. *juice of burdock*. Cf. preceding word:—bakar madur sig vid boru log vormum 20^v; med boru log 20^v.

boru-rot, f. *root of burdock*:—sydur madur boru rætur 20^v.
branda-lausur, adj. *without flame*:—a glodum branda lausum
S28^r.

briost-bruni, m. *a burning of the chest, heart-burn*. Norw.?
Aasen 84 brune, m. *brynnde, hede, stærk varme i legemet som af
sygdom*, B. Stift. Ogsaa *kvalme for brystet, halsbrynnde*, Ork.
Ross 61 brjost-brune, m. *halsbrynnde*. Rogaland mest:
bröstbroone; Inh. bröstbraanaa. Brjostbrund? m. d.s.
Rogaland: bröstbrunn:—gott vid þurann briost bruna 47^r.

briost-kuldi, m. *cold in the chest*:—þat er einkanliga vid briost
kulda ok mat magha 44^r=*Ant. Nic.* valet precipue ad
pectoris et stomachi frigiditatem.

briost-speni, m. *nipple*:—legur vid briost[*t*] spena 21^r.

briost-þroti, m. *swelling or tumor of the breast*. Recorded *A.M.*
696, Hægstad, *Gn. Frag.*, p. 13, lists the word as Norw. = *DL.*
spynæ boldæ:—gott vid briost þrotta 6^r=*mammis tumentibus*;
gott at leggja vid briost þrota ok eistna 19^r.

briost-veilsa, f. *inflammation of the chest, consumption?*:—vid
allz konar briost veilsu 44^v=*Ant. Nic.* sanat omne vitium
pectoris; a close parallel is L[eonard] M[ascall] ch. 40: "This
cures all diseases about the lungs, the breast, and chiefly
those which be in consumption"; gott einkanliga moti allri
briost veilsu er af kulda verdur 45^r=*Ant. Nic.* ad omne
vitium pectoris.

briost-vamm, n. *disease of the chest*. Icl. vamm. n. *blemish*
(= vömm, f.) Zoëga 558; Norw. vam, n. *mishap, misfortune*,
Aasen 895:—vid ollum briostz vommum 48^r, cf. vommum
eda meinum briostz manz eda buks 48^v.

briost-voma,⁹ f. *disease of chest*, cf. Vigf. 684 váma, f. *a qualm,
an ailment*; Ross 893 vaam, n. *mathed, kvalmhed*:—mot
briost vomum ollum 52^v=*Ant. Nic.* contra uitia pectoris.

bruna-blod, n. *cholera rubea*:—hun er einkanliga god . . . þeim
er hofud verck hafva. af reykium þeim eda ropa er hin
rauda colera er bruna blod ma kalla. gefur up or buk j
hofud manni 49^v=*Ant. Nic.* datur proprie ycteris epaticis
et patientibus dolorem capitis ex fumositate colere rubee.

bu-gras, n. *mugwort*. Recorded in Mod. Norw. Danish bynke,
bunæ. Aasen 90 burot, f. *bynke, Artemisia vulgaris*. Mange

⁹ The MS. regularly shows the change vǫ > vó.

- steder ogsaa kaldet: bugras, Sdm. og fl.; bu f. i Nordland; graabu, Ork. etc.—artimisia er bugras 5^r.
- bui? [=bú-gras? q.v.] *mugwort*. Norw.? Ross 70 buē, m. = burot, Busk.:—tak bui ok legg vid liostan S12^v.
- bu-karsa [=bú-gras q.v.] f. *mugwort*. Norw.?:—skal giora palatorium eda suppofoorium af bu karso er āā norænu heitir acticul (?) eda kacon (?) 49^v = *Ant. Nic.* in quo cocta sit artimisia.
- bukka-sperla, acc. pl. m. *excrements of male goat*:—tak bukka sperla IX S18^v. See spērla.
- buni [=bú-gras ?] m? *smyria þat allt ok kleima med trifera saman bla dadri med buna* 50^r.
- dauda-kiot, n. *proud flesh*. Md. Sw. dödha kiöt, dödh kiöt, Söderw. I, 213 Norw. daudkjöt, n. Aasen 100; *DL.* døth kōt:—spenxt græntt . . . rensar sar. ok skærer myrk augu ok tekur dauda kiot af sari 16^r; Flos eris er copar reykur . . . hann etur dauda kiot ok skærer augu 17^v.
- deigill, m. *dough*. Norw.? Ross deigill? m. *en klump færdigættet deig*, Senja:—ger af deigil ok legg vid sar S23^v.
- deili-ker, n. *a vessel (of specific measure?)*. Norw. *NgL.* V, 132 cites one use of the word, expressing doubt of correct reading and interpretation. The use in *D* confirms *NgL.*:—dreck fastandi eitt deili ker S27^v.
- dript, f. *dust*. Error for 'dupt' which is the reading of parallel passages of *A.M.* 194 and *A.M.* 434?:—brenn þau ok tak driptina S16^r.
- drotta? f. *queen*? Can it be = drottninga? cf. Söderw. I, 200, drotninga? f. = drotning:—enn þesse er kallath hofdingi ok drotta allra lækinga 50^r.
- duma [=duna?] *rumble*:—þa mun belgi duma enn sott batna. S10^r.
- dyra-bit, n. *bite of wild beasts*:—þa skadar man eigi læknisdomur ok eigi dyra bit 5^r.
- dyr-gangur, m. *a going out of doors, going one's errand*, cf. gangr, m. medic. *a discharge*, esp. from stomach; vall-gangr *excrements*; niðr-gangr, *diarrhoea*, Vigf. 191:—vekur manni dyr gang enn konu klæda hof 50^v.
- efna, wk. v. *help, be good for* [=duga]:—þat efnar eitur stunginn saar 40^r. The usual meaning is *perform, do, act*.

- egg-skurna, f. *egg-shell*. Possibly really = *the white membrane inside the egg-shell*? Norw. Ross 694 skurna, f. *hinde* = *skinna*. I Sogn, "Ai skudna yve Æua":—I egg skurnu skal bræða smyslin aptur j fyrsto 41^v = *Ant. Nic.* in *testa ovi*. In the same chapter the more common 'egg-skurn' is used.
- eistna-þroti, m. *swelling of the testicles*:—þat (i.e., *Caulis romana*) dugir ok vid harfalli ok eistna þrota ok marskyns siukdom er j manz skopum kan at þrutna ok verda 11^v; vid briost þrota ok eistna 19^r. Written eisna-þroti 12^r, 13^r.
- eitur-bit, n. *poisonous bite*:—Malurt dugir . . . firir eitur bitj 4^v = *DL.* for etær thær man fangær af byt; þa dugir hun (i.e., *holurt*) vid eitri ok eitur biti 7^r; 18^v, 27^v, 32^r, 38^r.
- eitur-bitinn, adj. *having received a poisonous bite*:—er madur eiturbitin eda stungin 34^v.
- eitur-stunginn, adj. *stung in such a way as to be poisoned*:—þat efnar eitur stunginn sáar 40^r.
- endaþarms-rauf, f. *anus*:—smyr um e. S10^r; rid um e. S10^v.
- endaþarms-sott, f. *disease of the rectum*:—Pa fugls saur vid lagdur grædir enda þarms sott S10^v.
- eysil, *vinegar*, cf. Eng. *eisell*, O.E. *eisil*, *aysel*, *aisill*, Late Lat. *acetillum*, dim. of *acetum*:—ef þat er druckit med eysil. eda med þeirri tempran er heitir oxzacara 45^v.
- farens-yrтт, f. translates *Usquiamus* = *Hyosciamus*, *henbane*, *DL.* *bylne*, 19^r.
- festing, f. *constipation*. Recorded by Kálund *A. M.* 434 as new Icelandic word:—haft æda festing j maggha 10^r.
- fjall-kominn, adj. *come down from the mountains*:—ungentum album . . . god þeim monnum er solbrunir eru eda fialkomnir 42^r. *Ant. Nic.* has no parallel, merely stating: *Ungentum album ad salsum flegma*.
- fima, f. *disease, epidemic*. Norw. Ross 161 fima, f. 1. *iilfærdighed*, *skyndsomhed*, Hard. Ryfl. 2. *omgangssyge* (= *yverferd*), Ryfl. Jæd.: *feema*:—moti fimu þeirri er dyrea heitur 47^v.
- flein-sott, f. *rheumatism*? Söderw. I, 259, *flen* (*fleen*), m? *svulst*, *gikt knuta*, *gikt*, *rheumatism*. Torp 118 *flein*, n. *knute*, *skuro*, *svulstbyld hos ku*. So also Aasen 166, Ross 184:—moti flein sott 46^r. No parallel in *Ant. Nic.* (1471 ed.), but a Mid. Dutch version has "pine in die lanken ende in die lendenen," cf. Van den Berg, p. 64.

- flugdyra-bit, n. *insect's bite*:—Rubra gras . . . bætir flugdyra bit S20^r.
- flygi, n. *a swarm of gnats or flying insects*. Norw. Aasen 172 flyge n. *flyvende insekter, især om en mængde af fluer og myg*, Hall. Valdr. Andre st. flye, fly om myg og lignende dyr som er mindre end fluer, Hard. Telm. Smaal.:—þat drepur flygi 9^r.
- fot-mædi, f. *weariness of the feet*. Norw.? Aasen 184 fotmod, adj. *træt, mat i fødderne*:—vid sar ok þrota af fot mædi 6^r, DL. lacking.
- ful-vidur, m. translates Ramnus, *buck thorn* or *black alder*. Cf. O.E. fūlbēam, *Rhamnus frangula*, *black alder*, Bosw. Tol. 344^b. DL. haghænthorn:—Ramnus fulvidur kalldur j fyrstu stett 31^r.
- fulzi, m. *infection, decay*, DL. røtæ. þaa fyrir kemur hann ollum fulza þeim er j uf eda munninn kann at verða 18^r.
- fyrir-farinn, adj. *miscarried, run down* (because of illness). Not recorded in this meaning:—fyrir fareth barns efni 35^r; kemur hold á þa er fyrirfarnir eru 51^r.
- fyrsn [=fysn] f. *desire, lust*:—gerir fyrsn til kvenna 12^r.
- fystn, f. New form or error for 'fyst' or 'fysn':—dugir við blodras ok minkar fystn til kvenna 12^r.
- gasa-istur, n. *goose-fat*. Norw. 6^r, 24^r, 36^r.
- geitar, f. pl. = Mod. Icl. geitur (Zoëga 158) *achor, scald-head, the scald*. Norw. recorded in A.M. 673. The form here with svarabhakti 'a' is East Norw. cf. Hægstad: *Ausl. Lækjebok* p. 6:—þa muno geitar hverfa S16^r.
- geita-sperla, acc. pl. m. (*she-*) *goat's excrements*, cf. spærla, bukka-sperla:—tak geita sperla ok siod j fornu vini S23^r. Norw.
- geitu-skalli, m. *scurf, scald-head*, DL. skurf; cf. Icl. geitur, f. pl. *scald-head* and Icl. skalli, m. *baldness*:—ok leggur við geitu skalla hofuds 8^r.
- getadur [=getnadur] m. *conception*. New word or scribal error? talmar barns getad 18^r. Elsewhere our MS. uses 'getnadur': meinar barns getnad 35^r; veitir hialp til getnadar 50^r.
- gler-knifur, m. *glass knife*:—med gler knifvi eda stein knifvi 9^r.
- griot-jord, f. *rocky soil*:—j griot jordu 10^r.
- gron [=grjon] n? *goats*. Norw. Aasen 244–245 groon Tel. Gubr. =grjon, n.:—sem kal med salltt ok edik ok gron 5^r = DL. grün.

- hallna, wk. v. *decrease* (of a fever), *turn*; an inchoative verb to halla *lean*, hallr, m. *hill*, hallr, adj. *leaning to one side*, literally *come into a declining or inclined position*:—enn ef sott hallnar 43^v = *Ant. Nic.* datur in declinatione februm.
- har-fall, n. *the falling of hair*. Recorded in Mod. Icl. Blöndal 302:—dugir vid harfalli 11^v; vid h. 23^v; helpur h. 42^v.
- hauskalli [= haus-skalli?] m. *scald-head*, *dandruff*, translates DL. skurf. Cf. skialli 14^v = DL. skab and geitu-skalli = DL. skurf:—þat er gott vid hauskalla 33r = A.M. 434 hár skalla.
- heila, wk.v. *cure*, *heal*. Recorded before only in the sense make good (legally) Vigf. 248, Fritz. I, 755:—þat (i.e., mastix) heilar ok þrota j maga 21r.
- heilsa, wk.v. *cure*. Kál. 399 lists it as new Icl. word:—heilsar hiartta rætur 5r = DL. helær. Used a great many times. Once spelled 'hielsar' 9^v and once 'helsar' 11^v. The latter certainly is due to a Danish antecedent 'helær,' and the former may be a late Icelandic diphthongization of a 'helsar' influenced by an earlier Danish 'helær.' The word occurs only in the Book of Simples.
- herking, acc.sg. *heaviness*, *slowness*. Cf. H. & T. 160 herki, m. *lating*, *drag*; herkja, v. *slita seg fram*; Vigf. 258 herkja, v. *do with utmost difficulty*:—god vid sinu kropnan ok herking ok limma dofva 41^v. This seems to correspond to *Ant. Nic.* valet ad spasmus & tetanum.
- her-kveisa, f. *rheum*, *defluxion of humor*:—er reyntt moti herkveisu er stendur j buk manz 46^v = *Ant. Nic.* expertum est contra guttam calidam. Cf. Du Cange IV, 142. The simplex 'kveisa' is used elsewhere in our MS. in the meanings 1. *boil* and 2. *shooting pain*, *rheumatism*.¹⁰
- hiartar-mergur, m. *marrow from stag's bones*:—Rid ââ hofud hiartar merg S16^v; tak hiartar merg S22^v.
- hiart-sott, f. *disease of the heart*:—gott þeim er reður er ok kvidu fullur eda reidur eda bradur eda sem hafvi einskonar vit firringar eda hiart sottir 45^v = *Ant. Nic.* valet proprie multicus maniacis cardiacis et tristibus.
- hilu d.sg.n.? [= heilu?] adv. phrase:—med fullu ok hilu *wholly*? 39^v.

¹⁰ Can 'herkveisu' be scribal error for 'heita kveisu' = gutta calida? Gutta is used of any disease attributed to a defluxion of humor, resulting in swelling or inflammation, as *gout*, *dropsy*, *fistula*.

hirna [=hinna] f. *membrane*. The unusual spelling *rn* for *nn* is paralleled after long vowel *airn* for *einn*, *steirn* for *steinn* but this is the only case after short vowel. That it is not merely scribal error is indicated by the two occurrences—, dregur hirno af augum 4r; þa dregur þath af hirno þa sem talmar syn 31^v.

hirngingum d.pl.? meaning uncertain:—þat (i.e. Juniper) er gott med hirngingum ok því er madur fær hugsi 19^v. That both 'hirngingum' and 'hugsi' refer to the brain and the mind seems evident; the forms and exact meaning are doubtful. That the juniper is used for mental tonic is evident from many parallels. *Våre Folkemed. Lægeurter* p. 20: "Enebær VII eller IX fastynes the stórkæ menniskens hærnæ, the stadigh górer hans syndh, the fior varer hans syndh . . ." An exact parallel in Latin is found Krist. p. 282. So also *Sw. LB.* p. 172: "eenebär arla om morgon ätin styrkia hiärna temprä skeel (i.e. *understanding*) göme syn. . . ." *Trinity* changes 'hugsi' to 'hugsyki' which shows the copyist's interpretation. The correction is hardly warranted; we have rather some word related to 'hugsi' indecl. adj. *tankefuld, betänksom, grublende*, Fritz. II 88.

hland-þraung f. *urinary pressure, strangury*. Recorded once *A.M.* 696, cf. Hægstad, *Gn. Fragm.*, p. 8, 'landreng' and in margin 'hlandþrong' in another hand. *K strangiroram, S strangwirtam*:—leysir hland þraung 14^v.

hof-gras, n. literally *hoof-herb*. The name points to *coltsfoot*. Icl. hófgresi, hófur. Norw. hestehov = *Tusilago farfara*, cf. *Våre Folkem. Lægeurter*, p. 96. Schübelér, *Virid. Norw.* The description in our text does not, however, bear this out:—þessi violas ber er men kalla hof gras 41^r. *Ant. Nic.* 'cum oleo rosarum vel violarum' gives no explanation.

hofud-sott, f. *disease of the head*:—vid hofud-sottum skal temprä þat vid logh þess grass. er salvia heitir 45^r.

hofud-þroti, m. *boil or swelling of the head*:—med því er gott at smyria hofuth þrota 37^r = *DL.* .a. bold .i. houæth.

hofud-þungi, m. *heaviness of the head*:—tvær (sc. ædar) i nas-raufum vid hofud þunga 24^v = *17 St. J.* de naribus .i. propter grauitatem capitis.

hofud-ædur, f. *principal vein*:—þriar eru hofud ædar i manni 24^v; skædur þu hofud ædi þeirri er undir eyru er S21^r.

- hofud-ærsla, f. *madness, insanity*. Norw. Aasen 961 örsla, f. *forvirring i hovedet, örhed, sandselöshed*. Icl. ærsl, n.pl. cf. Vigf. 759. Mod. Icl. höfud-ærsl, n.pl., cf. Blöndal 383:— a nyrakath hofuth þess sem hofud ærslur hefir 33^r = DL. giæld.
- hond-fylli, m. a *handfull*. Zoëga 146 fylli, m. *fullness*. Fritz. I, 722, handfyllr, f. *hvad der fylder haanden*. Isl. Lex. I, 329 hondfylli, f.:—tak hond fylla mynttu S9^v.
- hryggiar-tangi, m. *the spine, the end of the spine*, cf. tangi, m. 1. *a point projecting into the sea*. 2. *the pointed end by which the blade is driven into the handle*. Vigf. 625. Fritz. III, 677. Dr. Reichborn-Kjennerud has called my attention to the common Mod. Norw. rovetange, rumpetange:—ef hryggiar tanginn er smurdur a 41^v = Ant. Nic. si spina inungatur.
- hugsi ? meaning uncertain. Cf. hirngingum.
- humsku-fullur, adj. *having excessive humor, full of humor*:—vid lær verck humsku fullann 13^v.
- hunangs-tar, n? *a drop of honey*. Recorded A.M. 434 and listed by Kålund as new Icelandic word:—tak lögín contaure ok hunangs tar S18^r.
- hversdags-rida, f. *quotidian fever*, 9^v, 10^v, 46^v, S25^r.
- hviæti-stumpur, m. *wheat bread*; error for hveiti-stumpur? Norw. Aasen 763 stump, m. *brödstumpe, et stort stykke ovnbagt bröd*, Berg. Trondh. Nordl. Stumpbröd, n. *surbröd, ovnbagt bröd* (modsat flatbraud):—stappar maður mercki med hvieti stump 6^r = S hwetæ brøth krummæ; K wat (!) brøt crummæ.
- hvirfils-sott, f. *disease of crown of head, dizziness, vertigo*:—got moti hinum mesta hofud verk ok brotfalle ok hvirfils sott 44^v = Ant. Nic. valet contra gravissiman cephalicam epilepticis vertigonosis.
- hænsa-bani, m. *henbane*? Reichborn-Kjennerud: *Våre Folkemed. Lægeurter*, p. 83, lists 'hønbane' among Norw. names for *Hyoscyamus niger*. But a marginal note in our MS S9^v reads: *Urtica netla* | a *Islandsku hænsabane*. In the Danish of Henrik Smid 'hønsebane' is regularly translated *Bursa pastoris*; Kalkar II, 355^b interprets it *Hyoscyamus*:—tak rot af grasi því er hænsa bani heitir. ok verm jliar manz ok bit vid þat leysir vel S9^v (i.e., if a man may not go his errand).

- hævindla, translates borra-blad, *burdock*:—Lappacium borra blad eda hævindla. hun er .iiii. kyns ok oll hafa næstra ein krap 20^r.
- jarn-rydur, m. *iron rust*. Icl. ryð, n. Fritz. III, 41, cites two uses of the masc. In Mod. Norw. the word is supplanted by 'rust':—Ferrugo iarn rydur 18^r; af jarn ryd eda eitradom vafnum 23^r.
- innyfii, n. 1. *matrix*:—þat innyfii sem barn skal j getaz 14^v (not recorded earlier in this meaning). 2. n.pl. *entrails, bowels*, the common meaning, is used often.
- jstru-kvidur, m. *paunch-belly*:—vid jstru kvid tak rug braud þat eigi er blandat vid annath korn S25^r.
- kallda-rida, f. *ague*:—þat (i.e., diaciminium) er matuliga þeim er kallda ridu kennir 44^r.
- kapal-miolk, f. *mare's milk*. Found only in a marginal note in a later hand. Cf. Lat. caballus. According to Marstrander borrowed through Celtic.
- kenna, wk. v. *to prescribe*:—gera sem lækningh kennir 50^r; svo sem lækning kenniz þeim er þarf 51^r. Not recorded before in this meaning. Used also in the common sense *know, recognize, notice*.
- kiot-vella, f. *a boiling of meat? broth or stock of meat?* Söderw. I, 659 kiötvälder (pl. acc. köth wella *L.B.* 2:57), m. *afkokning af kött*. Kål. 399 lists it as new Icl. word:—Tak hiartar horn ok skaf af ok siod j vatni þriar kiott vellur ok renn þat sod gegnum klædi S21^v (cf. *A.M.* 434, p. 379, l. 17); Tak gras þat er pulegium heitir ok siod þat i vatni þriar kiot vellur ok dreck sidan S25^r = *A.M.* 434, p. 385, l. 16: tak gras, er heitir pulegium, ok siod III kiotvellr i vatnni ok dreck þat sodit.
- klungers-blomm, n. *flower of dog-rose*, Norw. Aasen 367 klunger, m. used all over Norway for *Rosa canina* and other brambles. In Iceland, where the bramble does not grow, the word is used for *rough ground*, Vigf. 344:—þvi vatni er roser eru velldar j eda viole ef rosir fær eigi eda klungers-blomm 44^r.
- klæda-hirsla, f. *clothes-chest*:—enn ef þat verdur lagtt j klæda hirslur S20^v = *A.M.* 434, p. 384, l. 1, i klæda aurk.
- klæda-hof ? *menstruation*:—vekur manni dyr gang enn konu klæda hof 50^r. The meaning assigned seems supported by another passage: þat helpur ok þeim konum er eigi fa klæda hafa 49^v = *Ant. Nic.* prouocat menstrua.

- knypri, acc.pl.m.? *knots, lumps, piles*:—þat er gott vid þa knypri ok þat sara kiot er vex j millum hlauna manz vid bak hlutinn sialfan 8^v = *Ḳ* knytræ. ON knypri, n. *knot, lump*; Mod. Icl. hnypur, knypur, n. *a bent or cowering position*. Ross 413 connects Norw. hnupa, f. and hnypr', *rose-haw*. No masc. noun is recorded.
- kodda, acc.pl.m. *testicles*, Norw. or Danish, Aasen 374 kodd, m. *testicle*; DL koddæ; Halvorson, *Isl. Lex.* 464 kodri, m. *scrotum*; Engl. cod-piece:—dugir vid bolna kodda 18^v.
- kompost, *compost?* Lapaces¹¹ er eins kyns kaal er um sidir er kompost er kallad ef þat er sodit med hunangi ædiki ok mustardi þa ma leingi hirdaz til matar. ok tekur þa kompost nafn 20^v.
- koppa-kerrald, n. *copper vessel*. Recorded in Mod. Norw. cf. Aasen 380.
- koppa, wk.v. *to cup* (i.e., to bleed with a cupping vessel). Not recorded from the old period. Aasen 380 koppa; Blöndal 447 setja e-m koppa:—i aprili er gott æda blod ath lata ok koppa S15^r, cf. Söderw. I, 684.
- kulda-æfni, n. *cold condition, cold origin*, cf. Fritz. I, 291 efni, n. 6. *tilstand, stilling, omstændigheder ved sag eller person hvori denne befinder sig*:—ok er þat vid somum sottum ef þær eru af kulda æfni. svo sem heitt er moti þeim sottum er af heitu efni eru 44^v.
- kumrar, m.pl. 1. *buds of leaves*. 2. *catkins, aments* (of birch, aspen, hazel, etc.). Aasen 395 kumar, m. pl. Berg. Trondh. Nordl., kumur, Ork., kumul, Indr. The form 'kumrar' not elsewhere recorded; the MS clearly kum^u = kumra, acc.pl.:—Enn su er svortt er kollud hefir beggia vegna græn blod. ok kumra kuodu fulla a æftzom kvistum sinum 30^v.
- kusamar? transl. herba paralysis, i.e., *St. Peter's-wort, primrose*, cf. Van den Berg, *Ant. Nic.*, p. 216:—kusamars gras 45^r, the passage is corrupt and has no parallel in the *Ant. Nic.*; med því vini er j er sodet gras þat er salvia heitir eda því er kusamar heitir 52^r = *Ant. Nic.* datur cum vino in quo cocta sit salvia aut herba paralysis.
- kveri, m. *something rolled into a twist or bunch, a sponge*. Norw. Ross. 449 kvere, m. 1. *haarvirvel* = kvervel Sdf. Förde:

¹¹ Reading uncertain. The word is alphabetzed under 'L,' but the initial looks more like 'V.' No parallel in DL.

- kveere. Maaske for Tvere. 2. *en sammenvreden visk el. kvast til at skure el. tørre med*, Tel.:—j vasar (leg. nasar) sem kvera liten 51^r.
- kvidar-sott, f. *stomach-ache*:—dreck . . . cinnamomum fyrir kvidar sottar verck S16^r.
- kvid-kreppa, f. *cramps of the stomach*:—er gott vid kvid kreppu 29^r = DL. writh i quith.
- kvid-reppa, f. *acute pain or cramp of the bowels*. Aasen 598 repp, m. *en kort sygdom, et anfald af en eller anden svaghed*:—þa er gott vid lær verck kvid reppu hosta ok buk verck 10^r = DL krampæ; þat er gott vid kvid reppu ok utsott 12^r = DL mykel løsn. This passage suggests Mod. Icl. ræpa, f. *diarrhoea*.
- kvidu-fullur, adj. *full of anxiety*:—þeim er reðdur er ok kvidu fullur 45^v; þeim er hrygger eru ok kvidufuller 46^r.
- kvisl, f. *branch, forked branch*. Aasen 441 kvisl, f. *en klöf, især om en mög-greb der er dannet af en kløftet gren*. Blöndal 463 kvisl, f. *gren, gaffel*:—þat hefir kvisler grænar 37^r; i lut af vin tres kvislum S16^v.
- kvodu-fullur, adj. *full of resin*:—kumra kvodu fulla 30^v.
- kvæ-smæria, f. *an ointment from resin* (from birch trees). Norw.? Aasen 413 kvæde, n. *saft eller gummi som udbrændes af birkenæver*. Udtalt kvæe, nogle st. kvee. For a possible smæria, f. cf. Torp 663 smyrja, f. *smørelse*:—þa (i.e., buds of birch tree) skal . . . saman lesa vid þann tima sem þeir skulu j lauf springa. þa skall stappa ok j osoltu. kvæsmæriu. þvi sem geriz j maiu. manade 30^v.
- lausnar-gras, n. *cathartic herb*:—lausnargrass temprat med kolldu vatni 43^v, and four other places.
- lausnar-hlutur, m. *a cathartic*:—af þeim lausnar hlut er heitir scamonia 49^r.
- lausnar-lækning, f. *a cathartic*:—þer lækningar er lausnar lækningar heita 51^v; su lausnar lækning 51^v.
- laust, f. *catharsis*:—gefir svefn ok laust þeim er þat etur 15^r.
- laustur, f. *catharsis*:—med einni lettri lausti 7^v. The form can only be from a fem. ió-stem, but without umlaut cf. Nor.³ §374, n. 1.
- leir-keralld, n. *earthenware vessel*:—vardveitiz j leir kerallde 30^v.
- lida-kveisa, f. *pain of joints, rheumatism* v. herkveisa:—vid lida kveisa ok lima 45^v; god moti fota sott ok miadmar verck sott ok allri lida kveisu 52^r.

- lida-sott, f. *illness of limbs or joints, rheumatism*. Aasen 444
 lid-sott, f. *et slags gigt*:—miadmar sott ok lida sott 41^v = *Ant. Nic. arteticis et sciaticis*.
- lifrar-sott, f. *disease of liver*:—(sc. skall skeina) Epatica under
 armi. vid lifrar sott 24^r = 17 *St. J. propter eparis dolorem*.
- lifra-sott, f. *disease of liver*:—lavar ber . . . er gott vid lifra
 sott ok maga 9^v = *K siuk lyvær*.
- lifur-þroti, m. *a swelling of the liver, abscess*:—vid lifur þrota
 22^r = *S* for boldæ innæn liuær (not in *K*!). The reading of
 the Danish favors the second definition.
- lifur-verckur, m. *pain or disease of liver*:—dreckur madur þat
 (i.e., Calamus). þa dugir þat vid lifur verck ok maga 14^r;
 17^v, 43^v, 45^r.
- lifvis-madur? Uncertain reading MS lifvismóm:—Dyadicomnen
 (sic = *Ant. Nic. diacitoniten*) . . . veitur hialp . . . ollum
 of myklum lausnum. ok allra hellzt lifvismonnum (?).
 Helpur ok þeim er hafa svanga verck. ok ok tigurligum.¹²
 hold j sma þormum 45^v = *Ant. Nic. delicatis hominibus et
 nobilibus*. From the Latin it is safe to conjecture that we
 have a dat. plur. "lifvis-monnum" = hóg-lifis-monnum, i.e.,
men of easy quiet life.
- lim-fastur, adj. *like glue*:—þat eydir ok j manni illa vokva ok
 limfasta 45^v.
- liosti, m. *vulva*:—tak bui ok legg vid liostan undir klædi konu
 S12^v.
- lungna-þrotti, m. *pustule of the lungs* 37^r = *DL* boldæ i lungæ.
- maiu-manadur, m. *May*:—þa skal j maiu manade saman lesa
 30^v.
- matar-melting, f. *digestion* 48^v.
- mat-losti, m. *appetite*. Norw.? Aasen 483 matlost, m. *madlyst*,
 B. Stift. Ellers matlyst; Aasen 459 lostemat, m. *sjalden og
 lækker mad*, N. Berg.:—ok gerir mat losta 21^r.
- mat-magi, m. *stomach*. Used only in the Antidotarium where
 it regularly corresponds to the Latin stomachus. 42^v, 44^r,
 46^r, 47^r, 47^v, 48^r, 48^v, 49^v, 50^v, 53^r.
- meinleiki, m. *harm, injury*. Ross 510 meinleik, n. *skade paa
 kroppen*, S. Trond; Blöndal 538 meinleiki, m. = meinleikur,

¹² A small open space on each side of 'ok tigurligum'; where the phrase
 now stands, it breaks the context. The Latin text shows that it rightly belongs
 after 'livismóm.'

- m. *sygdom*; Vigf. Fritz. & NgL record it in the meaning *hindrance*:—fyrir utan allann voda ok meinleika 46^v = *Ant. Nic. sine molestia*.
- miadmar-sott, f. *illness of the hips, sciatica*:—miadmar sott ok lida sott 41^v = *Ant. Nic. arteticis et sciaticis multum prodest*.
- miadmar-verckur, m. = miadmar-sott q.v. 45^v.
- miadmarverck-sott, f. = miadmar-sott q.v. 52^r.
- migi, m. *membrum virile*. Blöndal 544, Aasen 498:—vid því er migi bolnar 24^v.
- millta, n. *milt, spleen*. Used three times for the more common millti:—þrutid millta 18^r; vid siuktt millta 24^r, 26^v.
- morna [= morkna] wk.v. *waste away*. Norw. Ross 524 morna = morkna, Sogn, Hard. Shl. Ndm. Hedder i Shl. “morna” ellers regelmæssig “modna” i Sogn, S. Berg. 1. *smuldre hen*. 2. om folk: *hentares*; *svinde hen uten synderlig lidelse*:—þeim ollum er morna eda þorna 43^r; þeim er morna brot 43^v = *Ant. Nic. ethicis*; þeim er þornandi ok mornandi ridu (reading uncertain) hafa er etici heitir 48^r; hinum er þorna ok morna aller j brutt 48^r = *Ant. Nic. ptisicis*.
- mornan, f. *a wasting away*. Norw. v. morna. Aasen 508 lists an adj. *moren, skörnet*, and Ross 524 notes its use in Shd. Ndm.:—gott vid mornan manz 44^r = *Ant. Nic. ptisicis*; vid mornan manz ok þornan 44^v.
- mote-gipt, f. *antidote*:—eitt antidonum (i.e., *antidotum*) er kalla ma lækning eda mote gipt þeirra sotta er hennar natura er j mote skipath 50^r. The word seems, then, to have come into use by direct translation from Latin and not through German as suggested Falk & Torp I, 308 (Germ. ed.) v. gift. Possibly Norw.; mote, adv. and prep. still used in N.Berg. Aasen 510.
- munn-særi, n. *soreness of mouth*. Norw. cf. Hægstad, *Gn. Fragm.* 13:—at smyria vid munn særi 7^v = *K* (p. 113, l. 8) smurth a manz mun thær sum sart ær; vid munsæri 13^v = *K* saar mun; vid munn særi 31^r = *K* saar mun.
- munugdar-lifi, n. *carnal life* = munúð-lifi Fritz. II, 754, Blöndal 561:—hier hefur vid munaugdar¹³ lifi S11^v = *A.M.* 194 (*Alfræði* I, 76) munat lifi; vid munugdar lifvi S26^v.

¹³ The MS a few times has ‘au’ for ‘u,’ cf. *tempraud*, pp.n.pl. 5^v, *laungu* = *lungu* 20^r, *stoppauð*, pp.f.sg. 21^r, 22^r.

- myrr [= meyrri] adj. *tender*:—þann tima sem hofudet er myrrt 28^r = K meþr.
- nasa-bora, f. *nostril*. Record. in Mod. Norw. Aasen 524; DL næsæ thyrilæ, næsæ røf:—lætur varmt j nasa borur 27^r; latenn j nasa borur 35^v.
- nasa-daun, m. (evil) *smell in the nose*:—vid nasa daun. tak legg af myntu. ok lat j nasir ser. þa tekur af oþef S17^r.
- nasar-rauf, f. *nostril*:—blas i nasar raufarnar 2^r; naser (sic!) raufar S14^v = A.M. 434 nasraufar.
- naturu-blod, n. (natural) *blood*:—sa sem hafa kalltt naturu blod 23^r.
- naturu-litur, m. *natural color*:—dugir kvendi at fa sin naturu lit 14^r = N naturuligan lit, which may be the correct reading.
- neyra [= nyra] n. *kidney*:—siukt neyra 12^r; þrytur (leg. brytur) stein j neyra 12^v.
- of-blod, n. *excessive blood* 22^r.
- of-ganga, f. *excessive walking*. Blöndal 591:—moti fota sott þeirri er madur fær af of gangu (Norw. without u-umlaut) 6^r = K af mykæl gang.
- of-groinn, adj. *excessively grown, injuriously grown*:—vid ollu því er of groit er j manz likam 12^v = K alt thæt thær innan manz lykum bundæt ær.
- of-þurka, f. *excessive dryness* 44^r = Ant. Nic. ex siccitate.
- of-votur, adj. (cf. vátr) *excessively wet*:—of vat sar 5^v; of votum ligominibus 40^r.
- of-væta, f. *excessive moisture or humor*:—þurkar of vætu 39^v.
- olyfians-dryckur, m. *poison*. For the form 'ólyfians-' instead of 'ólyfianar-' cf. Nor.³ §380, 2:—vid eitri ok olyfians dryck S22^v.
- órslor,¹⁴ f.pl. *madness, distraction*. Norw. Aasen 961 örsla, f. B. Stift, Østl. og fl. Icl. ærsl, n.pl.:—item vid órslor S17^r.
- pila-lauf, n. *leaves of the willow*. Norw.:—Stappar madur hana (i.e., katost) med pila lauf þa heilsar hun blodugtt sar 21^v.
- reysi-ledra, f. *weasel?* Norw. not elsewhere recorded, but cf. Aasen 438 lekatt, m. *hermelin* (= røyse-kat) Smaal. (Sv. lekatt). Maaske egentlig et andet lignende dyr: sneemusen (*Mustela nivalis*). Söderw. I, 798 lä-katter, m.:—tak reysi ledru kvika ok lat j grytu S26^v.

¹⁴ I.e., ørslor. The spelling ð = ø occurs only a few times in the MS, which regularly shows complete fusion of æ and ø.

- ridu-madur, m. *one having a fever*:—gef ridu manni at drecka S26^v.
- ridu-minning, f. *foreboding of fever*:—þat er matuliga þeim er fiorda dags ridu eda kallda ridu kennir vid eda ridu minningar 44^r; gott þeim er ridu minningar hefir 47^r.
- ridu-time, m. *the hour of the fever*:—adur enn ridu time kome 38^r.
- rífa-sullur, m. *swelling of the ribs, pleurisy (?)*:—þat er gott ath rífa sulla 37^r = K for boldæ.i. rif.
- rossa-þistill, m. *horse-thistle*:—scamonia sive senecion . . . a norænu rossa þistill 34^v suggests that it means *Senecio vulgare, groundsel*. Elsewhere in the MS 'scamonia' seems rather to stand for *Convolvulus scammonia, scammony*.
- rynski, n? *state of being wrinkled*. Norw. related to hrökkva, *to curl*; hrokkin, *curled, wrinkled*, Vigf. 289; hrukka, Mod. Norw. rukka, Sw. rynka, *a wrinkle*, Falk & Torp II, 927:—dugir vid rynski j anlitti 19^v.
- sallt-grof, f. *salt-mine, salt-pit* 34^r.
- samburdur, m. *a mixture, compound*. Not recorded in this sense, cf. Vigf. 510, Fritz. III, 168:—stomatichon heitir einn samburdur spiza 48^r.
- silfur-froda, f. *silver-froth, foam*:—silfur froda dugir þat sama sem gulldz froda 4^r = Constantine: cadmia eius similiter operatur ut cadmia auri.
- sina-verckur, m. *pain of the tendons*:—kal dugir ok vid sina verck 11^v.
- sinu-kropnan, f. *cramped tendons*. Norw. Cf. Aasen 651 sina:—god vid sinu kropnan ok herking 41^v = *Ant. Nic.* ad spasmus & tetanum.
- skæra, wk.v. *make clear or bright*, Kål. 399 lists it as new Icl. word:—skærir myrk augu 11^v, 16^r, 17^v; lettat þunga raust ok skærir 22^v; skærir augu 22^r, 29^r, 35^v.
- sma-bollotur, adj. *having form of small spheres*:—giora svo sma bollott sem ertr 52^r.
- sol-brunn (or sol-brunninn?) adj. *sun-burned*:—er god þeim monnum er sol bruner eru eda fiakomner vid allz konar ryu 42^r.
- sottar-þeli, m. *obstruction of humors?* Cf. Vigf. 734 þeli, m. *obstruction in chest, catarrh*; Blöndal 969 þeli, m. *slimsamling for brystet og deraf følgende vanskelighed ved at trække veiret, trangbrystedhed*:—fagt leingur wid sottar þelan j manne 53^r.

- spena-verckur, m. *pain of the nipples, infection of the nipples*, S21^v, S25^v.
- spen-miolk, f. (woman's) *milk*:—med spen miolk kven manz 50^r.
- spon-matur, m. *food to be eaten with a spoon* 53^r.
- spyiu-digur, adj. *large with waste?* þat helpur spyiu digrum magha ok vinn blasnum innyflum 45^r = *Ant. Nic.* vomitum abstinet. ventositatem precordiorum emendat.
- spyiu-dryckur, m. *poison to provoke vomiting, emetic*:—spyiu dryck tak þu eigi S15^v.
- spyio-sott, f. *sickness that provokes desire to vomit*:—gefzt hon i spyio sott j dryck 16^v = *K* gyfs hun i spy drykæ.
- spærla, acc.pl.m. from spærl or spærdill (i.e., spærla < spærdla < spærdila)? dimin. of Icl. sparð, n. *sheep's droppings*, Vigf. 581, Blöndal 777. In *A.M.* 434 acc.pl. sperdla, listed by Kålund p. 399 as from sperdill. The spelling with 'æ' in our MS suggests Norw. Cf. further Aasen 741 spæl and speril, *tail*:—tak geita klaufir ok spærla S16^r.
- stal-gaddur, m. *steel spike* S13^r.
- striu, n. *hards, hurds*. Norw. Aasen 762 stry, n. *blaar, grov hör*; strju, Hall. Valdr.:—i lin eda striu S20^r.
- svalg-rum, n. *gullet*:—snarpleik barka manzens eda svalgrums eda tungu rota 44^v = *Ant. Nic.* ad omnem lingue et gutturis asperitatem.
- svanga-sott, f. *disease of the groin, disease of small intestine*:—moti svanga sott 46^r; helpur ok þeim er hafva svanga sott ok sma þarma 48^v = *Ant. Nic.* iliosis confert; god þeim er svanga sott hafa ęða smaþarma verck 52^v = *Ant. Nic.* ualet multum iliosis.
- svanga-verckur, m. = svanga-sott q.v. 41^v, 45^v.
- tungl-far, n. *course of the moon*:—geta þeirra tida er setar eru eptir tungl fari 24^r.
- tungu-gall, n. *tongue-gall, sore spot on tongue* cf. Söderw. II, 1, 682 tungu gaal ? n ? *fel el. värck i tungan*; Blöndal 234 gall, n. = galli, m. *feil, lyde, skavank*:—tvær (sc. ædar) under tungu vid tan verck ok tungu gall 24^v.
- þarfsamligur, adj. *suitable, necessary?* Fritz. and Vigf. list only the adverb þarfsamliga:—sa dreckur (sic) er þarfsamligur 23^r.
- þornan, f. *a drying up* 44^v v. mornan.
- þumalfingurs-ædur, f. *a vein in the thumb* S15^r.

- þurla, wk.v. *roll up*. Norw. Aasen 847 turla, *krölle* (=tulla) Lister; Ross 843 Lister, Mandal:—þurla svo saman sem fingur þinn er vaxinn 51^r.
- uf-sig [=ulf-sig q.v.] n. *falling of the uvula*, cf. Icl. ufur, m. Norw. uv, m.; Norw. and Icl. sig, n. *a slow falling*, medic. *prolapsis*, Blöndal 692. In Mod. Icl. the usual expression is 'ufurinn drypur' Blöndal 878:—gott vid uf sigi 29^r = DL for dripæl fallen.
- ulf-sig [=uf-sig q.v.] n. *falling of the uvula*. Norw. Aasen 869 ulv, m. dröbel, uvula, B. Stift, Gbr. Nordl. og fl. uv, Sæt. Tel.:—at leggja aa ulf sigh 34^r.
- up-neyta, wk.v. *consume*. Recorded *A.M.* 194:—sallt þurkar ok up neyter illt blod 33^v = DL smæltær.
- vamlan, f. *nausea*. DL væmæls:—god vid lausan kvid ok vid vamlan 11^r; gott vid vamlan 17^v, 33^r = K væmæls; moti vamlan ok spyio 47^r = *Ant. Nic.* vomitum et subversionem stomaci aufert; gott moti vamlan ok spyiu 50^v.
- vamla, wk.v. *grow nauseated* v. vamlan:—lætur mann ok vammla S27^r = K gþr at væmi.
- vammle? d.sg. of vaml? related to vamm? *fault, blemish*:—vid allz konar briost veilsu ok vammle 44^v = *Ant. Nic.* sanat omne vitium pectoris et pulmonis.
- vanga [=vangi, m.] f. *upper part of cheek, temple*:—rid a enni ok vid vongu 40^v (2 times).
- var-fullur, adj. *full of matter* (of eyes), Aasen 19 augnevar, m. = augnesaur, *voer eller slim i öinene*; Ross 888 var, m. sliim, Vestf. og fl.; Blöndal 912 var (-s, vör) n. *urenlighed i øjenkrogene*:—at rida j augu ef var full eru 19^r = DL wærk i øghn.
- vas-kveisa, f. *water-blister*:—hreinsar likam af skabbe ok vas kveisum 18^r.
- vatnz-ras, f. *a flow of water* (of the eyes). New meaning, cf. Vigf. 682 vatns-rás, f. *a trench, water-course*:—latid j augna smysl þa þurkar þat vatnz ras 12^r.
- vatz-gratinn, adj. *watery* (of eyes). Aasen 240 graaten, adj. *tillböielig til at græde*:—at baka vatz grattinn augu 10^v = DL krankæ øghæn.
- vatz-kveisa, f. = vas-kveisa q.v. 13^r.
- veilsa, f. *humor, matter*. v. briost-veilsa:—þat dregur til sin veilsu ur sære 42^r, 42^v; nu er um þer lekningar er lausnar lekningar heita ok leysa alla veilsu fra manne 51^v *humor*;

- dugir vid allz konar aungna (sic) veilsu 17^r = DL skymæl, Macer caligine.
- veitur, n. *sheep-tick*. Norw. Aasen 915 veiter (veitr) n. *faarelus*, N. Berg. Nordl. Ellers i formen veit. According to Reichborn-Kjennerud *Trichodectus sphaerocephalus*, which are very common in Norway:—þat (i.e., argentum vivum) drepur lys. flær. knittur. veitur ok flygi 9^r.
- vetur-kulde, m. *the winter cold*, Norw.? Aasen 927 vetterkulde, m. Mod. Icl. vetrarkuldi, 32^r.
- vind-blasinn, adj. *full of wind, puffed up*:—leysir vind blasin innifle 44^r = *Ant. Nic.* ventositatem intestinorum soluit; helpur spyiu digrum maga ok vinn (sic) blasnum innyflum 45^r = *Ant. Nic.* ventositatem precordiorum emendat; vind blasinn mat magha 50^r; vind blasen maga 52^r.
- volka, wk.v. *roll or crush something* (between the palates), *soak*. Zoega 591 *dirty, soil, rumple*; Aasen 894 *kramme, knuge, forslide*, Sw. walka:—ef madur volkar hann innan millum sina goma 38^r; tak þu ull ok volka vid log læknis blads S20^r.
- vonslen? *whew, juice*:—til þess er allr vonslen er ur sign S27^r = K vatlæn, Molbech 201 i.e., *valle*, cf. Sw. vassla, *whew*.

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- The following abbreviations are used in referring to MSS and printed books:
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OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

Berg. = Bergen. B. Stift = Bergens Stift. Dal. = Dalarne. Gbr. = Gudbrandsdalen. Hall. = Hallingdal. Hard. = Hardanger. Icl. = Icelandic. Inh. = Innherred. Indr. = Indreøen. Jæd. = Jæderen. Ma. = Mandal. Md. = Middle. Mod. = Modern. N. Berg. = Nordre Bergenshus. Ndm. = Nordmøre. Nord. = Nordland. Norw. = Norwegian. O.N. = Old Norse. O.E. = Old English. Ork. = Orkedalen. Rbg. = Raabygdelaget. Ryfl. = Ryfylke. Sdf. = Søndfjord. Sdm. = Søndmøre. Shl. = Søndhordaland. Smaal. = Smaalenene. Sw. = Swedish. Sæt. = Sætedalen. Tel. = Telemarken. Trondh. = Trondhjem. Valdr. = Valdres. Vestf. = Vestfold. Østl. = Østlandet.

Other abbreviations are self-explanatory.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF OLD ENGLISH *ēag*, *ēah* IN MIDDLE ENGLISH

1. *Purpose of the Investigation.*

The purpose of this investigation is (a) to trace the development of Old English *ēag*, *ēah* in some of the dialects of Middle English, as far as this is exemplified in early forms of Place-Names and in texts of known provenance, and (b) to examine the possible value as a dialect-test of the ME development of *ēag*, *ēah*. I hope to shew that the raising of *ē* to *ɛ* before *ɟ* and *h* in the 13th and 14th centuries can be assigned to a certain group of Midland and Southern dialects, though the diphthongization of *ē* before *ɟ* and *h* does not seem to be confined to the dialects of any specific area.

The following pages deal with the dialects of all the English counties south of the Ribble and the Humber. The Place-Name spellings which, together with the evidence of literary texts, form the material on which my conclusions are based, will be found at the end of the article. The date of each document is given, the century being indicated when the date cannot be ascertained more exactly.

This article was completed in the autumn of 1925. Since that date my friend, Miss Mackenzie, has supplied me with further material illustrating the development of OE *ēag*, *ēah*, in the South Eastern and London dialects of Middle English. The facts now brought to light necessitate a slight modification of my final statement, especially as regards the counties of Essex and Beds. A brief analysis of Miss Mackenzie's material and results will be found in a supplementary note at the end of the main part of this article (§ 41).

2. *The EME Development of OE ēag, ēah.*

By the end of the OE period, *ēag*, *ēah* had become *ēg*, *ēh* (with a tense *ē*) in all dialects (Luick, *Hist. Gram.*, §278; Bülbring, *Elementarbuch*, §200, 317, 318). These groups appear in early Middle English as *ēɟ*, *ēh*. EME tense *ē* was diphthongized in most dialects before *ɟ*, *h* [j, x], e.g., *heiɟe*, *heih*, 'high,' *eiɟe*, 'eye,' *neiɟ*, 'near,' etc. The diphthong appears first in

12th and 13th century texts, such as the *Worcs. Fragments*, *Vices and Virtues*, *Trinity Homilies*, etc. Among some speakers *ĕ* may have remained before *h*, whence such forms *hĕh*, *nĕh*, *lĕh*. However, Luick's view seems to be that EME *ĕ* was diphthongized everywhere before *-h*,¹ and that the *eh*-spellings are merely traditional. (Luick, §403b.)

We have, therefore, in EME, 1) *ei* from OE *ĕag*; 2) *eih* or 3) *ĕh* from OE *ĕah*; 4) *ĕ* from OE *ĕa* in inflected cases, e.g., *hĕa*, *lĕa*, in which the *-h*- was lost between vowels (**hĕaha*, etc.).

The 4th or *ĕ*-type is rare in ME literary texts, though very common in Pl.-N. forms. This is probably because the word *lĕah*, which so often appears in Place-Names as *le(e)* (from OE dat. *lĕa*), is of rare occurrence in prose or verse compositions. The word *hĕah*, which had an inflected form *hĕa* in OE, is sometimes found as *he*, both in Place-Names and literary texts (e.g., in Audelay: *he* 'high'), though usually as *hegh*, *hey*, etc.

3. Confusion of OE *ĕag*, *ĕah* in ME.

In some OE words there is an interchange of *ĕag*, *ĕah* in declension. Thus OE *bĕah* (with *-g*- unvoiced finally) has dative *bĕage*. By analogy with such forms as this, in which the *-g*- is original, nouns and adjectives ending in *-ĕah* in the nominative sometimes have inflected cases in *-ĕage*, instead of the earlier contracted forms in *-ĕa*; for instance, OE *lĕah* has dat. *lĕa* or *lĕage*, OE *hĕah*, dat. *hĕam*, *hĕagum*, etc. We find, therefore, double forms of these words in ME, with *-eih* from the uninflected and *-eie* from the inflected type. The two are often confused, so that *-e(i)he* is used for the inflected cases, and *-ei* for the uninflected. The *e(i)h* type appears even in words which always had a vowel-ending in OE, e.g., OE *ĕage*, 'eye,' ME *eie*, *ei*, *ehe*, etc.

4. The Later Development of EME *ei*₃, *eih*.

Early Middle English *ei* before 3, *h*, becomes *ɛ* in some ME dialects; in others the diphthong remains. The consonant -3 was probably lost in either case.

¹ Except perhaps "auf dem nordhumbrischen Gebiet," §403, Anm. 5.

I have assumed that *ɛ* developed from the diphthongized from (cf. Luick, §407); it is possible however, that the raising took place at the undiphthongized stage *ĕ*-in inflected forms ([ĕ-je], etc.).

We find, then, in certain Middle English dialects, *te* 'eye,' *hi*, *hie* 'high,' *ni* 'near,' *lie* 'meadow,' etc.; in others, *heih* or *hei(e)*, *neih* or *nei*, *eye*, *leye*, etc.

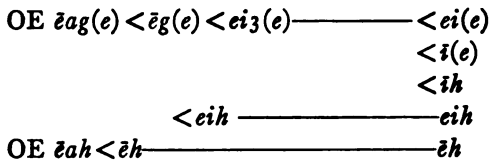
The earliest indications of the raising of the vowel \bar{e} before *z*, *h*, date from the middle of the 13th century. Luick (§407, Anm. 1) quotes the form *hi₃e* from MS C (c. 1260) of *King Horn*. Still earlier, but less reliable examples occur in *Lazamon*: *nih*, *nich*. These may represent an Anglian **nih*, formed on the analogy of the superlative *nihsta* (with \bar{e} for \bar{e} before *h*+cons. See Luick, §275).

The earliest Place-Name forms with *-i-* in the material given below are from Hampshire: *Ly* (1236); *Estlye* (1244); *Tederlig* (1254). 13th century Place-Name forms with *-i-* appear also in records from other counties: *La Lye* (Shropshire, 1249); *Fernilig'* (Derby, 1255); *de Hyghetorp* (Staffs., 1260); *de Lye* (Wilts., 1277); *Wodelye* (Sussex, 1284); etc. The 13th cent. Berkshire Cartulary (Abingdon) has *hiwege*, *higweg* 'highway,' *de Andelia*.

The fact that *-i-* is found within the space of less than thirty years in Place-Names of counties as far apart as Hants. and Derbyshire, seems to indicate that the *i*-type had developed some considerable time before it appears in the spelling, and that it had spread rapidly among the speakers of a very large part of the country.

5. Summary of the ME Dialectal Treatment of OE *ēag*, *ēah*.

A table of the different possibilities of the development of OE *ēag*, *ēah*, will probably make the complicated process rather clearer.



We may perhaps reduce these five forms to three: (1) those with *-i-*, (2) those with a diphthong, (3) those with tense \bar{e} -. The *ei-*, *e₃-* forms are the commonest, even in many dialects where the \bar{e} -type had certainly developed.

The modern pronunciation [*hai*, *ai*, *nai*] etc. comes from the ME *i*-type. The ME *ei*-type, which would normally become Mod. Engl. [*ai*], survived in Standard English as late as the early 18th century in the pronunciation [*heit*] for 'height.'¹

The geographical distribution of the various ME types of pronunciation for OE *ēag*, *ēah*, is discussed in the following paragraphs.

6. *The Distribution of ei, ēh, ē for OE ēag, ēah, in ME Dialects: Place-Names.*

Place-Name forms illustrating the development of OE *ēag*, *ēah*, are common in all parts of the country. The elements containing OE *ēah*, *ēag*, are *hēah* 'high,' *lēah* 'meadow,' *tēag* 'house.' The first occurs only as the first element in Place-Names, the second and third occur as first and second element, or uncompounded. The words *lēah*, *tēag*, perhaps received a pretty strong stress when they were used as the second element of a Pl.-N.²; the *ēah*-group does not seem to develop differently according to its position in a Pl.N.

The Pl.-N. material given below is fairly extensive. It is, however, very difficult to reach any definite conclusions as to the precise geographical distribution of the ME forms *ei*, *ēh*, *ē*, representing OE *ēag*, *ēah*.

ē: The *ē*-type (*le*, *lee*, etc., probably from OE *lēa*) appears most frequently in Pl.-Ns. from Hants, Berks., Bucks., Northants., and the counties east and south of these—that is, all the south-eastern part of the country.

ēh: The *ēh*-type predominates in the South-west, that is, in Devon, Dorset, and Somerset. It is also fairly common in all the counties south of the Thames, and in a group of West Midland counties—Cheshire, Staffs, and Shropshire.

ei: The West Midland group just mentioned, with the exception of Cheshire, have usually *ei*. This is the prevailing type in the other Midland counties, Lancs, Derby, Notts, Lincoln, Leics, Warwick, Worcs, Glos., Hereford.

¹ H. C. Wyld, *English Rhymes*, p. 123.

² Compare the Mod. pronunciation of the Sussex Pl.-Ns. *Ardingly*, *Hoathly*, etc. (*ādiŋlái*, *houðlái*), etc.

eih: The *eih*-type is rare, but occurs in counties as far apart as Devon, Suffolk, Kent and Shropshire; we find it also in literary texts in very different dialects: *Lazamon A*, *heih*, *neih*, etc.; *Vices and Virtues*, *heih*; and in such texts as the *Southern Legendary*, *William of Palerne*, and *Joseph of Arimathea*.

In the Place-Name forms of almost all of the 32 counties included in the present survey, three types occur—*eh*, *ei*, *e*. Many of the literary texts show more than one form. For instance, the late 14th century romance of Sir Ferumbras, which was probably written in Exeter, has not only the spelling *-egh*, which predominates in the Devon Place-Names, but also *-ey*. This spelling does occur in Devon Pl.Ns., but more rarely than *-egh*.

The Place-Name forms do not seem to agree always with the evidence of the literary texts. Thus, Robert of Brunne (Lincs.) has several examples of *egh*-forms: *hegh*, *negh*, etc., though the Lincs. Pl.N. forms have only *-ei* and *-e*. Havelock, however, has only *-ei*.

On the whole, the occurrence of *-eih*, *ēh*, or *-ei* (for OE *ēag*) in a ME document, does not seem to afford much assistance in determining the dialect of the text.

7. *The Geographical Distribution of ME -i- for OE ēag, ēah.*

Rather more reliable as a test of dialect is the occurrence or absence of the *i*-type for OE *ēag*, *ēah* in a literary text.¹ The area in which the raising of EME *ei3*, *eih*, to *i3*, *ih* took place has not yet been determined with any preciseness. The *i*-spellings are rare in ME Place-Names; in some cases, the proportion of *i*- to *ei*-, *e*-, or *ēh*-forms is only about 5%, sometimes even less. Since, however, the spelling *-i*- never appears in the records of some counties, we are perhaps justified in assuming that in the dialects of those counties where *i*-forms are found, the *i*-type is fairly well established.

The counties in whose records the greatest number, or at least the largest proportion, of *i*-forms have been found, are those of the central Midlands and of the central south, from Derbyshire to Hampshire. They include Derby, Notts, Leics,

¹ See H. C. Wyld: "Place-Names and Linguistic Studies," p. 137. *Introduction to Survey of English Place Names*, Pt. I.

Staffs, Warwick, Northants, Herts, Bucks, Oxford, Berks, Wilts, Hants, and also Surrey and Sussex.

A smaller proportion of *i*-forms is found in the Pl.-Name material for Hunts (1, 14th cent.), Suffolk (1, 13th cent.), Linc., Norfolk, Beds., (each with one example in the 15th century), Worcs. (2, 14th cent.), Shropshire (4 examples in 13th century, none later in Place-Names).

Herefordshire has several examples of *i*-forms from the 13th century onwards; the Pl.-N. evidence is not corroborated by that of the literary texts written in Herefordshire, Herebert's poems and the Harley Lyrics, which seem to have only *eh*- and *ei*-forms.

My material for Glos., Somerset and Devon has no *i*-forms. The single example from Dorset—*Henly*—refers to a place on the borders of Hants.

Cheshire and Lancs. have such a small proportion of *i*-forms as to be practically negligible: 1 *i*- in Cheshire to 310 *eh*- and *ei*-forms; in Lancs, 4 *i*-forms to about 850 *eh*-, *ei*-, and *e*-forms (less than $\frac{1}{2}\%$).

No *i*-forms seem to occur in the Place-Names of Essex,¹ Kent (see §34), Middlesex, or in the London documents before the time of Chaucer. The Chaucer MSS frequently have the spelling *heigh*, *neigh*, etc., but the rhymes show that the poet pronounced *hie*, *nie*, etc. (Wild: *Chaucer Handschriften*).

The EME *ei*-type seems to have survived in ME in the dialects of Devon, Somerset, and Glos., though the *i*-type may have spread westwards into the dialects of these counties towards the end of the ME period (see §§29, 38, 39).

Since the Place-Names for each county show in most cases a considerable number of different forms, it will perhaps be advisable to take the counties one by one, and to give the Pl.N. statistics and the evidence of the literary texts for each one separately, rather than to attempt a general statement, which would probably be misleading.

The Counties are dealt with in their order on the map, beginning in the Northwest with Lancashire, and crossing from west to east, and then back from east to west, and so on. For each county I give the number of examples of each spelling

¹ But see Supplementary Note, p. 41.

I have found in Place-Name forms, stressed and unstressed, in the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

8. *Lancashire.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		Total
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	
ei	—	85	1	657			743
ēh	7	10	—	54			71
eih	—	—					
e	7	31					38
ī	1						
ih	3						

The proportion of *i-* to other spellings is so small as to be hardly admissible as evidence. The *i*-forms occur in 15th century official records, not in the local monastic cartularies of the 13th and 14th centuries. The spellings *Highamboth*, and *Highriley* are found in documents dated 1464. The older *ei*-type, however, survives in the forms *Heigh Halsted*, *Heigh Redealgh*, in the Clitheroe Court Rolls of 1534.¹

9. *Cheshire.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		Total
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	
ei	1	24	3	82			106
ēh	—	3	25	176			204
eih							
ē	4	—	2	22			28
ī	—	1					1
ih	—	—					

The solitary 13th century *i*-form does not seem sufficient evidence to prove the existence of the *i*-type in the ME Cheshire dialect. There are a large number of *ei-*, *ēh* and *ē-* forms in the 14th century Cheshire material, and not a single spelling with *-i-*

¹ Ekwall, *Place Names of Lancs.*

10. *Derbyshire.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		Total
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	
ei	2	124	—	156	—	63	345
ēh	—	3	3	7	2	2	17
eih							
ē	—	26	—	12	—	1	41
ī	—	5	—	12	1	—	18
ih			2	—			2

The number of *i*-forms in the Derbyshire Place-Names is not inconsiderable: in all, 20 *-i-* to 403 other spellings. The *i*-forms are extremely rare in all parts of the country. Therefore, as the *i*-forms appear in Derby Place-Names in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries, it seems probable that the *i*-type developed in the dialect of this county pretty early.

11. *Nottinghamshire.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		Total
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	
ei	1	10	1	77	—	35	124
ēh	—	1	—	—			1
eih	—	—	—	—			
e	—	1	—	1			2
ī	1	1	—	1			3
ih	—	—	—	—			

The proportion of *i-* to *ei-*, *ēh-* and *ē*-forms is 3 to 136. The *i*-forms seem to be genuine in this dialect.

12. *Lincolnshire.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		Total
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	
ei	—	1	2	9	—	25	37
ēh							
eih							
e	—	1	2	16	8	9	36
ī					—	1	1
ih							

The Place-Name material is not very full. There are 74 *ei*- and *e*-forms to 1 *i*-form. The early 14th century *Handlyng Synne* of Robert of Brunne has usually *i* both in spelling and rhyme, though *-egh* occurs sometimes in the spelling: *hegh*, *hegher*, *heghpe*, *ye* [rh. *enuye*], *y3en*, *y3e*, *yne* [rh. *pyne*]; *hy* [rh. *foly*], *hye* [rh. *melodye*], *hygh hyghe* [rh. *spycerye*]; *ny* [rh. *wurpy*], *nye* [rh. *crye*], *nygh*. Havelock has only *ei*: *eie*, *eyne*, *hey*, *heye*, *ney*, etc.

The *i*-type had probably developed in the Lincolnshire dialect by the beginning of the 14th century.

13. Leicestershire.

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Total
ei	1	21	—	19	—	11	52
ēh	—	2	—	5			7
eih							
ē	—	14	—	14	—	1	29
i	—	1	2	1	1	—	5
ih							

The Place-Name forms and the late 14th century Chronicle of Henry Knyghton have *i* as well as *ei*: (Knyghton) *hey3est*, *hey3te*; *hyghest*. The Place-Names have also *ēh*- and *ē*-spellings.

14. Staffordshire.

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Total
ei	5	167	1	117	—	16	306
ēh	—	21	—	4	1	4	30
eih							
ē	6	36	—	2	—	2	46
i	—	3	—	2			5
ih	1	—					1

A small proportion of *i*-forms appears in the Pl.-Names of Staffs. in the 13th and 14th centuries. The form *Gaunelyee* is probably a scribal mistake for 'Gauneleye.' However, the *i*-forms are perhaps a genuine feature of the Staffordshire dialect, since we find this spelling in the 13th century records of the adjacent counties of Derby and Warwick.

15. *Shropshire.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Total
ei	13	84	5	14	1	43	160
ēh	2	2	3	10	1	—	18
eih	1	—			2	—	3
ē	1	12	—	3			16
ī	1	3					4
ih							

The 13th century Place-Name forms with *-i-* may represent a genuine local pronunciation, though it is surprising that no *i*-spellings occur among the later Pl.-N. forms. The Pl.-N. material is perhaps not full enough. Myrc and Audelay have both *ey-* and *-i-*: (Myrc, Instructions) *hye* (2), *ye* (3), *yen* (1); *hegh* (1), *negh(e)* (3), *ne3* (2). (Audelay) *e* 'eye,' *he* 'high,' *eyne*; *hye*, *ye*.

16. *Herefordshire.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Total
ei	13	113	9	128	1	20	284
ēh	2	3					5
eih							
e	1	—	—	5			6
ī	—	1	—	3	—	1	5
ih							

The evidence of the Herefordshire Place-Names is not corroborated by that of the Harley Lyrics and Herebert. The Harley Lyrics have apparently always *ey*: *e3e(n)*, *eye*, *heye*, *he3e*, *hey3e*; *hch*, *neh*. Herebert also has *-ey*: *hey3e*, *heynesse*, *eyen*.

The *i*-forms in Herefordshire Place-Names occur only in the Episcopal Registers. I am inclined to consider them merely introduced by a scribe.

17. *Worcestershire.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		Total
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	
ei	5	77	2	38	—	70	185
ēh	—	4	—	16	—	13	33
eih							
ē	—	8			—	3	11
ī							
ih			1	1			2

The Worcs. Place-Name forms with *-i-* are both of the 14th century. If the *i*-forms in *Lazamon A* are genuine (see §4), the *i*-type must have developed in the Worcs. dialect very early. The Place-Name material is not very plentiful. This may explain the small number of *i*-forms found.

The 12th century Worcs. Fragments have only *-ei-*: *eizen*, *neih*, *ezen*. *Lazamon A* has several different spellings, indicating different types of pronunciation: *fleh*, *heh*, *neh*; *flæh*, *hæh*, *næh*; *heze*, *ezan*, *ezene*, *hæze*; *hei*, *heie*, *flei*; *fleih*, *heih*, *neih*, *peih*, *haihe*, *þaih*; *nih*, *nich*.

18. *Warwickshire.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		Total ¹
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	
ei	1	30	—	192	1	93	327
ēh	—	1	—	2	—	2	5
eih					—	0	1
ē	8	10	7	37	21	4	67
ī	1	—	1	4			6
ih							

There seem to be enough *i*-forms in the material analyzed above to prove the existence of the *i*-type in the Warwickshire dialect: The Coventry Leet Book has almost always *-i-*: *highz*, *hi3e*, *hy3e*, *hye*, *nyghe*, etc.; but *Canley*, *Sandeley*, *Kerresley*, *Astley*, etc.

19. *Northamptonshire.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		Total
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	
ei	—	21	1	4	—	6	21
ēh			3	—	2	—	5
eih							
ē	—	38	—	26	—	14	14
i	—	3	1	—			4
ih					4	—	4

The *i*-forms are not infrequent: 8 *i*- to 115 *ei*-, *ēh*- and *æ*-forms.

20. *Huntingdonshire.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		Total
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	
ei			6	16	—	1	23
ēh			—	1			1
eih			1	—	1	—	2
ē	—	4	—	74	1	10	89
i			1	—			1
ih							

The material is perhaps insufficient. The 14th century *i*-form seems genuine.

21. *Cambridgeshire.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		Total
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	
ei	4	7	—	2	—	4	17
ēh	—	3					3
eih							
ē	—	78	—	43	—	16	137
i							
ih							

No *i*-forms appear in the Place-Name material. Since the *i*-type had apparently spread into Norfolk and Suffolk by the 15th century, it is probable that the dialect of Cambridgeshire had adopted the same pronunciation by the end of the ME period.

22. *Norfolk.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Total
ei	1	2	1	7	—	1	12
ēh			1	—			1
eih							
ē	3	8	—	56	—	23	90
ī					—	1	1
ih							

No *i*-forms occur until the 15th century. The 14th century Norfolk Gilds have always *heye* 'high.'

23. *Suffolk.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Total
ei	1	1	21	44	—	2	69
ēh	—	1	9	13	—	1	24
eih			—	1	1	1	3
ē	—	4	5	40	—	2	51
ī	—	1					1
ih							

The solitary *i*-form in the 13th century is not very convincing. It seems unlikely that *-i-* could have been the genuine form in this dialect before the 15th century, for neither Norfolk nor Essex have *-i-* until late ME.

The 15th century *Bokenam* has regularly *-i-*.

24. *Essex.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Total
ei	—	17	5	38	6	11	77
ēh	1	3	3	1	4	13	25
eih	1	—					1
ē	—	7	—	48	—	25	70
ī					—	1	1
ih							

Essex has no *i*-forms until the 15th century. The 15th century *Palladius* has always *-i-*. *Vices and Virtues* (c. 1200) has only diphthongized forms: *heih*, *eiene*, *heize*, etc.

25. *Hertfordshire.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		Total
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	
ei	—	4	2	26	—	19	49
ēh					1	—	1
eih							
e	—	1	—	32	1	21	54
ī	—	3					3
ih							

The *i*-forms appear early. The apparent absence of *i*-spellings in the later records is perhaps due to insufficiency of material.

26. *Bedfordshire.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		Total
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	
ei			22	—	4	—	26
ēh							
eih							
ē	—	9	—	38	—	6	53
ī							
ih					1	—	1

The material is not very extensive. No *i*-forms appear until the 15th century. If, however, the dialects of the adjacent counties of Herts., Nrthants and Bucks had *i*- for *æah* in the 13th cent., it is probable that Beds. had the same type before the 15th century.

27. *Buckinghamshire.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		Total
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	
ei	3	4	—	9			16
ēh	—	1					1
eih							
ē	1	20	2	63			86
ī			—	2			2
ih							

The proportion of *i*- to other spellings is 2 to 103. The *i*-forms are early 14th century.

28. *Oxfordshire.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		Total
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	
ei	7	14	7	45	1	95	154
eh			—	4	5	—	9
eih			3	—			3
e	—	17	3	53	2	86	156
i	2	—	2	1	2	4	11
ih							

The *i*-forms are found in Oxfordshire Place-Names of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. They almost certainly represent the local pronunciation.

29. *Gloucestershire.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		Total
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	
ei	10	249	1	112	—	3	375
eh	—	4	—	11			15
eih			2	—			2
e	2	64	1	28			95
i			—	1			1
ih							

The *i*-type seems to have spread into the Gloucester dialect in the late 14th century. No *i*-forms occur in 13th century Place-Names of Glos. Robt. of Glos. has always *-ei-*: *eye, heye, hei, hei3, ney, nei3, bei*, etc. Trevisa (c. 1387) has usually *-y-*: *hy3(e), ny3, y, yene*; but also *-ey-*: *pey, eye, pey3, hey3est*. A single Pl.-Name of about the same date as Trevisa has *-i-*: *Berklye* (1387).

30. *Wiltshire.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		Total
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	
ei	1	1	10	74	6	45	120
eh	—	3	—	23	1	14	40
eih	—	2					2
e	—	4	28	29	1	15	49
i	4	—	13	5	34	—	56
ih	—	1			1	—	2

The Place-Names of this county have a fairly large proportion of *i*-forms. The same type appears in St. Editha (c. 1420). This text writes both *-y-* and *-ey-*, but the rhymes show that *-ī-* was the pronunciation of the author: *ny3e*, *y3e*, *ky3e* [rh. *enterly*, *lye* 'lie'], *ynon* 'eyes'; *ney* [rh. *by*], *hey3e*, *ey3e* [rh. *lady3e*, *redy*, *signify*].

31. *Berkshire.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Total
ei	8	123	3	8			142
ēh	1	23	1	3			28
eih							
ē	2	110	—	157			269
ī	8	2	—	3			13
ih							

The *i*-type occurs several times in the 13th century *Abingdon Cartulary*, and is found also in 14th century records. Even without the evidence of these forms, the position of the county between Wilts, Oxford and Hants would make it probable that the dialect of Berks had *-ī-* for OE *ēag*, *ēah*.

32. *Surrey.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Total
ei	—	6	—	1	—	4	11
ēh	1	2	1	3	1	10	15
eih			—	2			2
ē	—	7	—	4	1	7	18
ē	—	4			1	—	5
ih							

I have very little material for Surrey, but since the *i*-forms are found in the 13th century *Chertsey Cartulary* as well as in the 15th century records, the *i*-type was probably pronounced in the Surrey dialect:

¹ See H. C. Wyld, "Place Names and Linguistic Studies," p. 139.

33. *London and Middlesex.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		Total
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	
ei	—	5	1	9	—	3	18
ēh	6	—	1	6			13
eih							
ē	—	11	—	33	—	2	46
i							
ih							

The Place-Names of Middlesex, the London Gilds, and Davy, have no *i*-forms. I have a very small collection of Pl.-N. material for Middlesex, so the regular *ei*- and *e*-spellings may be misleading. We should, however, expect to find *i*-forms in Davy, if the London Dialect of the early 14th century pronounced *i* for *eah*. Chaucer has [i] in rhyme; the spelling of the Chaucer MSS is *-i*- and *-eigh*-. The *i*-type may have been introduced into the London dialect during the 14th cent., from the dialects of the neighboring counties of Herts, Bucks, and Berks.

Early examples of the diphthonging of late OE tense *ē* before *-h*, *-3*, occur in the Trinity Homilies: *heige*, *neih*, *cie*, *heie*, etc.; *egen*, *heg*, *hegest*, *hegh*, etc. The Lambeth Homilies have only *-eh*, *-eg*: *e3an*, *e3e*, *eh3an*, *heh*, *hehne*, *he3*, etc.

34. *Kent.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		Total
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	
ei	2	2	5	1			10
ēh	2	3	10	12	3	3	33
eih			—	2	1	—	3
ē	—	7	—	20	—	2	29
ieh			—	3			3
i							
ih							

The *iegh*-spellings of the Place-Names may represent *ēh* with a tense [ē], since *-ie-* is often used in South-eastern texts to express the sound [ē]. The same form, *-ie-*, is used occasionally in the *Ayenbite*: *nie3*, *nye3* (7 times); this text usually has *-e3*: *e3e*, *e3en*, *he3*, *he3e*, etc. William of Shoreham has a few *i*-forms: *ni3* (1), *hy3e* (1), *þie* 'though' (1), *þy3* (1), but usually *-e3*, *-ei3*: *eyen*, *heye*, *he3(e)*, *heize*, *hezest*, *ne3*, *þey*, etc.

35. *Sussex.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		Total
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	
ei	—	1	—	1	1	4	7
ēh	—	5	4	9	5	8	22
eih			—	2			
ē			—	5	1	16	21
ī	—	4	—	1	4	3	12
īh	1						1

The *i*-type seems to have developed early in Sussex. The modern Sussex Place-Names ending in *-ly* [lɑi] are descended from the ME [i]-type.

36. *Hampshire.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		Total
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	
ei	1	8	—	10	—	6	24
ēh	—	4	2	11	—	6	21
eih			—	1			1
ē	—	11	1	64	—	30	105
ī	1	6	1	13	—	2	23
īh	—	1					1

The *i*-type appears first in the Place-Names of Hants. *-i*-spellings are fairly common in both 13th and 14th century documents. The Winchester Usages (1387) have, however, only *-ei* forms: *heye* (2), *hey3e* (1).

37. *Dorset.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		Total
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	
ei	3	14	2	3	1	3	20
ēh	1	5	4	16	—	5	26
eih			—	1	4	5	10
ē	—	2	—	1	—	5	8
ī	—	1					1
īh							

This county has rather more *ēh*- than *ei*-forms. The Place-Name *Henly*, which is the only example of *i*-spelling found in Dorsetshire Pl.-Ns., refers to a place on the borders of Hants.

38. *Somersetshire.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		Total
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	
ei	—	16	—	7	—	10	33
eh	4	18	5	31	2	35	95
eih					—	6	6
ē	—	6	—	7	—	9	22
i							

The Place-Names of Somerset have no *i*-forms.

39. *Devonshire.*

	13th cent.		14th cent.		15th cent.		Total
	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	Str.	Unstr.	
ei	3	27	4	10	—	2	46
eh	11	57	36	333	10	109	556
eih			—	1	2	2	5
ē	—	8	2	9			19
i	—						
ih							

No *i*-forms appear in the Place-Name material, which is fairly full. The late 14th century Devonshire text, *Sir Ferumbras*, has usually *-ey*, *-egh*: *e3e*, *e3en*, *he3*, *he3e*, *hegh(e)*, *ne3*, *ne3e*, *negh3*, *ey3e*, *hey3*, *eyne* [rh. *y-sleyne*], *hey* [rh. *alway*], etc. A few *i*-forms occur also, but only in rhyme: *ny*: *socoury*; *ny3e*: *a-sty3e* (P.P.); *hyc*: *bye*, 'by,' *dye*, 'die,' *diffie*, *Normandye*. It is possible that the *i*-forms were introduced by the author, from another dialect, for the sake of the rhyme.

40. *Summary.*

OE *ðag*, *ðah*, became *-æg*, *-ēh* [ɛ̃, ɛ̃x] in Late OE. This tense *-ē-* was diphthongized in EME before *-h*, *-g*, in most dialects—hence EME *-ēih*, *ēi3*. In certain dialects, EME *ei* before *3*, *h*, was monophthongised and raised to [i], probably in the early 13th century; the groups *-ēi3*, *-eih* thus became *-i(3)*, *-ih*. In other dialects, *-ēi3*, *-ēih* remained.

The dialects in which the raising originally took place seem to have been those of the Central Midlands and Central South, that is, of the following counties: Derby, Notts, Staffs, Leics,

Warwick, Northants, Oxford, Berks, Wilts, Hants, Surrey, and Sussex; probably also Herts and Bucks, and possibly Shropshire, Hereford, and Worcs.

The *i*-type appears in the 14th century records of Hunts, and in the Lincolnshire texts of the 14th century. The dialects of Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Kent, and London apparently retained the *ĕi*-type until the 15th century.

The diphthong *-ĕi-* probably remained also in the dialects of part of the N. W. Midlands—Lancs. and Cheshire—and in the South-west, Glos., Somerset, Devon, and Dorset.

41. *Supplementary Note on OE ĕag, ĕah, in the dialects of London and the South East.*

Miss B. A. Mackenzie, in an investigation (not yet published) of some phonological points of the ME dialects of London and adjoining areas, has come to the following conclusions with regard to the development of OE *ĕag*, *ĕah*, in the S. E. Midlands. The raising to *i*(*h*), etc., apparently took place, in this area, first in Beds, and the *i*-type spread thence into N. Herts and Essex, and later (14th c.) from Essex into London and also into Suffolk. The late 13th c. Essex texts, *Arthur and Merlin*, *King Alisaunder*, and *Richard Coer de Lion*, have *i*-rhymes. Miss Mackenzie finds no *i*-forms in the London dialects—either the city type or the Middlesex type—before the time of Chaucer.

The appearance of *i*-forms in the 13th c. records of Essex and Beds slightly increases the area in which the *i*-type may be regarded as having developed early. The 14th and 15th c. *i*-forms from N. Herts fill the gap in my Herts material for this period (§ 25).

South of the Thames, Surrey has *i*-forms from the 13th c. onwards (as indicated in § 32 above). Several *i*-forms occur in Kent records, but almost all of these are found in one set of documents, the Hundred Rolls, Miss Mackenzie considers them open to suspicion.

Miss Mackenzie's statistics for Beds, Herts, Essex and Surrey are as follows:

- Beds. (150 *ey*-forms). *i*-forms: 13th c., 4; 14th c. 1; 15th c. 3.
 Herts. (320 *ey*). *i*-forms: 13th c., —; 14th c., 3; 15th c., 4.
 Essex. (320 *ey*). *i*-forms: 13th c., 2; 14th c., 2; 15th c., 7.
 Surrey. (140 *ey*). *i*-forms: 13th c., 7; 14th c., 11; 15th c., 3.

SOURCES OF PLACE-NAME FORMS HERE QUOTED

ABBREVIATION	TITLE AND DATE
Abingdon Cart.	<i>Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon.</i> Ed. W. H. Stevenson, Rolls Series, 1858. (c. 1250.)
Barnwell Mem.	<i>Liber Memorandum de Bernwelle,</i> 1296. Ed. J. W. Clark, Cambridge, 1907.
Brantyngham Reg.	<i>The Register of Thomas de Brantyngham, Bishop of Exeter.</i> Ed. Hingeston-Randolph: Episcopal Registers. (1370-94.)
Cal. Inq.	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem, preserved in the Public Record Office.</i> 1904, etc. (13th-15th c.)
Cantilupe Reg.	<i>Register of Thomas de Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford.</i> Ed. Griffiths, Canterbury and York Soc. IV, V, IX, 1906-7. (1275-82.)
Cat. Anc. Dds.	<i>A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office.</i> Vols. i-vi. (12th-15th c.)
Cerne Cart.	<i>Cartulary of Cerne Abbey.</i> Dorset Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Field Club. XXVI, XXIX. (14th c.)
Cheshire Acc.	<i>Accounts of the Chamberlains and other Officers of the County of Chester.</i> Ed. Stewart-Brown, Lancs. and Cheshire Record Soc. 1910. (1301-1360.)
Ckrsnd. Cart.	<i>Charulary of Cokersand Abbey.</i> Ed. Farrer, Chetham Soc. Vols. I-VII. 1898-1909. (13th c.)
Derby Ch.	<i>Descriptive Catalogue of Derbyshire Charters in Public and Private Muniment Rooms.</i> Jeayes, London, 1906. (12th-15th c.)
Eynsham Cart.	<i>Cartulary of Eynsham.</i> Ed. Salter, Oxf. Hist. Soc. 1907-8. (12th-15th c.)
Eyre Bills	<i>Select Bills in Eyre.</i> Ed. Bolland, Selden Soc. 1914. (13th c.)
Feudal Aids	<i>Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids, preserved in the Public Record Office.</i> Vols. I-VI. 1899, etc. (13th-15th c.)
Glos. Cart.	<i>Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestræ.</i> Rolls Series 33, (13th c.)
Hurley Ch.	<i>St. Mary's, Hurley, in the Middle Ages: based on Hurley Charters and Deeds.</i> Wethered, London, 1898. (13th and 14th c.)
Leics. Rec.	<i>Records of the Borough of Leicester.</i> Ed. Mary Bateson London 1899, 1901. (1103-1509.)
Liber Cust.	<i>Liber Custumarum.</i> Ed. Riley, Rolls Series: Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniæ. (14th c.)
Liber Albus	<i>Liber Albus.</i> Ed. Riley (see above). (15th c.)
Malmesbury Reg.	<i>Registrum Malmesburiense.</i> Ed. Brewer, Rolls Series 72a, b. (14th c.)
Merton Rec.	<i>Leases in the Muniment Room of Merton College, Transcribed by W. H. Stevenson.</i>

ABBREVIATION	TITLE AND DATE
Nott. Rec.	<i>Records of the Borough of Nottingham, 1155-1399.</i> London 1882-3.
Orleton Reg.	<i>Registrum Ade de Orleton. Bishop of Hereford.</i> Canterbury and York Soc. XII, XV. 1907-8. (1317-27.)
Oxford Cart.	<i>Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Frideswide at Oxford.</i> Ed. Wigram, Oxf. Hist. Soc., 1895. (2nd quarter of 15th c.)
Publ. Works	<i>Public Works in Mediaeval Law.</i> Ed. Flower, Selden Soc. 1915. (14th c.)
Ramsey Cart.	<i>Cartulary of Ramsay Abbey.</i> Rolls Ser. 79. (14th c.)
Ronton Cart.	<i>The Ronton Cartulary,</i> in MS. Cotton Vespasian C xv. Ed. Wrottesley, W. Salt Arch. Soc. Coll. IV. (14th c.)
Staffs For. Pleas.	<i>Pleas of the Forest, Staffs.</i> Ed. Wrottesley, W. Salt Arch. Soc. Coll. V. 1884. (1216-1307.)
Staffs Plea Rlls.	<i>Staffordshire Plea Rolls.</i> Ed. Wrottesley, W. Salt Arch. Soc. Coll. VII. 1886. (1294-1307.)
Whalley Cou. Bk.	<i>The Coucher Book or Chartulary of Whalley Abbey.</i> Ed. Hulton, Chetham Soc. X, XI. (14th c.)
Worcs. Reg.	<i>Registrum Prioratus Beatae Mariae Wigorniensis,</i> Camden Soc. 91, 1865. (1285.)

PLACE-NAME MATERIAL
BEDFORDSHIRE

13th century. *e*-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq.

OE *l̥eah*: Aspele I (1260)^a. Risle II (1283). Stratle II (1275)^a.

Feudal Aids I (1284-6).

OE *l̥eah*: de Crauele. Hussebourne Crauele^a. Stratle.

14th century. *ey(e)*-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids I (1302-46).

OE *h̥eah*: Heyham. Hegham. de Heywode.

OE *l̥eah*: La Leye^a. Lega^a. de la Leye^a. de Lega^a. Leythone.

e-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids I (1302-46).

OE *l̥eah*: Acle^a. Akle. Aspelee. Aspele^a. de Craule. Hussebourne Craule. Husseburncraule. Hattele. Ocle. Okle. Prestele. Prestelee. Risle^a. (de) Rysle^a. Stepynglee. (de) Stepyngle^a. Stratle^a.

15th century. *igh*-form (stressed).

Feudal Aids I (1428).

OE *h̥eah*: Hygham.

ey(e)-forms (stressed).

OE *l̥eah*: La Leye. Lega^a. de la Leye.

(unstressed).

OE *l̥eah*: Strateley.

e-forms (unstressed).

OE *l̥eah*: Akle. Asple. Husborne Craule. Hattele. Okele. de Stopesle.

BERKSHIRE

13th century. *i*-forms (stressed).*Abingdon Cart.*

OE *lēah*: hiwege². higweg². higwege. hig weg. hig wege. hig wegcs.
(unstressed).

*Abingdon Cart.*OE *lēah*: de Andelia.*Cal. Inq. II.*OE *lēah*: Yldeslye (1292).*egh*-forms(stressed).*Hurley Ch.*OE *lēah*: La Leghe.

(unstressed).

Abingdon Cart.

OE *lēah*: Bacganleah. bacgan leah. Bradanleah. Earmundes leah. Earmun-
læh. Horsanleah. Hunburhge leah. Linleahc. Madoces leah. plum leagh.
preosta leagh. Riscleahc². ruhan leah. ruhan leahc. wadleahc². Wealcotes
leahc. Wilmaleahtun. Wohanlæh. Yf(f)eles leah².

*Cal. Inq. I.*OE *lēah*: Bradelegh (1251).*ey*-forms (stressed).*Abingdon Cart.*OE *lēah*: Leia². de Lega. lægacer².*Hurley Ch.*OE *lēah*: La Leye (Edw. I). de la Leye (1269; 1285).

(unstressed).

Abingdon Cart.

OE *lēah*: de Andelaia. de Andelei. de Andeleio. Bac(c)heleia². Bag(g)eleia².
Bagleia. Beonatlege. Botleia. de Boteleia. Bradeleia². bradan lege.
bradan leage. cat leage. Chiveleia. Civileia². Civeleia. dunlege². Er-
mundesleia². Earmundeslei. Gæccelege. Geccc leage. gegān lege. gemot
leage. Haseleie. Hæseleia. Hildesleia. Hild leage². hors leaga. Hrocān-
leage. hunda leage. Hwatelegēgæte. Langeleia². merclege². mærclege².
Osānleia. perleage. Pippanlege². Pippes leage². Rodlege². ruwan leage.
Stanlege². Stanleage². Stodlege. Swinleia. Suuinleia. Thæclege². wadleage
Wateleia². Wdemundesleia². Wigferthesleage. Wisseleia. Wisseleie.
Wisselega. Wischeleiam. Wisselegam. Uuisceleia. Witeleie. Wulfa leage².
ydyr leage².

*Hurley Ch.*OE *lēah*: Hanleia (Hen. III). Hurley (H. III); (Edw. I)². de Hurley (1279).Hurleie (Edw. I). de Hurleye (1274); (Edw. I). (de) Hurleya (Edw. I)².de Hureley (H. III). Hurleg' (1228)². Hurnleya (H. III). Herley (H. III).

Herleya (H. III). Herleia (John). de Herleya (John).

*Cal. Inq. II.*OE *lēah*: Homeleye (1292).*e*-forms (stressed).*Abingdon Cart.*OE *lēah*: Lea cumb.*Hurley Ch.*

OE *læah*: de la Le (Edw. I).

(unstressed).

Abingdon Cart.

OE *læah*: Aclea. Bacchelea. Baggelea². Bradelea. Bradanlea. bradan lea². Broc lea. Byrnanlea. Chiuelea². Chivelea. Chiveleam². Civele. Civelea². Cifanlea². Duhan lea². duhan leam. Dunham lea. Ermundeslea. Ær-mundeslea². Earmundeslea². Eardulfeslea⁴. Hæsel lea². Hæsllea. Hildeslea. Hrameslea. Hylnes lea². Imbalea². Ipanlea². Jerdelea. Lilling lea. Maduces lea. Middel lea. Osanlea². Swinlea². Suuinlea. Wdemundeslea. uuest leas. Wisclea. Wissele. Uuiscelea². Uuiscelee. Uuisseleam.

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *læah*: Hurle (1263). Hurlee (1265)².

Hurley Ch.

OE *læah*: Henle (H. III). Hurle (H. III); (1299)². de Hurle (1268²; 1254; 1274²; 1272-9²; 1279; c. 1280-90²; 1285-99²; John; H. III¹⁴). de Hurlee (Edw. I). de Hurnle (H. III). de Herle (1234).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *læah*: Hildesle (1273; 1285).

14th century. *ie*-forms (unstressed).

Hurley Ch.

OE *læah*: Hurnlye; de Hurnlye; de Hurlye (1307-27).

egh-forms (stressed)

Hurley Ch.

OE *hæah*: La Heghegrove (1323).

(unstressed).

Hurley Ch.

OE *læah*: Hurlegh, Wolveleghe, Wolueleghe (1340).

ey-forms (stressed)

Hurley Ch.

OE *læah*: La Leye (1323)².

OE *hæah*: La Heyestret (1320).

(unstressed).

Hurley Ch.

OE *læah*: Henleye (1305). de Hurley (1320). Hurleye (c. 1300). de Hurleye (1320). Hurleya (1305). de Hurleya (1307-27)². de Hurnleya (Edw. II).

e-forms (unstressed).

Hurley Ch.

OE *læah*: Henle (1300). Hurle (1300²; 1305; 1311; 1313; 1317; 1320²; 1326²; 1331; 1333; 1336; 1338; 1339²; 1341; 1342²; 1352²; 1360; 1362²; 1365; 1372²; 1390; 1392²). de Hurle (1300, 1304, 1306²; 1307², 1300-07²⁴, 1313²; 1317-8²; 1318²; 1320²; 1323; 1324²; 1325; 1307-27²; 1327²; 1329²; 1331; 1335²; 1336²; 1337²; 1338²; 1340¹⁰; 1341¹⁴; 1342²; 1343; 1344; 1345²; 1347². Hurlee 1311²; 1345; 1349²; 1354²; 1363; 1375². de Hurlee 1328.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

13th century. *ey*-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids I (1284-6).

OE *læah*: la Leye. de Leyburne. de Leytone.

(unstressed).

Cal. Inq. II.OE *l̥ak*: Checheleye (1292).*Feudal Aids* I (1284-6).OE *l̥ak*: Falleye. Mosleye. de Stretleye.*egh*-forms (unstressed).*Feudal Aids* I (1284-6).OE *l̥ak*: Blechelegh.*e*-forms (stressed).*Feudal Aids* I (1284-6).OE *l̥ak*: la Lee.

(unstressed).

OE *l̥ak*: Couele⁴. Cowele. Croule. Crowle. Magna Craule. Parva Craule.
 (de) Erle². Hacle. Langele². Takele. Senle². Nethere Senle. Stivecle.
 14th century. *ie*-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids I.OE *l̥ak*: Langlie (1316). Welpelye (1302-3).*ey*-forms (unstressed).*Feudal Aids* I.

OE *l̥ak*: Asscheleye (1346). Esseleye (1302-3). Falleye (1346). Huggleie
 (1316). Yckeleye (1302-3)². de Stodleye (1346). Whelpelye (1346).

e-forms (stressed).*Feudal Aids* I.OE *l̥ak*: La Lee (1316); (1346).

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids I (1302-46).

OE *l̥ak*: Acle⁴. Akle. Blechele. Chardesle. Cherdeslee. Cherdesele. Chic(c)-
 hele². Chechele². Couele⁴. de Couele. de Covele². Craule². Magna Craule².
 Parva Craule. Erle². Erele. de Erlee. Fallee. Ikkele. Yekele. Mesle.
 Mursle². Murslee². Muresle². Ocle. Shenle². Magna Schenle. Parva
 Schenle. Parva Shenle. de Stretlee. de Stretle. de Stretlele². Styvecle⁴.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

13th century. *egh*-forms (unstressed).*Cal. Inq.* II.OE *l̥ak*: Brynkelegh (1285). Maddynglegh (1283)².*ey*-forms (stressed).*Feudal Aids* I.OE *l̥ak*: de Lay (1302-3).*Barnwell Mem.*OE *l̥ak*: Leytonestan². Leistonstan.

(unstressed).

Barnwell Mem.

OE *l̥ak*: de Griseleye. Halteleya. Hattleya. Maddingelaia. Siluerleye.
 de Thorleye².

e-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq.

OE *læh*: Brinkele I (1261). Hattele II (1282).

Barnwell Mem.

OE *læh*: Abboresle. de Aschele. Asle. Bradele. Brinkele². Cheuele⁴. (de) Childerle⁴. Eltesle². Grauele². Haltele. Hattele⁴. Mad(d)ingele²⁴. Maddingle²⁴. de Morle². Silverle. Stratle. Wassingele². Werle. Westle. Wethersle.

OE *læh*: Assele. Chaderle². Chavele. Gravele. Hattele. Maddingele. Silverle. Wetherle.

14th century. *ey*-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids I (1316).

OE *læh*: Childerley. Sylverley.

e-forms (unstressed).

Publ. Works.

OE *læh*: Childerlee (1349)².

Feudal Aids (1302-46).

OE *læh*: Asshele². Assele. Brinkele. Chavele⁴. Chevele². Childirlee. Chylderle². Chylderlee. Dersle. Eltesle². Eltisle. Esthatle². Gravele². Hattele². Hatle². Hatle. Maddynglee. Maddynle. Silverle². Stratle. Stratlee. Strettle. Westle. Wetherle².

15th century. *ey*-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids I (1428).

OE *læh*: Cheveley. Maddyngley. Stratley. Wetherley.

e-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids I (1401-28).

OE *læh*: Asshele². Brynkele. Chevele. Childerlee. Childyrle. Eltisle. Esthatle. Gravele. Hatle². Silverle. Westle. Westerle. Wetherle.

CESHIRE

13th century. *egh*-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *læh*: Boslegh (1275). Bercomelegh (1290). Kingsalegh (1280).

ey-forms (stressed).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *læh*: Leye (1278).

(unstressed).

De Lacy Comp. (1296).

OE *læh*: Aldredeley. Cronleycroft. Whitteley⁴. Whyteley. Whytteley.

Cat. Anc. Dds. I.

OE *læh*: de Heseleie (1181-1232). de Kingsleie. Schippeleg (c. 1250).

Cal. Inq. I (1248).

OE *læh*: Hattirsleg¹. Peddeleg. Wibbersleg.

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *l̥ak*: Aldredeleye (1275). Boseleg (1275; 1278). Bozeley (1275). Bradeleg (1278; 1290). Chackeleg (1274). Odgerley (1275). Manleye (1283). Wyeleye (1284).

e-forms (stressed).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *l̥ak*: Lee (1275)². La Lee (1275; 1278).

i-form (unstressed).

De Lacy Comp. (1296).

OE *l̥ak*: de Whittely.

14th century. *egh*-forms (stressed).

Cheshire Acc.

OE *h̥ak*: de Hegheleghes (1320).

OE *l̥ak*: *leg*h (1304). de Legh (1302; 1304²; 1306; 1326²; 1327; 1336; 1348; 1351²; 1354; 1359²; 1360²). del Legh (1354). Leghton (1304).

(unstressed).

Cheshire Acc.

OE *l̥ak*: de Addulegh (1304). Alvandeleg (1303). de Aluandeleg⁴ (1304). de Assheleg (1355). de Audeleg (1316). (de) Badilegh (1303; 1304; 1355). Badylegh (1343; 1354). de Baddylegh (1304). de Baggeleg (1304)². Bertumleg (1302; 1303; 1304²; 1350). Bertomleg (1350)². Bradeleg (1358)². de Brereleg (1350)⁴. de Brom(e)leg (1351; 1354). de Budeleg (1355). (de) Bulkylegh (1304²; 1348²; 1350²; 1351; 1360). de Bulkeleg (1304²; 1320; 1351). de Bulkilegh (1350). de Bytterleg (1343). Calvylegh (1303²; 1304). Caluyleg (1304). de Calveleg (1350). de Calueleg (1304). de Chorleg (1359; 1360). de Crosseleg (1304)². Edisseleg (1304). de Farleg (1357; 1358). de Hegheleghes (1320). de Hockeleg (1350). de Huxleg (1358). de Huxeleg (1320). de Kynardesleg (1360). Kyngesleg (1303; 1304²; 1313; 1327; 1328; 1351²). Kingesleg (1350²). de Kyngesleg (1304; 1360). (de) Manleg (1303; 1304²). de Modburleg (1320). de Nonilegh (1313). (de) Northleg (1303²; 1304¹⁹). Norleg (1360). de Okeleg (1354; 1355). Riddeleg (1304)². de Riggeleg (1348). de Ronleg (1351). de Ruyleg (1304). de Schuleg (1304). de Schurcheleg (1304). de Shriggeleg (1357; 1358). de Shryggeleg (1360). de Soterleg (1304). de Stanleg (1303; 1350²; 1351²; 1354; 1355; 1359²; 1360). del Tintenleg (1304). de Tyntenleg (1304). Torporleg (1303; 1354). Torperleg (1303; 1304). de Tutenleg (1304). Tymperleg (1350)². de Wheteleg (1354; 1355). de Wulseleg (1304).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ak*: Bertumleg V (1359). de Bulkeleg I (1359). de Bulkyleg I (1324); IV (1335; 1372⁴; 1378²; 1388). de Bulkileg IV (1316; 1341²; 1375). Bykeleg V (1359)². (de) Calvileg I (1324); IV (1322). Chorleg IV (1372). de Okeleg IV (1375). de Rowleg IV (1335). Tymperleg IV (1372; 1375). Tympurleg IV (1372).

ey-forms (stressed).

Chester Cart.

OE *l̥ak*: Lay. Le Lay.

Cheshire Acc.

OE *l̥ak*: de Leie (1316).

(unstressed).

De Lacy Comp. (1304).OE *l̥ah*: Aldredelay. Cornleycroft. Whitlay. Whytlay².*Cheshire Cart. I.*OE *l̥ah*: Berwardesleya. Borwardesleye. Burwardesleyam. Cheueley².
Cheueleye. Cheueleyam. Hanley. Hanleye². Hanlega. Hodesleyam.
Plumleiam. Strethleye.*Cheshire Acc.*OE *l̥ah*: de Alkmundeley (1304). de Aluandeley (1304). de Audeley (1316).
de Betteley (1304)². Bikeley (1355). Bulkeley (1350). Calvyley (1303²).
de Caluiley (1304). de Hurley (1350)². (de) Huxley (1304)⁴. de Huxeley
(1316). (de) Kyngesley (1303²; 1304; 1316²). (de) Kingesley (1303)².
Manley (1303). (de) Northley (1303^{2B}). Norley (1316)². de Plumley (1351).
de Stanley (1303; 1351). de Stapeley (1304). de Torporley (1304). de
Torpeley (1304). Tymperley (1304; 1350). Wheleie (1304). de Wheteley
(1348). de Wheteleye (1303). de Wyley (1303). de Wyleye (1302)².
*Cat. Anc. Dds.*OE *l̥ah*: de Bulkeleye IV (1322)². de Corley I (1372)². de Ryddeleye IV
(1322). Wyteleye (1323).*e*-forms (stressed).*Cheshire Acc.*OE *l̥ah*: de Lee (1304). del Lee (1302).

(unstressed).

*Cheshire Acc.*OE *l̥ah*: Ceofanlea.*Cheshire Acc.*OE *l̥ah*: de Ashelee (1357). Bykele (1304). Bradele (1304). de Bromle (1360).
Bulkele (1304). de Bulkele (1303). de Calvelee (1302). de Hurlle (1350).
Kingslee (1303)². de Kyngesle (1303)². de Modburle (1304; 1320; 1327).
de Northele (1360). de Ocle (1350; 1351). de Stonle (1304).*Cat. Anc. Dds.*OE *l̥ah*: Boslee III (1364). de Edisselee IV (1306).*(To be continued)*

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A RHEINAU EASTER PLAY OF THE LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The following liturgical Easter play is in a manuscript, a *Cantarium*, that was written in Rheinau but is now MS 757 of the monastery library of Einsiedeln. Besides this play, the *Cantarium* has other interestingly popular features, such as German Christmas hymns, which have been published by P. Gall Morel,¹ and directions for a quite elaborate Corpus Christi procession, published by Ed. Wymann.²

P. Gall Morel wrongly assigns the MS to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Wymann says it originated in Rheinau between 1597 and 1600. A somewhat hurried examination of the MS did not reveal to me the basis of such a definite date, but it is doubtless essentially correct. A *terminus a quo* is 1573, or rather some time after that, for on fol. 69^r there is mention, in the original hand of the MS, of an annual procession instituted in that year and continued from that time on (*hactenus*). A *terminus ad quem* is 1612, for on fol. 17^r is an entry of that date in a somewhat later hand which has added remarks and revisions throughout the MS.

Part of this play, the Latin *Visitatio*, is well known, being in Lange's collection,³ and its rubric, *Hisce aut germanicis versibus cantatis*, has doubtless led other scholars to wish for these *versus germanicos*. To be sure they have also been published, but in such an inaccessible place as to be almost unknown.⁴ This fact and the further fact that the text published by Morel is very inexact and gives the Latin rubrics only in a free German rendering make a more accessible and a more correct text desirable. The *Depositio* of this MS is published here for the first time.

This Rheinau play is one of the few that combine the *Elevatio* or Resurrection ceremony with the *Visitatio*, or visit of the

¹ *Katholische Schweizerblätter für kirchliche Kunst*, 1865, p. 17-24.

² *Schweizerische Rundschau*, Vol. 5 (1905), p. 311 ff.

³ Carl Lange *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern* (1887), p. 68. Lange's date 1573 is wrong.

⁴ P. Gall Morel, *Die Osterfeier in Rheinau zu Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in *Katholische Schweizerblätter für kirchliche Kunst*, Jahrgang II (1865), p. 49 ff.

Marys to the tomb. Concerning this I may be permitted to quote what I have said elsewhere:⁵ "Another way in which dramatic character was occasionally given to the *Elevatio* was to combine with it the dialogue of the *Visitatio*. This use of the *Quem quaeritis*, with its *Non est hic, surrexit*, before the symbol, or symbols, have been raised from the sepulchre, is distinctly illogical. It has been found only in two very limited regions, though at wholly separated times, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the neighboring places of Soissons, Laon, and St. Quentin, in the sixteenth century in the neighboring places of Constance, Rheinau, and St. Gall."

< *Depositio* >

(f. 48^r) Absoluto⁶ tandem Sacro itur è Choro absque cantu processionaliter versus altare S. Blasij, inde per totum templum ad sepulchrum in S. Findanj sacello summo ornatu paratum; Imaginem vitæ defuncti Saluatoris portant duo Ministrj panno holoserico pellucido tectam, quos cum venerabili Sacramento sequitur Sacerdos. Vbi ad sepulchrum, accensum cereum singuli in manu sua gestantes, peruenerunt, statim sepulturæ mandatur imago & incensatur sepulchrum. Interim, dum hoc fit, cantantur hæc duę breues Antiphonæ. (With musical notation) *In pace in id ipsum dormiam & requiescam. Caro mea requiescet in spe.* (f. 48^v) Dicuntur Vesperæ apud Sepulchrum, Choris consueto ordine diuisis, sine Cantu, duplicatis Antiphonis. . . . (There follow the psalms CXV, CXIX, CXXXIX, CXL, LXXVI, antiphons, Magnificat, oration, etc., of vespers.) . . . (f. 51^r) Dictis Vesperis reditur absque mora cum hoc Responsorio in Chorum. (With notes) *Sepulto Domino, signatum est monumentum, voluentes lapidem ad ostium monumenti. Ponentes milites, qui custodirent illud.* Versus. *Ne*

⁵N. C. Brooks, *The Sepulchre of Christ and Liturgy*, p. 43. (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature Vol VII, No. 2).

⁶ It has seemed to me desirable to give a text which follows the MS. closely in spelling and capitalization and even follows it in punctuation, since the punctuation of the MS. is abundant and usually clear, even if differing from present day usage. It is possible that such a text, especially the German part of it, may have some linguistic usefulness, since it can be definitely located in place and quite definitely in time and has not gone through the alterations and normalizations of a sixteenth century print shop. I have used 'uo' for the sound which in the MS. is a 'u' with a small 'o' over it, and have used 'uö' for the 'u' with an 'ö' over it.

fortè veniant Discipuli eius, et furentur eum; et dicant plebi surrexit à mortuis. Ponentes milites:

< *Versus in tribus Matutinis cantandi.*¹ >

(f. 56^v) Sequuntur superiùs neglecta, quæ in tribus præcedentibus Matutinis fuissent post Antiphonam ad Benedictus repetitam cantanda. (f. 57^r) Repetitâ ad Benedictus antiphonâ cantantur à pueris proximè sequentia hoc ordine. Kyrie primum canitur à puero, qui est retro summum altare. Christe eleison ab illo, qui in S. Findani: Kyrie verò vltimum ab eo, qui in S. Benedicti sacello erit. Sed inuertatur ordo iste oportet, dum altera vice incipiat Kyrie, qui est in sacello S. Findani: Christe eleison in S. Benedicti: Kyrie in summo altari: tertia autem vice incipiat in S. Benedicti & c. (With notes) *Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison.* Quoties vltimum Kyrie cantatum est toties fit pulsus cum tabulis. N.B. Puerorum quisque proripit se, dum incipitur Hymnus sequens, è suo constituto loco ad chori ingressum lateris P. Prioris, vt illic teutonici versus ab illis cantandi commodiùs percipiantur à populo.

Chorus. (With notes)

*Rex Christe factor omnium, Redemptor et credentium,
placare votis supplicum, te laudibus colentium.*

Pueri simul in Chori ingressu coniuncti, latus quoad P. Prioris, cantant sequentes versus melodia subscripta.

Obseruandum; Notulas, præsertim duplices verso folij latere positas, non posse cuiuis syllabæ in sequentibus versibus inseuire; sed interdum eas minui aut augeri aut diuidi oportere.

(f. 57^v) Versus germanici sequentes cantantur à pueris sub ingressu Chori inter altaria beatæ Mariæ Virginis & Ss. Virginum.

(With notes)

*Mitt danck / O Mensch / betrachte / dins Herren liebe fin:
Wie am leist Donnstag zNachte / sin Lichnam er setzt in:
Den sollt du hie vff Erden / zum pfand der seligkeit /
Mitt reinem Hertz vnd gbürden / Empfân vmm disze zeit / Kyri-(f. 58^r)-e eleison.*

¹ This alternate singing of German verses and Latin hymns is not exactly a part of the liturgical play. But, since it is interesting and is a sort of preparation for the dramatic Easter office, I am printing these verses, as P. Gall Morel has also done.

Chorus. (With notes for first three words)

*Cuius benigna gratia, crucis per alma vulnere,
virtute soluit ardua, primi parentis vincula.*

Pueri.

2. Sohn Gottes in der ewigkeit / aller welt ein trost:
Durch dines Tödes bitterkeit / du Bluot geschwitzt hast:
daz dâ gar krefftiglichen / trang durch din gewand:
du kamst gar williglichen / wol in der Juden hand /. *Kyrie eleison.*

Chorus.

*Qui es creator syderum, legmen subisti carneum:
dignatus hanc vilissimam pati doloris formulam.*

3. Ach vnschuldigs Lämmlin / der reinen Jungkfrow kind:
wie grimmiglich die Juden / an dich gefallen sind:
dâ sy dich hand gefangen / als einen bössen Man:
mit schwärten vnd mit stangen / fuhrts der bösz Judas an. *Kyrie*
*Ligatus es, vt solueres, mundi ruentis complices:
per probra tergens crimina, qua mundus auxit plurima.*
4. *Laus tibi Christe, qui pateris; in cruce pendens pro nobis miseris:
cum Patre qui regnas in coelis, nos reos salua in terris; Kyrie eleison.*

Chorus.

*Cruci Redemptor figeris, terram sed omnem conculis:
(f. 58^v) tradis potentem spiritum, nigrescit atque seculum.*

5. O Muotter Maria Gotts gebürerin /
thuo vns armen Sünderen / diner hilf ein schyn:
daz wir nit müssend lyden in der helle pyn /
sonder selig werdend / durch den Sohne din /. *Kyrie eleison.*
*Mox in paternæ gloriæ / victor resplendens culmine:
cum spiritus munimine / defende nos Rex optime*
6. O du armer Juda / was hast du gethon:
daz du vnseren Herren / also verrathen hast:
mit dinem falschen kusse / gegeben in den tödt:
darum must du lyden ewigliche noth. *Kyrie eleison.*

Subiungitur à Choro. (With notes) *Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison.*

In II. Matutino *Kyrie. Christe. Kyrie.* cantantur ab iisdem pueris, in I^o. Matutino cantantur.⁸

⁸ This verb is on the margin and the MS. is so bound that only the beginning of the verb can be read. The phrase is elliptical and the verb might be passive, present or past, with a *quibus* understood, or active, with *qui* understood. It is probable that the abbreviation "*Matut.*" is to be read *Matutino* although in the plural the feminine *Matutina* is used.

Rex Christe factor omnium & c.

Pueri.

*Eisa der grossen Vnsucht / din Ansicht Herre zart;
mit speichel vnd mit Vnsüdh / gar fast entheret ward:
Als du für gericht / gebunden wardest gbrächt /
dã ward vil falsch gedichte / O Herr / vj dich erdächt. Kyrie.*

(f. 59^r) *Cuius benigna gratia* u.s.w.

2. *D'wunden Niemand zellen kan / ð wee der höchsten noth:
so dir warend angethon / eh d'gsüret wardst zum töd:
mit geisslen / krönen / schlachen: / darby kein gnuögen ward:
biss am Crütz mit vil schmächen verlohrt din leben gar. Kyrie eleison.
Qui es Creator syderum.*
3. *Wär ist / O Herr / ein Vrsach / dass so vil bluotte floss /:
von dir: Vnd d'Muotter vor vnd nãch / so vil trüheren vergoss:
Als vnszer Sünden schwäre / die anders nüt vermag:
erschrick ab diszer müre / min Seel / wein hüt vnd klag. Kyrie eleison
Ligatus es, vt solueres.*
4. *Lob söllend wir verkünden / dir vil wörden Christ:
der d'vmm vnszere Sünden am Crütz gestorben bist:
öber vns vil Armen / himmelischer Gott;
wöllest dich erbarmen / durch dinen bitteren lodt. Kyrie eleison.
Cruci Redemptor figeris.*
5. *O Maria DEI genitrix, tuum fer auxilium nobis miseris:
ne nos damnemur cum impijs, sed vt saluemur cum beatis. Kyrie eleison.
Mox in paternæ gloria.*
6. *O du armer Juda / was hast u.s.w. vt supra.*

(f. 59^v) In 3^o. Matutino Kyrie. Christe. Kyrie. vt in 1^o. Matutino.

Rex Christe factor et c.

Pueri.

1. *Wir danckend dir / lieber Herre / der grossen Marter din:
hüt vnd immer mehre / dass du Vns hast vss pyn /
Erlöset gar milligklichen / darumm wir warend verlorn:
Gott Vatter ist entwichen / sinem ewigen Zorn. Kyrie eleison.
Cuius benigna gratia.*
2. *Ach vnschuldigs Lämmlein / der reinen Jungkfrow kind:
wie grimmigklich die Juden / an dich gefallen sind:
dã sy dich hand gefangen / als einen büssen Mann:
mit schwärten vnd mit stangen / suöhrt der büsz Judas an. Kyrie eleison.
Qui es Creator syderum.*

3. *D'wunden Niemand zellen kan / O wee der höchsten noth:
so dir warend angethon / eh d'gfudret wardst zum töd:
mit geiszen / krönen / schlacken / darby kein gnuügen war:
biss am Crütz mit vil schmächen / verlohrt din leben gar. Kyrie eleison.*
4. *Ligatus es. Was truwren.⁹
Cruci Redemptor figeris.*
5. *Wär will on weinen künden / ietzt vnd suo andere zyt:
dass wegen vnseren Sünden / der Herr gantz todt liget:
so klüglich in der Schosse / der heiligsten Muotter sin /:
mit Bluot besprengt gar bloss / Ach wie schwär (f. 60^r) war Ihr disse p̄m.
Kyrie eleison.*
6. *Mox in paterna. Derhalben.⁹
Ligatus es, vt solueres.*
4. *Was truwren / klag vnd gross nöt / O miltter Heiland guott:
hand erzeigt in dinem töd / die Geschöpfte mit Vnmuot:
spürt man an felszen zersprungen / Sunn Monns verlohrenem schin:
wie sönd d' allt vnd Jungen / fürchten in Sünden sin.¹⁰ Kyrie eleison.*
5. *Cruci Redemptor. Wär will ohn weinen u.s.w.⁹
Mox in paterna gloria.*
6. *Derhalben fuöhr zu Hertzzen / im gantzen leben dîn:
O Sünder wass für schmerzen / Sy beide hand gnommen in:
so wirst guots ihuon / d'Sünd myden / voruss Gott danckbar sin:
hiemit dem höllschen lyden / sicher entrünnen sin. Kyrie eleison. Christe
eleison. Kyrie eleison.*

< *Elevatio et Visitatio* >

(f. 60^r) In nocte sancta circiter duodecimæ medium fit pulsus cum omnibus campanis, quo finito Sacerdos cum ministris, præeunte Choro & ij. Angelis vnà cum præferendis vexillis, cruce & luminibus, incensoque, pergit cum Ps: *Miserere* è Choro inter altaria beati Blasij & beatæ Mariæ Virginis in templum inferius ad sepulchrum. Absoluto autem Psalmo duo Angeli ad gradus scalarum stantes aut cantant versus sequentes; in-

⁹ The order of stanzas four and five has been changed and to insure the observance of the right sequence three abridged references have been inserted by a later hand.

¹⁰ The original reading of the words following 'schin' and of the word for which 'zersprungen' has been substituted has been blotted out and the substitute reading is in two or three places hard to read. The parts that are clearly legible are: *wie sönd d' allt vnd Jungen / fürh in Sünden sin*. The *d* of *sönd* has a downward stroke that might be the abbreviation for *-en* (*sünden*). Morel's reading is: *Sünder allt und junge / Fürchte in Sünden sin*, which is certainly wrong.

cupientibus primò Marijs, *Ist Niemand hie: aut ex Obsequali; Quem quæritis.*

(f. 60^v) Ingressa Processione in S. Findani sacellum Tres Mariæ velis albis & vestibibus lugubribus indutæ incipiunt versum primum sub melodia: Christ ist erstanden. stantes interius secus S. Findani sacelli ingressum.

*Ist¹¹ Niemand hie by dissem grab /
der vns heb den Stein herab:
damit wir mögend salben /
Jesus wunden alle / Alleluia.*

Angeli.

*Wen suochend Ihr dry frowen /
dass Ihr dass grab thuond bschouen:
Es nimbt Vns frömbde müre /
dass Ihr sind kommen häre / Alleluia.*

3 Mariæ.

*Wir thuond hie suochen Jesum Christ /
der an dem Crütze gestorben ist:
wir wollend Imm gern salben /
sine wunden alle / Alleluia.*

Angeli.

*Den Ihr hie suochend / der ist nit hie /
sin himmelischer Vatter verliess vns nie:
Er ist frölich erstanden /
von des tödes banden / Alleluia.*

Tres Mariæ.

*Wir gloubends nit Vch Engelin /
Ihr lassend vns dann zum Grab hinin:
damit wir mögend iechen/¹²
wir habend dass grab lähr gsehen / alleluia.*

Pergentibus 3. Marijs post audita hæc duo verba: *Nun sechend.* ad sepulchrum et deuotè introsipientibus suppleunt residua angeli.¹³

¹¹ The preceding verses have, for economy of space, been printed in long or double lines; those of the play proper are printed in short lines, the preferable form. In the MS. the previous verses and some of these are written without division into verse lines, but most of those on fol. 61 and 62 are written in short verse lines.

¹² Over 'iechen' here and in the next verses of the three Marys a later hand has written 'sprechen,' without however crossing out the 'iechen.'

¹³ Part of this direction is written on the margin and the book is so bound that only the beginning of several words can be seen. The reading is however probably correct.

Angeli.

*Nun sechend durch den heiligen Christ /
die statt dâ Er gelegen ist:
Er ist frölich erstanden /
den Juden s'grossen schanden / alleluia.*

(f. 61^v) Redit, inspecto, vti dictum est, sepulchro, vnaquæque in locum sibi prius assignatum.

3. Mariæ.

*Iets mußsend wir warlich iechen /
wir habend dasz Grab lâr gsehen:
dass Vnser Herre Jesus Christ /
wol von dem Töd erstanden ist / alleluia.¹⁴*

Angeli.

*Gohnd hin Ihr frouwen zarte /
sun Jünger in den Garten
vnd sagend petro ouch darby /
dass Jesus Christ erstanden sey / alleluia.*

Finito in hoc versu *Alleluia* discedunt immediatè tres Mariæ.

Notandum verò ad Ministros spectare, vt interim incepto penultimo versu ad sepulchrum se conferant/ & Saluatoris imaginem paulatim eleuent, vt versibus finitis siue latinis siue teutonicis possit commodissimè ostendi imago populo, & statim cantari ab omnibus. *Christ ist erstanden.* (Another hand has inserted here: Inter ea incensatur sacramentum & reditur in chorum cum imagine Saluatoris ac venerabili Sacramento quâ ventum est viâ.) Versuum sequentium cantentur aliquot, aut dimidiata pars, aut post versum *Erstanden ist* statim versus *O du H. Crütze* cum residuis, ante & post concionem ac Catechismum.

(With notes for a few words)

*Christ ist erstanden /
von der marter allen:
des süllend wir alle frö sin /
Christ will vnser trost sin / Alleluia.*

*Wâr Er nüt erstanden /
so wer die welt zergangen:*

¹⁴ For these verses and for the following verses of the angels another hand had written in on the margin the following shorter versions: *Iets sprechend wârllich wir frouwen / wir habend das Grab lâr bschouen: and Ihr frouwen nun goknd iets hin / zu des Herren Jüngern fin:*

sidi dass er erstanden ist / (f. 61*)
so lobend wir den Herren Jesum Christ / alleluia.

Erstanden ist / der heilig Christ /:
der aller welt ein Tröster ist.

Es giengend hin dry frowen /
die wollend 's grab beschowen:
sy suochtend den Herren Jesum Christ /
der von dem Tod erstanden ist / Alleluia.

Ein Engel sachends wyss bekleidt /
der Ihnen verkündet grosse freud:
fürchtend Vch nit Ihr frowen /
sünd Christo frölich thruwen / alleluia.

Er ist erstanden vss dem Grab /
wol an dem heiligen Ostertag:
nun gohnd hiehür vnd bsechend die Statt /
dahin man Inn geleget hatt / Alleluia.

Sücht an das thuoch / darin Er lag /
gewicklet biss an drillen tag:
nun gohnd in Galileam hin /
dß werdend Ihr wörllich finden Inn / alleluia.

Das sünd Ihr sagen petro bald /
vnd anderen Jüngerem gleicher gstat:
dann in Galilea smßl /
werdend Ihr Christum sechen all / alleluia.

(f. 62*)

O Jesu lieber Herre Gott/
behüdt Vns vor der Sünden nöt:
gib Vns frölich vom Töd erstohn /
mit dir inn 's ewig leben gohn / alleluia.

O du heiliges Crütze /
behüdt Vns Christenlütthe:
vor falschem Gloub / vnd grosser Sünd /
wol biss in Vnser letste Stund / alleluia.

Maria du vil reine /
du hast gar heiss geweinet;
vmm Vnseren Herren Jesum Christ /
do Er am Crütze gestorben ist / alleluia

Maria du vil wärde /
legg hin din truwrige gbürden:
klag nit mehr din Sohn Jesum Christ /
dann Er vom Töd erstanden ist / alleluia.

Maria du vil zarte /
du bist ein Roszengarte:

*bitt für Vns din liebes kind /
so lang wir hie uff Erden sind / Alleluia.*

*Muotter der Barmhertzigkeit /
gedonch der ganzen Christenheit:
(f. 62^v) vnd wann wir söllend sterben /
ihuo Gnad vnd freud erwerben / Alleluia.*

Tres sequentes versus semper inseruiunt fini.

*Zuo diszer Osterlichen nyt /
sey Gott gelobt in ewigkeit:
gelobt sey die heilig dryfaltigkeit /
Gott Vatter / Sohn vnd heilger Geist / Alleluia.*

(With notes) *Alleluia alleluia alleluia singend wir Gott dem Herren z'lob vnd z'ehr / Alleluia. Alleluia alleluia alleluia alleluia.*

Post *Christ ist erstanden* luditur hæc ipsa tantum nocte in Organis Sequentia aut Prosa; *Victimæ Paschali*: Choro per vices ad finem vsque respondente tam Organis quam Officiatori. Quibus omnibus, vti sequentur, peractis, incipiendæ sunt Matutinæ.

(f. 63^r) Ingressa Processione in S. Findani sacellum canitur, nisi plus arrideant versus teutonici: *Ist Niemand hie*. (The following Latin *Visitatio*, with its *Victimæ Paschali*, has notes throughout.) ab Angelo primo. *Quem Quæritis in sepulchro ð Christicolæ?* Respondent Chorus. *Jesum Nazarenum crucifixum ð cælicolæ*. Angelus II. *Non est hic, surrexit, sicut prædixerat*. Angeli cantant simul. *Venite & videte locum, vbi positus erat Dominus allelu-(f.63^v)-ia alleluia.*

Hisce aut germanicis versibus cantatis eleuata Saluatoris è sepulchro imago ostenditur, & continuò canitur ab omnibus: *Christ ist erstanden/* rediturque Sacramento incensato cum imagine Saluatoris & venerabili Sacramento eadem, quâ ventum est, viâ in Chorum. Post *Christ ist erstanden* luditur in Organis Sequentia: *Victimæ*, Choro per vices respondente.

Victimæ Paschali laudes immolent Christiani.

Agnus redemit oues: Christus innocens Patri reconciliauit peccatores.

Mors & vita duello conflixere mirando: Dux vitæ, mortuus regnat vi-(f. 64^r)-uus.

Hæc silent Chorus & Organum & Angeli ambo cantant: *Dic nobis Maria, quid vidisti in via?*

Sacerdos calicem ostendens cantat: *Sepulchrum Christi viuentis: & gloriam vidi resurgentis.*

Angeli. *Dic nobis Maria quid.*

Digito ostendit Angelos, interim tenendo sudarium et linteolum. *Angelicos testes, sudarium et vestes.*

Angeli. *Dic nobis.*

Sacerdos ostendit venerabile Sacramentum. *Surrexit Christus spes mea: præcedet (f. 64^v) suos in Galileam.*

Interim, dum benedicit populum cum Ss. Sacramento, illudque recondit, canunt Angeli versum sequentem, at P. Prior (nisi ipse perficiat actum) dicat Collectam.

Versus. *Surrexit Dominus vere, alleluia.*

Responsio. *Et apparuit Simoni, alleluia.*

Oremus. *Deus, qui hodierna die, per Vnigenitum tuum, æternitatis nobis aditum deuicta morte reserasti: vota nostra, quæ præueniendo aspiras, etiam adiuuando proseguere. Per eundem.*

His omnibus peractis incipiuntur Matutinę.

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VALENTIN ICKELSAMER

Valentin Ickelsamer gilt als der erste deutsche Grammatiker. Schon bei seinen Zeitgenossen.

“Wer hat vor Valentin Ickelsamer je ain teutsche Grammatica gelernet? kainer!” ruft Ortolph Fuchssberger von Tittmoning¹ in seiner zuerst 1533 in Augsburg von Alexander Weissenhorn gedruckten *Dialectica* aus. In der Tat ist das Werkchen, das Ickelsamer diesen Ruhm eingebracht hat, betitelt: *Ein Teütsche Grammatica*. Und in der Einleitung schreibt er verheissungsvoll: “Wer aber meint, es sey kein Grammatica, die nit alles kinderwerk lere, das in der Lateinischen Grammatic ist, Darzuo sag ich, das der uns noch lang kein Teütsche Grammatic geben oder beschriben hat, derein Lateinische für sich nimbt und verteütscht sie, wie ich ihr etwa wol gesehen, dann der schafft mit vil arbeit wenig nutz, derdie teütschen leren will, wie sie sagen und reden sollen: der Hans, des Hansen etc., Ich schreib, ich hab geschriben etc. Das lernen die kinder besser von der muoter dann ausz der Grammatic.” Aber was er dann anstelle der hier so verächtlich beiseite geschobenen Flexionslehre bietet, geht über Lautlehre, Leseunterricht und ein bischen Orthographie, Etymologie und Interpunction kaum hinaus. Es fehlt nicht an Ansätzen zu weiteren Ausführungen, an Hinweisen auf verwandte oder entgegengesetzte Erscheinungen im Lateinischen, Griechischen und Hebräischen, auf dialektische Eigentümlichkeiten, vor allem nicht an Bemerkungen, die uns zeigen, dass Ickelsamer in das Wesen der deutschen Sprache eingedrungen war, mit der Volksseele Fühlung hatte, und recht wohl wusste, was eine lateinische Grammatik leisten müsste. Gerade die oben citierte Stelle zeigt recht deutlich, dass Ickelsamer ein Organ für die verschiedene Struktur der lateinischen und der deutschen Sprache hatte und es als einen Irrtum erkannt hatte, eine deutsche Grammatik durch Verdeutschung des Donat oder in Anlehnung an diesen fabrizieren zu wollen. Er schreibt an einer anderen Stelle: “Ich las einmal einen brieff, den eines Grossmechtigen Fürsten Cantzler an des Stiffts Thuomherren zuo Erffurt geschrieben hat, begerende an sie, das man die gestorbne

¹ Vergleiche über ihn *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, S. 174 f.

Fürstin mitt Vigilien und Seelampten begehen und besingen und under der singenden Mess (dise wort brauchtet der Cantzler) ein offenlich vermanung zuo dem wolck thuon welte etc. Da lachtet ich und gedacht, wie die Mess singen muesst, dann dises teütsch Participium singend heysst so vil, das die Mess muesst singen, da er gesagt solt haben: under der gesungenen Mess, und solt gewisst haben, das dises Participium Preteritum vil mals also vergangen und geschehen heysst, das doch noch gegenwaertig im werck ist und jetzt erst geschicht. Also, halt ich, muesst ein Teütscher Grammaticus die teütschen zuo schuol fueren, Nauemlich, das er jn die rechten art und weiss der teütschen worter und rede auss oder nach künstlicher und rechter anleytung der rede teyl mit jren accidentien arklaeret und zu overstehn geb. Welcher aber ein lateinische Grammatica schlecht teütschen wil, was sie in latein gibt, das Grammatica würdt den Teütschen seltzamer und unbekandter sein dann ein Lateinische oder villeicht ein Chalecutische." Aber das Programm, das Ickelsamer hier aufstellt ("die teutschen zuo schuol führen") hat er nicht erfüllt, seine "teütsche Grammatica" ist eigentlich nichts viel anderes als sein vorhergehendes Werkchen, das trotz des anderen Titels fast denselben Inhalt hat: "Die rechte weis, aufs kürz ist lesen zu lernen." Mit ihm ist Ickelsamer epochemachend geworden. Er hat nämlich für den ersten Leseunterricht eine neue Methode, die Lautiermethode, aufgebracht, bei der nicht mit dem mechanischen Einpauken der Buchstaben der Anfang gemacht wird, sondern damit, die Wörter in Silben und diese in Laute zu zerlegen und letztere als Naturlaute zu erklären und in kurzweiliger und vergnüglicher Weise einzuprägen. "Das *f* würdt geblasen durch die zene, auff die ndern lebtzen gelegt, und stimmt, wie nass oder gruen holtz am feüre seüt. Das *g*, so die zung das hinderst des guomens beruert, wie die Gans pfeysen, wens einen anlauffen zuo beissen etc. Das *h* ist ein scharpfen athem, wie main in die hende haucht. . . . Das *r* ist der Hundts büchstab, wann er zornig die zene blickt und nerret, so die zung kraus zittert."

Die Buchstaben werden also von Anfang an als Zeichen für Laute erfasst. Als Mittel, die Kinder die Buchstaben in Verbindung mit den durch sie bezeichneten Lauten zu lehren, empfiehlt er die Benutzung von Bildern mit den Tieren, die die entsprechenden Laute hervorbringen, oder mit Vorgängen, bei

denen der betreffende Laut hörbar wird; r z.B. soll durch ein mit diesen Buchstaben bezeichnetes und einen knurrenden Hund darstellendes Bildchen eingepreßt werden. Diese Idee ist von Zeitgenossen Ickelsamers, besonders von JACOB GRIESSBEUTEL—er ist identisch mit dem gleichnamigen Prediger in Augsburg, der sich als erster dort am 26. August 1523 verheiratete—in seinem zuerst wohl 1533 in Nürnberg bei Kunigunde Hergottin erschienenen "Stimmenbüchlein"² begierig aufgegriffen worden.

Als Begründer der Lautiermethode wird gewöhnlich der 1850 in Gorkau in Schlesien verstorbene HEINRICH STEPHANI genannt.³ Er hat durch seine *Fibel* (1802), seinen *Kurzen Unterricht in der gründlichsten und leichtesten Methode Kindern das Lesen zu lehren* (1803), und seiner *Stehenden Wandfibei* (1804) der bis dahin immer noch vorherrschenden Buchstabiermethode den Todesstoss versetzt, war sich im übrigen aber recht wohl bewusst, dass er nur einer schon seit längerer Zeit im Vordringen begriffenen Reformrichtung zum endlichen Siege verholfen habe, weshalb er auch die Bitte aussprach, die neue Methode nicht nach ihm zu benennen.

Die "rechte weis, aufs kürz ist lesen zuo lernen" ist wohl zum ersten Male "Gedruckt zu Erfurd, durch Ioannem Loersfelt, zum halben radt, ynn der Meymergassen" erschienen (Exemplar im Germanischen Museum in Nürnberg). Eine vermehrte Ausgabe druckte 1534 in Marburg Franciscus Rhode⁴ (Exemplar in Berlin, Kgl. Bibliothek). Von der deutschen Grammatik veranstaltete 1882 H. FECHNER nach dem Exemplar der wohl ersten Ausgabe, das aus F. L. K. Weigands Nachlass in seinen Besitz übergegangen war, einen Neudruck.⁵ Von einer anderen, um ein *Kurzes Lesebüchlein am Schluss vermehrten Ausgabe* haben Kohler in München 1881 und Joh. Müller in Plauen 1882 Neudrucke besorgt.⁶ (Exemplare in München, Universitätsbibliothek, und Wien, Hofbibliothek.)

² Neudruck = *Zwickauer Facsimiledrucke*, Nr. 15 (1912).

³ Vergleiche über ihn *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, 36, 90–93.

⁴ Vgl. A. von Dommer: *Die ältesten Drucke aus Marburg in Hessen*, Marburg 1892. S. 38. Nr. 54.

⁵ *Vier seltene Schriften des 16. Jahrhunderts*, herausgegeben von Heinrich Fechner. Berlin 1882. Vorausgeht eine Abhandlung von Friedrich Ludwig Karl Weigand über Valentin Ickelsamer.

⁶ Weigand S. 35 f.

Eine dritte Ausgabe trägt das Impressum: Nürnberg, Joh. Patrejus 1537. (Exemplare in Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek.) Die von Techner neugedruckte Ausgabe kann, da des Beatus Rhenanus 1531 in Basel erschienenen *Rerum Germanicarum libri tres* und die von Peter Jordan in Mainz verfasste und 1533 gedruckte, von Laienschul "citiert werden, nicht vor 1531–33 herausgekommen sein. Vielleicht sind jedoch die Stellen, an denen die beiden Werke citiert werden, spätere Zusätze und ist von der deutschen Grammatik schon 1527 eine längst verschollene—Ausgabe erschienen. Luther schreibt nämlich am 12. August dieses Jahres an Justus Menius, damals Prediger in Erfurt, in Bezug auf Ickelsamer, damals, wie wir noch sehen werden, Schulmeister in Erfurt⁷: "Miror quid de grammatica sua scribas, nam ad me nihil horum est de latum, nec reseiscere possum, ubi sit, aut quis escudat, quare nihil possum tibi super hac respondere." Näher liegt aber doch die Annahme, dass Luther mit "grammatica" Ickelsamers "rechte weis meine, von der die vermutliche Urausgabe von Johannes Loersfelt in Erfurt gedruckt ist." Dieser druckte 1523 und 1524 in der Pergamentergasse zum Färbefass, 1525 im Hause "In der Sonnen bei St. Michael," 1525 "auf dem wenigen Markt zum halben Rade" oder auch "Zum halben Radin der Meiner-gasse"; 1527 zog er nach Marburg.⁸ Da seine ersten Marburger Drucke am 30. Mai und 22. June 1527 erschienen sind,⁹ hat er während der ersten vier Monate des Jahres 1527 wohl noch in Erfurt in der Meimergasse gedruckt. Dürfen wir die Stelle in dem Lutherbrief auf die "rechte Weis" beziehen, dann würde sich das erste Drittel des Jahres 1527 als Erscheinungszeit der "rechten Weiz" ergeben.

Diesem Schriftchen ist angehängt "ein christlich Gespräch zweier Kinder"—so die Angabe auf dem Titelblatt—oder: eine göttliche Lehr, von Jugend auf sich zu erkennen und gottselig zu leben, den Kindern auf Frage und Antwort gestellet"—so der Untertitel.¹⁰ Zwei Mädchen, Margareth und Anna, unter-

⁷ Enders, *Luthers Briefwechsel*, 6, 73.

⁸ Joh. Luther in: *Beiträge zum Bibliotheks- und Buchwesen Paul Schwenke gewidmet*, Berlin 1913. S. 185 ff.

⁹ V. Dommer, S. 1 f. Nr. 1 und 2.

¹⁰ Dieses Gespräch ist abgedruckt bei F. Cohrs, *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion*, 1, Berlin 1900, S. 138–142.

reden sich hier von der Erbsünde, Wiedergeburt, Versöhnung und Gotteskindschaft. Das Gespräch ist zunächst wohl als Lesestück gedacht, weiter aber auch als Unterlage für den Religionsunterricht und zum Auswendiglernen. Dieser Zweck steht offenbar in vorderster Linie bei einem Schriftchen Ickelsamers, zu dem er das Widmungsschreiben in Rottenburg v. T. am 25. Mai 1525 unterzeichnet hat: "Ein ernstlich und wunderlich Gespräch zweier Kinder mit einander, darin angezeigt wird der grosse Ernst, den Gott in der Schrift mit den Kindern zu haben befohlen hat."¹¹ (Exemplare in Dessau, Fürst Georgsbibliothek, und Weimar, Grossherzogliche Bibliothek.) Hier unterreden sich ein grösserer und ein kleinerer Junge, ein Schusters und ein Feldhüterssohn. Es wird besonders die Notwendigkeit eines Religionsunterrichts schon an Kindern betont, da Gott sich auch schon um die Kinder bekümmere, bösen Kindern zürne und sie strafe, und da andererseits die Eltern vielfache Erziehungspflicht vernachlässigten. Der Gang der Unterweisung ist dann ungefähr derselbe wie in jenem späteren Gespräch der beiden Mädlein. Eine religionspädagogische Schrift Ickelsamers, die 1529 "zu Erffordt zum Schwarzen Horn, vor der kremer Brucken," d.h. von Matthes Maler gedruckt wurde, ist leider seit 1768 ganz verschwunden: "Vom wandel und leben der Christen in gottischer furchte und guten werckten, welchs leider noch so wenig beweysen, Darinne aber ein frommer gotfurchtiger vater seine kinder unterweiset nachzuolgen dem exempel des kinds Jesu. . . ." ¹² In der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotts, wohin eine Spur wies, war sie nicht zu finden. Auch eine von dem Berliner Auskunfts-bureau der deutschen Bibliotheken vor einigen Jahren erlassene Umfrage hatte keinen Erfolg.

Ickelsamers in der ersten Hälfte des März 1525 erschienenes Erstlingswerk: *Klag etlicher Brüder* (zwei Ausgaben: 1 = Weller, Repertorium typographieum Nr. 3440 vorhanden in Basel, Universitätsbibl. München Universitätsbibl., Stuttgart, Königliche öffentliche Bibliothek, Weimar; 2. Clag etlicher brieder . . . vorhanden in München, Hof und Staatsbibliothek, Wolfenbüttel) besprechen wir am besten im Zusammenhang mit der Lebensgeschichte unseres Autors, zu der wir jetzt übergehen,

¹¹ Abgedruckt bei *Cohrs*, S. 132-138.

¹² *Cohrs*, S. 131.

nachdem wir seine schriftstellerische Tätigkeit gemustert und das Bibliographische erledigt haben.

Der Name Ickelsamer oder Ickelschouner weist darauf hin, dass die Familie, der er angehörte, aus einem der beiden kleinen Dörfer Ober- und Unterickelsheim im Bezirksamt Uffenheim im beyrischen Regierungsbezirk Mittelfranken stammte. In der Nähe von Uffenheim oder Rotenburg o.T. wird er geboren sein. Als "Valentinus Ickelsamer de Rotenburgia" wurde er im Winter 1518/19 in Effurt immatrikuliert, wo er auch zwei Jahre später zum *baccalaureus artium* promoviert wurde. In Wittenberg setzte er seine Studien fort, doch suchen wir seinen Namen im Album dieser Hochschule vergebens. Im Frühjahr 1525 erscheint er zum ersten Male in amtlicher Stellung in Rotenburg, als "teutscher Schulmeister," d.h. als Leiter einer Schule, in der Kinder aus den kleinen Bürgers- und Handwerkerkreisen im Lesen, Schreiben, Rechnen und etwa noch in Religion unterrichtet wurden.¹³ Daneben predigte er aber auch unter grossem Zulauf "bei den Barfüßern in dem rebental" (Refectorium). In dieser Stellung veröffentlichte er in der ersten Hälfte des März 1525, wie schon erwähnt, sein Erstlingswerk: *Klag etlicher Brüder an alle Christen von der grossen Ungerechtigkeit und Tyrannei, so Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt jetzo von Luther zu Wittenberg geschieht*.¹⁴ Das interessante Schriftchen rückt Ickelsamer sogleich in ein ganz bestimmtes Licht. Karlstadt war Mitte September 1524 auf Luthers Betreiben aus Kursachsen vertrieben worden und war Ende des Jahres in Rotenburg angelangt. Hier wurde er trotz des am 27. January 1525 vom Rate gegen ihn erlassenen Ausweisungsbefehls bis zum 26. März von seinen Freunden verborgen gehalten, worauf er wieder frei hervortreten und in der Pfarrkirche und im Barfüßerkloster predigen durfte; ende Mai musste er die Stadt verlassen. Ickelsamer erweist sich als Anhänger Karlstadts und des von diesem vertretenen "laienchristlichen Puritanismus." Es war zunächst wohl einfach das traurige Schicksal des von Wittenberg her ihm bekannten

¹³ Vgl. Otto Mayer in Würthemberg. *Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte*, 9 (1900), 27.

¹⁴ Neudruck- Aus dem Kampf der Schwärmer gegen Luther. *Drei Flugschriften*, (1524. 1525) herausgegeben von Ludwig Enders. Halle a.S. 1893. Vgl. ferner Hermann Barge; *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt*, 2 (Leipzig 1905), S. 318 ff.

Mannes, das ihn trieb, öffentlich für ihn einzutreten, Mitleid und Gerechtigkeitsgefühl veranlauten ihn, sich des vertriebenen, unstät umherirrenden, beschimpften Karlstadt anzunehmen. Er will seine Streitschrift als eine "brüderliche Ermahnung an D. M. Luther und andere dergleichen, so wider jemand ihre Sach allein mit Scheltworten ausrichten, "angesehen haben. Er will nicht heimtückisch gegen Luther wühlen und intrigieren: "Sollst wissen, dass ich also gesinnet bin, dass ich dir, was mir an dir fehlet, abenso kühn und kecklich ins Angesicht zu sagen wagen würde, als kecklich ich dieses Urteil von dir unter die Leut lass gehen." Aber dann verfällt er doch in eine recht leidenschaftliche Tonart, wenn er Luther vorwirft, dass er in seinem trotzigen Büchlein wider die himmlischen Propheten seinen Privathass gegen Karlstadt habe ausstrinen lassen, wie er überhaupt "ein zornig, unchristlich, bitter Herz und garein hitzig, reüterisch geblüt habe." Er habe ihm einst in Wittenberg zu Füßen gesessen und ihn lieb gehabt. Er habe ihm zugejubelt, als er gegen den König von England und andere dergleichen unchristliche Bischöfe geschrieben, obgleich er schon damals sich des Verdachts nicht habe erwehren können, dass Luther weniger aus Liebe zur göttlichen Wahrheit sie angegriffen habe, als, um sein Mütchen an ihnen zu kühlen. Dann hätten Luthers reaktionäre Massregeln besonders die Wiedereinführung der Beichte ihn stutzig gemacht. Vollends aber habe er sich von Luther abgestossen gefühlt, als dieser sich von der Volksmenge, von der er sich doch erst habe emportragen und bejubeln und decken lassen, zurückgezogen und mit den "grossen Hansen," den Mächtigen dieser Welt, zu paktieren angefangen habe, wie die Lutherischen Prediger in Behaglichkeit und Bequemlichkeit und sittliche Gleichgültigkeit und Laxheit verfallen seien und über sittliche Verfehlungen, ja offenbare Sünden und Laster in bedenklicher Nachgiebigkeit menschlicher Schwäche gegenüber ein Mäntelchen gebreitet hätten. Ickelsamer ist Sprecher einer grossen Gemeinde, die freilich mundtot gemacht wurde und von der nur wenige Aauserungen bis zu uns herüberklingen, wenn er ausruft: "Wir sprechen: Wo nicht christlicher Glaubens Werk folgen, da sei der Glaub weder recht gepredigt noch angenommen, und sagen von euch, was lang Rom hat müssen hören: wie näher Wittenberg, je böser Christen." Zum Schlusse geht Ickelsamer wieder auf Luthers Vorgehen gegen Karlstadt ein und wirft dem Reformator nochmals in erregter Rede seine

Schmäh- und Verfolgungssucht, Rechthaberei und Herrschsucht und Lieblosigkeit vor. Man hat in lutherischen Kreisen Ickelsamer diesen Angriff nicht vergessen.

Die folgende Schrift: *Ein ernstlich und wunderbarlich Gespräch* ist der Form nach ganz "friedlich und unpolemisch, verrät aber auch wieder den Anhänger Karlstadts und des laienchristlichen Puritanismus besonders an den Stellen, die von der Notwendigkeit der aus einem lebendigen Glauben hervorgehenden Werke der Liebe und Barmherzigkeit, über die Abscheulichkeit lieblosen Polterns und Schimpfens und blindwütigen Zufahrens Irrenden gegenüber handeln. Uebrigens sind die beiden Kinder, die in dem Gespräche sich unterhalten, Kinder bekannter Rotenburger Persönlichkeiten und Kinder aus Ickelsamers Schule; wenigstens kommt der Vater des Jacob Krebs, die Lutzhüter = Feldhüter Hans Krebs zweimal in Thomas Zweifels *Rothenburger Chronik* vor.

Als Ickelsamer am 25. Mai 1525 das Manuscript zum *Gespräch* an den Buchführer Kaspar Weydlin in Nürnberg¹⁵ zur Drucklegung sandte, hatte sich in Rothenburg die Aufregung, die hier durch den Bauernaufbruch hervorgerufen worden war, gerade gelegt.¹⁶ Am 21. März waren die Bauern der Umgegend aufgestanden, am 24. hatte die Bürgerschaft unter Beiseiteschiebung des alten Rats einen Ausschuss gewählt, der alsbald das Regiment an sich riss und in Verhandlungen mit den Bauern eintrat. Zu den 12. Mitgliedern desselben gehörte auch unser Ickelsamer, der indes bei den Verhandlungen eine untergeordnete Rolle—als Protokollführer—spielte. Er wurde daher auch, als im Mai und in den ersten Tagen des Juni die Bauernhaufen durch den Truchsess Georg von Waldburg vernichtet worden waren, und die Kreise der Rothenburger Bürgerschaft, die mit den Auführern sympathisiert hatten, sich ducken mussten, als der alte Rat wieder eingesetzt war und—Ende Juni—ein Strafergericht über die Rädelsführer abgehalten wurde, zwar mit anderen ausgewiesen, aber mit der niedrigsten Geldstrafe—20 Gulden—belegt. Er liess sich nun in Erfurt, wo er von seiner Studentenzeit her Bekannte und Gönne haben mochte, als

¹⁵ Vgl. über ihn Karl Schottenloher, *Die Entwicklung der Buchdruckerkunst in Franken-1530*. Würzburg 1910 = (*Neujahrsblätter*, herausgegeben von der Gesellschaft für Fränkische Geschichte, 5) S. 32.50.

¹⁶ Vgl. zum Folgenden: Weigand, S. 17 ff. und Barge S. 337 ff.

Schulmeister nieder und liess hier seine "rechte Weis" und die verloren gegangene Schrift "Vom Wandel und Leben der Christen" drucken. Mit Luther hatte er sich ausgesöhnt. Justus Menius hatte das vermittelt. Luther schrieb diesem am 12. August 1527—die folgenden Worte gehen den schon oben aus diesem Briefe angeführten über Ichelsamers "Grammatica" voraus—Icolsamero scripsissem, sed capitis infirmitas non sissit me accupari studiis, dices tamen si me ignorisse ei omnia, etiam antequam rogaret, sicut et omnibus inimicis aliis et ignoser et misereor ut et mihi Christus et Pater iustus ignoscat et misceratur?

Elend und beständig drohende Fährlichkeit und Drangsal hatten wohl den armen Schulmeister mürbe gemacht.

Auf die Dauer gönnten ihm jedoch seine Feinde keine Ruhe. Anfang 1530 war er als Schulmeister nach Arnstadt übersiedelt. Da erging unterm 27. März ein Schrieben des Kurfürsten Johann von Sachsen an den Grafen Günter zu Schwarzburg,¹⁷ er solle Ickelsamer, der wegen seiner schwärmerischen Umtriebe und seines "schmehebuchs" (der *Klag etlicher Brüder*) von früher her schwer verdächtig sei und jetzt zu Arnstadt eine Schule errichtet habe, "vielleicht im gemut und maynung, seinen Schwirmer geist und falsche auffrurische und verfurliche Lehre des orts, wie er dan an andern enden und sunderliche zu Erfurt in newlicher zeit auch gethan, an tag zu geben und auszubreiten," "gafenklich annehmen und auf ansuchung unseres Ampts und Rats zu Gotha daselbst hin volgen lassen." Der im Weimarer Archiv beruhenden Originalkopie liegt ein Brief des Kurprinzen Johann Friedrich an den Gothaer Superintendenten Friedrich Myconius bei,¹⁸ in dem dieser aufgefordert wird, nebst Justus Menius, den er kraft

¹⁷ Abgedruckt: *Fortgesetzte Sammlung von alten und neuen theologischen Sachen*, 1722, 185 ff. Dazu die Textverbesserungen nach der im Weimarer Archiv befindlichen Originalkopie bei Barge: *Beiträge zur bayerischen Kirchengeschichte*, 7, 238 f. Abgedruckt nach dem Original im Fürstlichen Landesarchiv zu Sondershausen bei Ed. Jacobs, *Die Wiedertäufer vom Harz*. Sonderabdruck aus der *Zeitschrift des Harzvereins für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 32, 2. Heft. (Wernigerode 1899), S. 75 f. und bei G. Einicke: *Zwanzig Jahre Schwarzburgische Reformationgeschichte 1521–1541*, 1. Teil 1521–1531, Nordhausen 1904, S. 416 f. Vgl. auch P. Wappler, *Die Täuferbewegung in Thüringen von 1526–1534*, Jena 1913, S. 91.

¹⁸ Abgedruckt bei Barge, *Beiträge*, S. 279 f.

dieses Briefs dazu einladen solle, Ickelsamer "in seins gedachts Ampts und rats auff ansehen aller seiner verfenglichen und irthumblichen artigel und lehr nothdurftigklichen examinieren." Ickelsamer scheint aber rechtzeitig gewarnt worden zu sein und sich der Gefangennahme und dem Verhör durch die Flucht entzogen zu haben. Nachdem er vergeblich bei Luther um eine Audienz nachgesucht hatte, fand er im Juni in Strassburg bei Wolfgang Capito ein Asyl,¹⁹—im Februar war Karlstadt dort eingetroffen. Seine Grammatik schrieb Ickelsamer wohl 1531 in Augsburg.²⁰ Später ist er auch zu Kaspar Schwenkfeld in Beziehung getreten. Als er an einer schweren und langwierigen Krankheit darnieder lag, schickte ihm dieser einen innigen Trostbrief zu nebst dem schönen Liede Adam Reissners: "In dich hab ich gehoffet, Herr, hilf, dass ich nicht zu Schanden wer." Beides hat Ickelsamer nach seiner Genesung 1537 ohne Schwenkfelds *Geheiss und Befehl* veröffentlicht (Exemplar in München, Universitätsbibliothek).²¹ Im selben Jahre erschien seine Grammatik in Nürnberg wohl in dritter und letzter Auflage. Seitdem ist seine Spur verwischt.

Dass Ickelsamer keine intensive Tätigkeit enthalten konnte, dass er—wie Sebastian Frank und andere outsiders der deutschen Reformationsgeschichte—ein unruhiges Wanderleben führen musste, dass auch seine pädagogischen Verdienste erst in jüngster Zeit recht anerkannt und gewürdigt worden sind, ist darin begründet, dass er es wagte, religiöse Ansichten zu bekunden, die weder katholisch noch lutherisch, sondern evangelisch waren, und dass er als junger Mann das Herz hatte, für den verhassten Karlstadt einzutreten. Wie energisch die lutherische Inquisition gegen solche "Schwärmer" vorging und der Verbreitung solcher eigentümlichen Meinungen und kritischer Aeusserungen zu wehren wusste, sieht man daraus, dass

¹⁹ Zwinglii opera 8, 465.

²⁰ Weigand S. 25. Er war hier wohl Hauslehrer bei dem Patrizier Lukas Rem: Joh. Musler, über diesen vergleiche F. Cohrs, *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion IV*, Berlin 1902, S. 171 Anm. 3 und meine Abhandlung in den *Neuen Jahrbüchern für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte, und deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik*, 1903, II, 524 ff.) an Rem. 7. Februar 1538 in: Entendem libellus es captiritatis tenebris quasi ab oren in lucem a Venetis principibus verventus . . . Venetiis 1539, p. 403 u. 408.

²¹ Weigand, S. 27. Vgl. über Reissner *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, 28. 150-152.

Ickelsamers Schriften schon lange zu den grössten Seltenheiten gehören. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass in amerikanischen Bibliotheken ein oder der andere Druck steckt. Vielleicht wird dadurch eine in Deutschland unbekannte Ausgabe belegt. Vielleicht kommt dort gar die hier verschollene Druckschrift von 1529: *Vom Wandel und Leben der Christen* zu Tage.

OTTO CLEMEN

Zwickau, Deutschland

REVIEWS AND NOTES

SIR GAWAIN AND THE GREEN KNIGHT. Edited with Introduction and Notes by J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon. Oxford University Press, 1925. XXVIII+211.⊗

It goes without saying that all students of Middle English will welcome heartily this new edition of a great poem. It presents in reasonable compass a good introduction, a good text, a larger body of notes than in any previous edition, and a good glossary. All these are especially important since the edition of the poem in the Early English Text Society, except for the text, has been long out of date, and is not readily accessible for class use. Of the editors Mr. Tolkien is now one of the Professors of Anglo-Saxon, as they still call it at Oxford. Mr. Gordon's part in the venture is nowhere indicated, and to avoid the awkwardness of using both names I shall use Mr. Tolkien's, or the editors, in this review.

In taking up a new book one turns to the *Preface* for a statement of its purpose. There two things are emphasized, the first a text "free from a litter of italics, asterisks and brackets," a commendable idea. The second statement of the *Preface*, however, is an extraordinary one for a scholarly editor to make. He assumes to have prepared the poem to be read "with an appreciation as far as possible of the sort which its author may be supposed to have desired." Unfortunately he adds, "Much of the literature that begins to gather about *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, though not without interest, has little bearing on this object," and has "been passed over or lightly handled." The implication would seem to be that most other scholars who have touched upon the poem have been trying to obscure its meaning, or prevent the reader from gaining the "appreciation . . . which the author may be supposed to have desired." I call this an extraordinary statement for a Professor of Oxford to make, while the extent to which he has "passed over or lightly handled" the work of other scholars it will be a special purpose of this review to show.

The *Introduction* is commendably brief, dealing with the MS.—but without reference to the MS. abbreviations as I have noted; a summary of the story and history of the legend, with stress upon that surmised French version which, until it is produced, makes it impossible to estimate to the full the originality of the poet, the author and his work, in which we are fortunately spared a hypothetical biography and any attempt to connect the author with any known writer; the date and dialect; and a "Select Bibliography." It is in this last part that

⊗ Professor Oliver Farrar Emerson died at Ocala, Florida, March 13. The proof of the *Sir Gawain* review was corrected by Professor Emerson and received from him a few days before his death.

we first meet that light handling of the work of other scholars in the field. One need but compare it with the Bibliography of Osgood's *Pearl*—excellent for its time—that of Menner's *Purity (Clannesse)*, or that of Bateson's *Patience* to see how much might have been done for the serious students who are likely to use this new book. True, the *Manual* of J. E. Wells is included "for bibliography of the Middle English texts referred to in this edition," but not for the carefully gathered articles that might help to elucidate the poem. But we have already been warned how "lightly" the editors intended to treat others' contributions to knowledge of the poem. This is not the practice of the best British editors, or of the Albion Series by Professors Bright and Kittredge in America, the Belles Lettres Series so admirably begun by Professor E. M. Brown, the Yale Studies in English by Professor A. S. Cook, the editions of *Beowulf* by Sedgefield, Chambers, and Klaeber, or of course many German editions of similar works.¹

As to the *Text*, we know from the *Preface*, as already indicated, that ordinary abbreviations have been expanded without the use of italics. This is praiseworthy, and was the practice of Skeat in his Oxford *Chaucer* and *Piers Plowman*. Some statement should have been added, however, as to just what abbreviations have been expanded and how, some such statement as Menner has in his *Purity*, p. x and footnotes. Our editors might also well have followed Menner in modernizing *i* and *j*, *u* and *v*, the few examples of initial *w* for *v*, only three words, and *3* for *z(s)*. For *i—j*, *u—v*, it seems to me needless to preserve the Middle English spelling when, except in the rarest instances, there can be no question about the true form of the word. In this respect Skeat's Oxford *Chaucer*, in which he does modernize these letters, is an improvement over his *Piers Plowman* issued more than a decade before. The editors might have made some improvement in the matter of capitalization. They certainly should have capitalized *Dryztyn* which, as usual, always refers to God, and *wy3e* when so referring as in 2441. The hunting cries *hey*, *war* of 1158, and *hyghe*, *hay*, *hay* of 1445 might well have been enclosed in quotation marks.

Apart from this, one might have wished that the alliterative line had been separated into its two metrical parts, as in Skeat's great edition of *Piers Plowman*, and as is more commonly customary in printing Old English poetry. It would have required a slightly wider page or a slightly smaller type, but

¹ See Hulbert's review of the book in *Mod. Phil.* XXIII, 246 ff., for a similar criticism. As Hulbert points out, too, the editors have really added little to what was already in print, but for which too often no credit is given. How extraordinarily true are both statements will be clearer from this longer review and the many citations of indebtedness to others, or at least the evidence that others had preceded them in the field.

the gain to the reader would have been considerable. The editors note that they have made no changes on metrical grounds. Exception might well have been made of the rimed lines at the end of each stanza, in which the changes would have been few and certain; see my notes on "Imperfect Lines in Pearl" etc., *Mod. Phil.* XIX, 131 ff. In addition to inflectional emendations there mentioned *Gawan* should certainly be *Gawayn* where the rime clearly indicates that form, as in 487 (cf. 838, 1044, 1619, 1948, 2156), and probably where the meter demands stress on the last syllable of the name, as in 365, 534. So also such forms as *knyffe* (2042), *hase* (2135) might reasonably have been made *knyve*, *have*, the forms required by the history of the words as well as by the rimes. The MS. *leude* is equally impossible in 1124, and *innoze* (514) should be *innowe* as in 1401. At best the number of such changes would have been small.

In the *Note* before the *Text* we are told that the spelling is that of the MS. "except for corrections of scribal errors," and that "emendations are indicated by footnotes." Unfortunately no credit is given to those who made these emendations, as was regularly done by Osgood, Menner and Bateson. An initial or other simple abbreviation should have indicated the one who made the emendation. By this failure to indicate the source of the emendation—an inexcusable oversight—the editors have even done injustice to themselves. They do not mark their own emendations, as of *glowande* for *lowande* (236), *Wawan* for *Gawan* (343), and the needless and unfortunate *baulez* for *balez* (1333). But even this does not excuse a neglect of others which a conscientious editor does not allow himself. Indeed, the matter may be put more strongly. There is an ethics of editing as of other things. It is a duty, and should be regarded as a privilege, to give credit to emendations and other notes which have been published before the new book is prepared. In this case emendations of the text by Madden, Morris, Gollancz and others should have been indicated in some way when they have been adopted.

It is true that a general note of credit has been given to Dr. Knott (p. xxviii) for his "off-set" readings, but even here specific credit has been withheld as elsewhere. To know how fully the editors have profited by Knott's readings, one must go over the whole text with Knott's article before him. Nor is it enough that the editors have confirmed Knott's readings by a reëxamination of the "off-sets." I should perhaps be grateful for recognition of some of my own emendations, as of *glau mande gle* for *glau mande gle* (46), *glaver ande glam* for *glaver ande glam* (1426), the addition of *com* (1755), and the reading of

princes—Tolkien's less likely *princece* (1770).² So also may be mentioned the following of my suggestions regarding compounds, as *stelbawe* (435), *wela wynne* (518), *ayquere* (599), *wela wylle* (2084); the retention of the MS. readings rather than the adoption of suggested changes in lines 2053, 2447; the adoption of the punctuation suggested in my "Notes," as in lines 380, 940, 1847, 1946, and essentially in lines 946, 2025.

In the *Preface* credit is also given for the use of the late Professor Napier's notes, emphasizing that "many of the suggestions made independently by others are there found anticipated but unpublished." This, however, leaves us quite in the dark about the particular anticipations by Napier, and does not relieve the editors of their duty to credit the published work of others. In fact, credit to Napier, beyond what he published in his lifetime, is given in only two or three cases.

Nearly forty pages of illustrative and explanatory *Notes* add greatly to the value of the volume, since many of them are new and excellent. Unfortunately again, however, the notes of others have been "lightly handled" in two respects. Many have been taken over without the slightest credit to their originators. Others, that it would seem deserve some consideration in order to give the student more than a single view, are entirely ignored.

To illustrate the first, Menner's interpretation of *sturtet* (171), as in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* XIX, 204, is adopted without mention of Menner. The explanation of *ette with hymselven* (113) in the *Notes* and of *hadet* (681) in the *Glossary* are those of P. G. Thomas (*Eng. Stud.* XLVII, 211 ff.). The explanations of *grayn* (211) and *fole* (1545) are those of Mrs. E. M. Wright in her valuable article (*Eng. Stud.* XXXVI, 212 ff.). Notes on 2072, 2079, 2167, 2205, 2219, 2223 are essentially those of Sisam in his *Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose*. In my "Notes on Sir Gawain" already referred to there are some forty suggestions for the first 500 lines of the poem. The editors of this new edition have flattered me by agreeing with at least half of them, although they refer to me in this part of their *Notes* only to disagree with my interpretation of *scholes* (160) as 'shoeless,' that is without war shoes as of any other protective armor, an interpretation apparently justified by the picture of the Green Knight in the MS. as well as by the description of him in the poem.³ It is difficult to understand such practice in any

² See my "Notes on Sir Gawain," etc., *Jour. of Eng. and Germ. Phil.* XXI, 363 ff. In *glaverande* the *NED.* suggested the change with a question, but did not think highly enough of it to quote *glaver ande* correctly in other places. In *prince* (1770) the Webster-Neilson translation gave *princess* but without note on the text. In the case of *glaverande*, too, there is no footnote to indicate the MS. reading.

³ As to the arguments for *scholes* being *scholestz* (*solerets*)—see Tolkien's note—*schere* for *chere* in 334 must be merely a scribal error, doubtless accounted for the fact that the preceding alliterative word begins with *s*. There is no

modern editor, even with the statement in the *Preface* that the work of others has "been passed over or lightly handled."

To illustrate the second neglect of the editors in their *Notes*, they have a good explanation of *caroles* (43), but it would have been courteous to point out that Thomas first called attention to the true meaning of the word in this place. In my "Notes" I gave an explanation of the new year's gifts of 67 ff. which still seems to me to merit consideration. On *capados* (186) we should surely expect some reference to G. L. Hamilton's long discussion in *Mod. Phil.* V, 365. On *barlay* (296) credit should have been given to Mrs. Wright for the suggestion that the word is still dialectal English, and to Madden for what still seems a reasonable etymology, OF. *par loi*, or as I suggested NF. *par lei* 'by law, in agreement' or 'according to agreement' in this place; see *by lawe* in the same sense in 1643. Consideration of others' suggestions would have prevented some curious blunders and some curious reasoning to support them. Thus the MS. *Bot* (144) was changed to *Both*, following Napier's unfortunate suggestion, and disregarding the fact that the poet is contrasting the *bodi sturne* and the *worthily smale* waist, as I had noted. Compare the picture of the Green Knight in the MS. as reproduced by Madden to face p. 18, the figure of Gawain in the picture facing p. 91, or that of the young squire in the Chaucer MSS. to prove the small waist a much prized feature of the time. In this case, too, the editors support their emendation by incorrect reasoning. They say "the copyist is inclined to drop final *h* when the next word begins with *h*," citing the single example of *wit hymselfen* of 113. But not only is *wit* the more common abbreviation of *wyth* (*with*) and *wit* in the line cited quite exceptional, but *boþe* is regularly written with *þ* as the careful glossaries of Osgood and Menner show, never *both*, no other example of which is recorded by our editors. Neither the description of the Green Knight in the poem nor the reasoning of the editors supports the emendation.

It is reasonable to suppose that before printing the editors did not see my article on "Shakespearean and Other Feasts" (*Studies in Phil.* XXII, 161 ff., April, 1925) in which I discussed the seating of Arthur and his guests at the high table (ll. 107 ff.). But it is the reasoning of the editors in support of their curious

other example in the poems of *sch=ch*, though there are a few examples of *ch* as equivalent to *sh(sch)*. Morris's reading of *to usched* in Cl. 1393 is clearly *touched*, according to Menner. In any case such a single exceptional example can hardly be used against the prevailing use of *sch* for the *sh*-sound, and in this line one of the regular alliterating words. In 1080, too, *schal* probably does not alliterate with the *ch*-words of the line, the third alliterative word being absent as rarely.

Finally *s* never represents *tʃ* in an unstressed syllable like *les* 'less.' *Tʃ* representing *z* is found only in such stressed or secondarily stressed words as *betʃ* (Pl. 611) and *watʃ*; frequently, *matʃ*, 'makes,' *hatʃ*, 'has' less commonly.

diagram in the *Notes* that I now have in mind. They say Arthur's place was "in the middle . . . of the high table," and cite *Arthur and Merlin* 6511 in which Arthur is said to sit "midelest at þe heize table." For that poem the position of Arthur is correctly given, since there is no queen present and we are told King Bors sits on his right and King Bohart on *þe ober half*, that is on his left. But the editors, in their plan of the table in the *Notes*, do not follow their own authority, since Arthur is placed next to the last man at the left (Agravayn), with three persons at his right. This is surely not the *midelest* of the table. The trouble is that in *Arthur and Merlin* no queen is present, while in Sir Gawayn both king and queen sit at the high table, she in her proper place then as now at the left of the king, the two in the middle position. The queen appears at the left of the king in two of the four pictures of the Gawain MS., and this would surely be her place in medieval as in modern times when there was a reigning king. For the queen's place in modern times see the pictures in the *Illustrated London News* at the accession of Edward VII for example, the king and queen opening parliament, at a state banquet, and in the royal coach. To argue that Guenevere was *midelest* of the table because of *grayped in þe myddes* of line 74 not only disregards *Arthur and Merlin*, but makes an impossible arrangement for the "messing" by two's which is clearly indicated by the line

Ay two had disches twelve.

The editors have entirely disregarded the "messing" together of medieval times; see the discussion in the above article. Here, according to their arrangement, Arthur would "mess" with Agravayn, Guenevere with Gawayn instead of the king, and poor Bawdewayn, with whom we are told Ywayn "messed" (*ette with hymselven*, 113), would have had difficulty enough, since he is made to sit at the end of the table around the corner from his messmate.

The position of Bishop Bawdewayn, honored churchman and tried warrior of Arthurian romance, has been strangely misconceived, owing to a misunderstanding of the phrase *begine3 þe table* (112). That expression, I take it, in its earlier form *begine3 þe bord*, is a Teutonic phrase and properly belongs to the seating of guests at the Teutonic table, the long table at which the host sits at the head. In such case the position of honor at the right of the host would be at the beginning of the right side of the table, and so set the phrase. It was in this sense that Chaucer's Knight

hadde the bord bigonne
Aboven alle naciouns in Pruce.

Meanwhile the Romance table arrangement had come to England, one across the upper part of the hall and two at least down

the sides, the *sidborde*₃ of line 115 in our poem, leaving a space up the center for serving the food. The position of honor, at the right of the host as before, is now at the host's right hand at the high table, King Ban's position in *Arthur and Merlin*. This position Bawdewayn must have had at our feast, first at the right of Arthur himself, with Ywayn at his right and "messing" with him as we are told. Incidentally, the phrase *þe best burne ay abof* (73) is another Teutonic expression, strictly applying to the Teutonic table. When transferred to the Romance table arrangement it applied to position in order from the right of the host. Thus, on the basis of this expression also, Bawdewayn would sit "above" Ywayn, as indeed we are told in the union of *abof* with *bigine*₃ *þe table*.

Equally incorrect, as I read it, are the editors regarding Gawain's first breakfast at the castle of the Green Knight (1001 ff.). Here four people sit at the table upon the dais, but the editors have neglected what we are told of the *olde auncian wyf* who sits *hezest*, that is in the position of honor at the right of the host, the lord of the castle, who sits beside her (*her by lent* 1002). At the left of the host again sits his wife and beside her Gawain, fully enough explaining the line,

Gawan and þe gay burde togeder þay seten.

The editors have assumed that *inmydde*₃ (1004) refers to Gawain and the lady, but even they do not carry out the idea by separating the *olde auncian wyf* and the lord of the castle. *Inmydde*₃ refers to the serving of the food in the space between the tables, and of course to those at the high table first. There the lord and the *auncian wyf* mess together, the hostess and Gawain.

To the *Notes* are added brief and helpful treatments of the *Meter*, the *Language*, and the *Grammar* of the author's dialect. Under *Meter*, however, there is no reference to the studies of the Middle English alliterative line by Rozenhal, Fuhrmann, Luick, Kuhn and others. Indeed so brief is the treatment that the beginner could make but little headway in the accurate scanning of the lines of the poem without much personal assistance. In the treatment of *Language* there are no references to the notable works on the subject, as Björkman for Scandinavian, or Behrens for the Old French element, both so important for the poems of this author. Under *Spelling* it may be noted that "2. Etymological *i(y)* in an unstressed syllable is often *e*" should also read "and final unstressed *e* is often *y*"; see my "Notes on the Pearl" (*Mod. Lang. Ass'n* XXVII, 56-7), with reference also to Mrs. Wright's article in *Eng. Stud.* XXXVI, 222. Failure to take this *e-y* variation into account has led the editors to some false reasoning, I think, as in the note on *mere* (153); see my note on l. 1736. In giving the characteristics of Scandinavian in the poem, "(4) ON. *e* in unaccented syllables

became *i*" should state just the reverse, "*i* became *e*" as in *banke*. In this section also there is no reference to the monophthonging of Scand. *ei* to *e* as in *enker* (150, 2477) from *einkar*, perhaps in *bene* (2402, 2475, both in rime as compared with *bayn* 1092, 2158) which the editors have attributed, with a question, to OF. *b(i)en*. The meaning of Scand. *beinn* would fit the *Gawain* examples and *Pat.* 418.

The *Glossary* may be generally commended, especially for its attention to etymology, an important feature being the marking of Old English lengthenings before *ld*, as in *bald* 'bold,' *feld* 'field.' So the indication of Middle English as distinct from Old English compounds by + rather than a hyphen is a good point. With so much care in this respect it is unfortunate that differences between Old Anglian and West Saxon are not sufficiently shown. Thus "OE" is used for distinctly Anglian forms like *dēd* (WS. *dād*) under *dede* 'deed,' *mēl* (WS. *māl*) under *mele* 'meal(time),' and for the distinctly WS. *lātan* under *let(e)* 'let, allow' where the Anglian form should have been given. Again "OE" is used for both dialectal forms as in explaining *here* 'hair,' *red(e)* 'advise,' with no indication of differences between the two.

The editors have followed the too common practice in Middle English glossaries of giving any form of the Middle English word which happens to appear first in the text, especially of verbs, instead of giving the infinitive first in all verbs and other forms thereafter, as should have been done. A better glossing would much assist the student in his grasp of inflectional forms. Too often also subjunctive forms are not noted. Thus, while *stod* (1768) is glossed as "subj."—my suggestion, and should have been corrected to *stode* for form and rime—*mynne* (1769) is not so designated. To take a passage in which several such subjunctives occur, lines 1852–57, *hade* . . . *halched* (1852), *were* (1856 twice, 1858), *acheved* (1857) are none of them so named. Another advantage in all Middle English glossaries would be the indication of the Old English gender of those words which assumed final inorganic *e* in their more usual Middle English forms. Such are especially feminine long stems like OAng. *dēd* 'deed,' OE. *cwēn* 'queen,' which became ME. *dede*, *quene*, and less commonly short neuters and some masculines which gained a similar *e* by influence of their oblique case forms, as *bode* 'command,' *dale* 'dale,' *hole*, *slade* for neuters, *whale*, *stave* for masculines.

The first consideration in making a glossary is the convenience of the user. Nor, for this purpose, can too much attention be given to strictly alphabetical arrangement. Even though *i*, *j* and *u*, *v* were not normalized in the text—as we think they should have been—they might have been separated in the *Glossary*, as was done by Morris, Osgood, Bateson,

Menner, Gollancz in their editions of works in this same MS., and by other editors usually. Moreover, no one of these editors found it necessary to disregard the difference between *i* and *y* in their glossarial arrangement, nor did they find that cross-references need be unusually numerous. Disregard of this difference between *i* and *y* is one of the most needless and annoying features of this new *Glossary*, as it was of that prepared by Mr. Tolkien for Sisam's *Fourteenth Century Prose and Verse*. To show how needless was this arrangement, or lack of arrangement, let us take some examples. Of the words beginning with *ay*, which are here put after *ag*(3), not one is written *ai* in the MS. of any of the poems, so far as the glossaries show. Our editors have put one *ai*-form into the text (660) by emendation, but the MS. *iquere* may be for OE. *gehwær*, which became ME. *ihwær* (*iwhere*).⁴ The *bay*-forms in the same way would require no cross references if placed where they belong after *bawemen*. In the case of spellings with *i* and *y* the word naturally belongs in the line of its more common spelling, a cross reference or general note explaining the other form. Thus *byde* 'wait for' is clearly the more common in all the poems, in *Gawain* 8 times to 3 occurrences of *bide*, so far as the references in this *Glossary* show. *Bye* 'buy,' which follows it, is a *y*-word the only time it occurs, so that the place of both verbs is in the natural alphabetical order. The same is true of the *bly*-words, the *bry*-words, the *by*-words, and in general of other *y*-forms through the vocabulary. As the *y*-forms overwhelmingly prevail over the *i*-forms they should have been placed in the *y*-position.

A curious arrangement in this *Glossary* separates inflectional forms of the same word in some cases. Examples are the separation of *be* from *was*—*were*, *I* and *we*, *þou* and *3e*(*yow*), *he*, *ho*, *hit* (*hyt*) *hem* and *þay*, *þat* and its plural *þo*.

The etymologies, as I have indicated, are generally excellent, and usually the meanings of words. In assuming *baulez* (1333) is a form of *boweles* (1609) and *browe* (1457) can be the same as *brawen* (1611), the editors seem to have confused the *au*(*w*)-*ou*(*w*) forms found in English words of these poems with the possibility of such a change in words of French origin. Neither change is necessary, and probably not possible. *Byled* (2082) surely can not be joined with *boyled* (2174) or be from OF. *boillir*. *Connez* (1267, 1483) are 2 sg., not pl., I think. *Flat* (507) is 'plain, flat country, level ground,' not necessarily 'meadowland.' *Flyze* (166) is more likely 'bee' than 'fly,' the former a meaning entirely possible in Middle English and more probable in the ornamentation described. *Forfaren* (1895) I still believe is 'outstrip, fare before' as the Webster-Neilson

⁴ As I copy my manuscript, Menner's review in *Mod. Lang. Notes* of June makes the same suggestion. On the further needless emendation of *fynde* to *I fynde* in the same line, see my "Notes on Sir Gawain."

translation first gave it, in contrast with *fol3ed longe* of the last part of the line. If *for3* (2173) is 'force, waterfall' it is the only time in these poems in which *r3 = rs*; see *ber3* 'barrow' in the line preceding, *ber3e* (2178), *þur3* 2162, all on this same page. The sign *3 = s(z)* occurs only in an unstressed syllable or in the combination *t3*. For *frayn*, 'insist, urge or press warmly' would better suit line 703. *Hazer* is not "the one Scandinavian loan-word in Middle English which appears to retain the ending *r* of the nom. sing." (Note to line 352), for ME. *gymbure* (*gymbyre*), Eng. dial. *gimmer* 'female sheep,' Scand. *gyubr* (Björkman p. 211) is a particularly clear example of a noun of the same sort. 'Embrace' is hardly possible for *halchez* (1613), and the reference should be given under 'loop, fasten round,' or better simply 'fasten.' Under *hasllettez*, 'edible entrails' hardly gives the reader a pleasant idea or a true one, not does the note on 1612 materially help. There are such edible parts as the 'heart, liver, kidneys,' corresponding to the numbles (*noumbles* 1347) of the deer, again wrongly defined as 'offal from the back and loins of deer,' a sad comment on Mr. Pepys's dinner from the *umbles* of the deer Mr. Hozier had sent him (*Diary* III, 301).

Here (59, 2271) I believe to be the word which the *NED*. gives under *her* (*here*), Bradley-Stratmann under *herre*, 'lord, chief, master, man.' The reference in 59 is to Arthur alone, it seems to me, and certainly in 2271 Gawain is not praised for feeling no fear in the presence of an opposing army. As *heere*, also, I suggest that it occurs in *Pat.* 520. For *hanselle* (491) under *hondselle*, 'foretaste,' not 'gift at New Year's' is the meaning. *Irked* (1573) can scarcely be our modern *irk*, and the passage would be much more effective if we assume here Scand. *yrkja* 'work, exert one's self,' even if that verb is not connected with our *irk*. The hunters would certainly have done so much under the circumstances, and the Scand. word would be quite natural for our poet. *Lere*, OE. *gelær*, in the Toller-Bosworth Supl. is given the better meaning 'empty-handed' for 1109. *On lyte* (1463) under *lyte*, fortunately no longer read as *onlyte* as by Morris and Gollancz, is still defined as 'back (in fear)' when *on lyte drozen* is certainly 'few advanced (drew on)' with *on* as the alliterative (stressed adverb) of the second half line; see my "Notes." *Mynne* (1769) is 'should think,' not 'have thought for.' *Merrke* v. is better 'mark, note' in 1592, or perhaps 'wound, strike' as in *Destruc. of Troy* 7325. *Palays* (769) is 'enclosure, compound,' not the 'fence' alone. *Rake* is 'hollow path, bed of stream' leading down to *þe boþem of þe breme valay* (2145).

For *rechate*, strictly 'recall, calling back,' 'call, rally' are necessary in lines 1446, 1466; see my "Chaucer and Medieval Hunting" (*Rom. Rev.* XIII, 128-9). 'Steep rocky bank' is better than 'rock' for *rocher*, as Mrs. Wright showed (*Eng.*

Stud. XXXVI, 209). Surely *segge* (574) can not be a true genitive, and is more probably an error for *segges*. 'Betimes' or 'at times' might well be added for *by tyme* (41) under *tyme*. *Up halt* (2079) should be *uphalt* and glossed under *uphalden*. The *uryssoun* (608), OF. *horson* (*hourson*), is not an 'embroidered covering on helmet,' but 'a strap (of leather or silk)' as by Godefroy, the silk being readily embroidered. It went over the *aventayle* (608) and fastened behind at the Knight's neck. *Weder* in 504 is distinctly 'good weather,' as sometimes in Old English. *Wener* (945) is from OE. *wēne* 'hopeful; fair, beautiful,' not from ON. *vænn* as by Knigge; see Björkman (*Scand. Loan Words* p. 81 and footnote). *Were* (271, 1628) is 'defense,' probably from OE. **were* corresponding to OFris. *were*, not from OF. *werre* 'war,' which is regularly spelled with *rr* in these poems. Besides, 'defense' better fits both places. *Wheper* is conj., not adv. in 203, 'yet' being the best gloss.

In addition to the misprints of the *errata* slip facing p. vi, the following have been noted. In the footnote to p. xxviii, 1332 should be 1334. On p. 89, note to 531, the *Times* reference should be to Sept. 20, not 30. On p. 95, the note to 778 should be to 777. On p. 107, line 4, 1790 should be 1730. On p. 111, and in the Glossary under *nay* 'deny,' the reference should be to OF. *neier*, the only Old French form that could give ME. *nay*, not to OF. *nier*.

No one would quarrel with the fair form which the publishers have given this book, but it may be pointed out as no small matter that a text-book, in which there must be constant reference to *Notes* and *Glossary*, should not have rough edges at the side. They greatly increase the time required for such references, and thus add an unnecessary burden.

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THE CHAUCER TRADITION, by Aage Brusendorff, London and Copenhagen [1925]. 510 pp. Oxford University Press, New York. Price \$5.50.

The title of Dr. Brusendorff's book only partly represents the substance of its five hundred pages. His purpose, as stated in the Preface, "has been to examine the way in which the knowledge of Chaucer's personality and writings was handed down by the first two generations of the XV century, in order to show that our information, scrappy though it is, represents a fully authoritative tradition, which yields some important biographical facts about the poet and offers the sole reliable basis for a true bibliographical canon of his works." But the book goes far beyond the limits of this program. It includes

the matter of textual tradition, passing judgment in the case of each of Chaucer's writings on the relations of the MSS. and on the methods to be followed for the establishment of a critical text. Not content with so ambitious a task as this, it indulges in a great variety of speculations as to sources, chronology, and interpretation. There is at least a certain splendid audacity in a writer who is ready to deliver final verdicts on most of the problems which have occupied Chaucer scholarship for the last three generations. Diffidence is not the author's besetting sin. The words "possibly," and "perhaps," are seldom met with in these pages. His most cautious phrase is "practically certain"; and what is "practically proved" on one page becomes "undoubtedly" a fact on the next (pages 159-160).

The book is at its best in those portions which deal more specifically with the Chaucer tradition, such as the discussion of the portraits of Chaucer (pages 13-27), that of the poet's relation to Thomas Chaucer (pages 27-43), and that of Shirley's statements about the minor poems (pages 207-295); but the second of these discussions is already superseded by the fine monograph of Professor Ruud on Thomas Chaucer, done independently of it, which arrives at the same conclusion. The tendency of much modern scholarship has been in the direction of undue hostility to the statements about Chaucer made by Lydgate and by Shirley. To this tendency the *ex parte* discussion of them by Dr. Brusendorff is a useful antidote; but the discussion is always a special pleading rather than a judicial examination. In the sentence already quoted from the preface, the author declares that he has examined this body of tradition "in order to show" that it is authoritative. There is an unmistakable tendency to minimize the errors of these early witnesses, such as Shirley's reference to Anelida as "Qweene of Cartage." If the reliability of Lydgate is "proved" (page 41) by his statement that *Troilus* is a paraphrase from the Italian, it is hardly fair to brush aside as of little consequence the less credible assertions in the same passage that the poem was made in Chaucer's youth and that the title of its Italian original is "Trophe."

Characteristic of Dr. Brusendorff's methods is his discussion of the *House of Fame*, which fills pages 148-166. The author first considers Lydgate's puzzling assertion that Chaucer wrote "Dante in ynglyssh." He rejects summarily the very probable explanation made many years ago by Koepfel, and more recently by Kittredge, that Lydgate merely means "that Chaucer's relation to the best English was that of Dante to the best Italian." He quite properly rejects the long-exploded theory that Lydgate is in this phrase referring to the *House of Fame*. He next dissents from the suggestion made with all possible diffidence by Miss Hammond that Lydgate has in

mind the tragedy of Ugolino in the *Monk's Tale*, only to assert himself, with no trace of diffidence, that Lydgate is referring to the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, near the end of which "Dantes tale" is cited as authority for a "sentence" of three lines taken from the *Purgatorio*. "Lydgate might easily believe all of the ensuing sermon on Gentlilnesse [*sic*] to have been translated from Dante—if indeed he did not identify the whole *tale of the Wyf of Bathe* with *Dante's tale*. Probably he did so, and *Dante in ynglyssh* is then simply to be taken as another allusion to the *Canterbury Tales*." But Dr. Brusendorff does not direct our attention to the fact that Lydgate's other allusions to the *Canterbury Tales* are grouped together in two consecutive stanzas thirty-three lines farther on in his poem. It is curious that the author should try to fasten on Lydgate, whose authority he ordinarily exalts, so stupid a blunder. One feels sure that had some one else first suggested this theory it would have met with but scant respect at Dr. Brusendorff's hands.

After reviewing the meagre and unsatisfactory textual tradition of the poem, which may well be responsible as he believes for its unfinished condition, the author speculates as to what the lost conclusion must have contained. He finds that the primary source of the *House of Fame* is "undoubtedly" *Le Temple d'Onnour* of Froissart, though the only parallel which he adduces between the two poems, other than those common to the dream-vision as a type, is that in each there is talk of hearing new tidings. The French poem "concludes with a pretty plain hint about the marriage of two prominent personages whose name the poet declines to divulge." Therefore the tidings which Chaucer is about to hear must also have to do with a marriage, which Dr. Brusendorff takes to be that of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia—a suggestion which has already been made in a different form by Dr. Imelmann in *Engl. Stud.* 45. 397 ff. The negotiations which led up to this marriage began in 1380. "In this year the Duke of Teschen and other Bohemian ambassadors visited England, but did not go through with the affair. Then on the twelfth of December 1380 an English embassy was appointed to treat with the Bohemians . . . in Flanders, but the upshot was that the Bohemian ambassadors once more went to London and that the contract was signed here on May 2, 1381." There is no reason to suppose that this action of December 12 was of peculiar significance. It did not initiate the matter, and the action then taken was later superseded; but the date is only two days later than "the tenth day of Decembre," which Chaucer specifies as the date of his dream. "This surely clinches the argument, and *The House of Fame* may now with a fair degree of certainty be regarded as an occasional poem, composed with Froissart's *Temple d'Onnour* as a model, and suggested by the young king's

final decision to marry." This is not the stuff of which sound literary scholarship is made. "A fair degree of certainty" is not attained by building very questionable inferences upon the foundation of a quite unwarranted assumption that the *House of Fame* is modelled on the *Temple d'Onnour*.

I have chosen to review in some detail the author's discussion of a single poem, since such a review will best illustrate his methods. To deal at all fully with the various matters discussed in this volume would extend the review to quite impossible lengths. I can notice only summarily the long discussion of the *Romance of the Rose* (pages 296-425). Future students of this baffling problem must take into account Dr. Brusendorff's painstaking comparison of the translation with the original; they will not, I think, be disposed to take very seriously his solution of the problem, that the two surviving authorities for the text derive from a copy made by a Northern scribe, who had committed to memory Chaucer's translation of the entire poem, and who wrote down what he could remember, supplementing his memory in the so-called "Fragment B" by his own paraphrasings of the French text. Nor do I believe that Professor Manly and his associates at the University of Chicago will attach much importance to the discussion of the textual problems of the *Canterbury Tales* which fills Chapter II.

The book is very carelessly executed in detail. There are many typographical errors besides those which are corrected in the generous table of *errata* on p. 8. Sometimes it is the author rather than the type-setter who has slipped, as when on p. 449 the *balade* which appears in Skeat under the title *Fortune*, and in the manuscripts as *Balade de Visage sans Peinture*, appears with the grotesquely contaminated title of *Visage Sans Fortune*. Lapses of this sort, though trivial in themselves, are usually symptomatic of carelessness in more vital matters; and the present book is no exception. Without attempting any thoroughgoing verification of the volume, I have noted a number of errors in facts. On page 35, line 3, the date 1422 should be 1413. On page 167 the author states that only two manuscripts of *Troilus* ascribe the poem to Chaucer. The ascription is actually found in three manuscripts, as the author could easily have learned from the publications of the Chaucer Society. On the same page is a reference to "the late Sir William McCormick." This, as in the famous case of Mark Twain, is "greatly exaggerated." Sir William is very vigorously and actively alive. In note 4 to page 40, in combatting the theory that Lydgate's statement that the *Legend* was written at the request of Queen Anne is simply derived from the contents of Chaucer's prologue, Dr. Brusendorff says: "But in the Prologue it is the God of Love and not his queen who orders the legends from the poet (see 548 ff. (Fx) & 538 ff. (Gg.)), so there is no basis at all

for this ingenious proposal." But had he looked back some seventy lines before the passage he cites, he might have spared himself this blunder. This is more than a slip of carelessness; it reveals ignorance of an essential feature of the poem. Serious ignorance of a Chaucerian idiom is shown in the gratuitous emendation of *worth* to *woote* proposed on page 154. It is also a strange notion that the phrase "olde wrecchednesse" in the envoy to the *Balade de Bon Conseil* "is surely a plain allusion to Sir Philip's old age" (p. 249).

Dr. Brusendorff has taken into account the whole body of scholarly writing about Chaucer. It is but rarely that his voluminous footnotes fail to cite an apposite book or article. But for the work of writers who have preceded him he shows scant respect, hardly decent courtesy. Sometimes he has not taken the trouble to understand them. I do not remember a case where he has spoken a word of generous appreciation for the work of a Furnivall, a Skeat, a Kittredge.

Future scholars cannot afford altogether to neglect this volume; but they must use it with exceptional caution. They must on the one hand be on their guard against its inaccuracies and unwarranted assumptions; on the other hand they must see to it that the many faults of the book, and in particular its "cock-sure" manner, do not blind them to the presence of material which in more judicious hands may prove to be really fruitful.

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HÁVAMÁL. Tolket af Finnur Jónsson. København, 1924. Pp. 170.

Professor Jónsson has often before discussed the *Hávamál*, both from the standpoint of its character as an Old Norse lay and a picture of Old Norse culture, and from the standpoint of the lexicographical difficulties that it presents. The former have been dealt with in his histories of Old Norse-Icelandic literature,¹ and in various articles; the latter in his Halle edition, *Eddalieder*, 1888-92, his Reykjavik edition, *Sæmundar-Edda*, 1905, and in a number of articles; and there have been numerous reviews in which Eddic problems have been investigated, and perhaps the content of some word-form in the *Hávamál* has been considered. The reasons for this new edition and this reconsideration of the poem are, we gather from the preface, 1: that having repeatedly gone through the *Hávamál*, and always "fået øjet åbnet for noget nyt i enkeltheder," he now

¹The one-volume work, 1907; the three-volume one, 1st ed., 1893-98; 2nd ed., 1920-24.

feels, however, that he has arrived at a definitive view of the poem, and that he therefore regards it justifiable to offer this interpretation of the poem as a whole; and 2, he has purposed to supply a guide (*ledetråd*) for students, and for others who might be interested in studying and knowing these poems. And in connection with the former the author finds plenty of opportunity to discuss, and state his position regarding, views and theories of other scholars as published in recent editions and articles.

Though offered as an interpretation of the difficult *Hávamál*, it is clear, as a careful examination shows, that the second purpose has constantly been kept in view by the author. Quite elementary and perfectly well-established things are often explained. The specialist in the Poetic Edda and ON poetry will find little here that he is not familiar with; but he will on the other hand miss some things that he would like to have seen given their place in the discussion; but for the beginner and the general student the work should be exceedingly welcome. I shall add here that there is first an introduction of seven pages, after which each stanza is taken up, considered with reference to its difficulties and meaning, then a translation is given; so successively with all of the 164 stanzas. The text is printed in the normalized form and in the received form both, which is a very good feature.

The special student will first be interested in knowing whether Jónsson has in this work altered his views upon problems connected with the *Hávamál* as a whole, or those of any part of it. With scarcely any of the matters discussed here again is this the case, however, though in textual details there is sometimes new evidence brought in, and a conclusion arrived at that departs from earlier ones. In evidence of the former we note: 1, regarding versification: "Jeg følger Sievers gamle metrik i alt væsentligt"; and with Gering,² he rejects Siever's new system; 2, (recent) views that alliteration need not be confined to the most strongly stressed words in the line he strongly opposes;³ but a little later he admits that the poets may not always have been entirely successful in their practice of the metrical principles, and that they may have stressed words "hvis fremtrædende stilling vi nu ikke kan gøre os rede for," wherein he practically yields the point;⁴ 3, as to length of the stanzas, one must insist on the 8-verse stanza, except in the *Ljóðaháttir*; however he would seem to grant the possibility of stanzas of different length in poems of archaic form;⁵ 4, regarding the frequently found supernumerary verses in the

² To whom he refers here.

³ P. 7.

⁴ And it was well to do so.

⁵ P. 8.

Ljóðahátt, he would assume that such extra verses may be original in stanzas containing magic formulas;⁶ 4, Hávamál I is dated ca. 900 (pp. 85–86);⁷ 5, its provenience is Norway, he constantly points to what seems to him evidence of this, both in Hávamál I and in the other parts; 6, regarding the extent of interpolations the attitude is as given in his larger History, or about so (stanza 94, before stamped as spurious, he is now merely “tilbøjelig til at antage, at dette vers er indskud eller tildigtning”).

In comparing the main codex, CR, 2365 and the fragment AM, 748, Jónsson rightly emphasis the importance of the latter, and he shows by examples from the *Hárbarðsljóð* how, in many passages, 748 is more reliable than 2365 (pp. 9–10). This is a contribution of real interest, also with regard to the conclusion drawn regarding the occurrence of the definite article in this lay (the article is non-original in the lay).

It is a different question however, whether in dealing with the views of other scholars upon mooted points in the poem justice has always been done. Indeed, however well-intentioned the remarks, justice could hardly be done to these views in so limited a space—if we eliminate the space taken up by the stanzas and the translations there remain ca. 135 pages of discussion.

I may take as an example stanza 78, beginning:

Fullar grindir
sák fyr Fitjungs sonum,
nú bera þeir vánarvöl;

In *Stedsnavnestudier*, 1912, Magnus Olsen showed that the name *Fitjungr* cannot be connected with the noun *fit*, ‘fat,’ ‘fatness’ (adj. *feit*), for the *j* makes that impossible; and he made a very strong case for deriving from the stem *fitjō-*, modn. Norw. *fit*, gen. *fitjar*, ‘fugtig slette’ (i.e., ‘marshy meadow’), and which also apparently is found in the place-name *Fitjar*, Stord Island, Søndhordland, which Magnus Olsen then attempts to connect with the name *Fitjungr* in the stanza. F. Jónsson admits that this is tempting (meget tiltalende), but rejects it. Then he offers another suggestion, gotten from the Aasen dialect word *fitjung*, ‘ski af fodskind,’ ‘svøb omkring håndledet,’ which also derives from a stem *fitjō-*, ‘den mellem kløverne siddende hud på ren, ko, og andre klovdyr.’ The personal name *Hemingr*, and the noun *hemingr*, ‘huden på bagbenet’ are then compared, and he suggests that *Fitjungr* is a similar formation and meant ‘den der ejer mange klovdyr.’ But this is quite unlikely; Olsen’s explanation is better motivated. Observe: there is the characterizing ekename (nick-

⁶ Accepting thus Löffler’s view.

⁷ The name *Hávamál* is regarded as probably belonging originally only to *Hávamál I*.

name) *hemingr*, which perhaps gave rise to the personal name *Hemingr*; but the noun *hemingr* meant 'huden på bagbenet,' and if this be the ultimate source of the name *Hemingr*, the latter might have come to be applied to a man who wore, or was the first to wear, shoes made from this skin. But it is not possible to parallel *Fitjungr*, translated 'den der ejer mange klovdyr' and derive it from the stem *fitjō*, "den mellem kloverne siddende hud på ren, ko, og andre klovdyr." But it is possible to connect *Fitjungr* directly with *fitjung*, 'sko af fodskind,' if shoes were made that way ca. 900.⁸ Magnus Olsen's etymology will, perhaps, have to be allowed to stand.⁹

In some other cases, however, the author gleans material from modn. Norwegian-Icelandic dialects that is made good use of. I shall mention especially the difficult *a brǫndum* in stanza 2:

mjök's bráðr
sás á brǫndum skal
sins of freista frama.

where he refers to Ross's *kaammaa ut paa brannann*, "komme i største nød, knibe, elende."

In stanza 62, however, he would retain the reading *aldinn*, 'old,' rejecting that of the meaning "høj, højt svulmende," referring to Lindqvist's *Ver sacrum*. I have discussed the word briefly elsewhere,¹⁰ and cited the dialectal *alden*, "gående med aldedrag," and other dial. forms, and there translated 'at the heaving ocean' (swelling, billowing sea), which I still think is the meaning of the word here.

In stanza 7 the verse *punnuhljóði þegir* gives rise to some comments. Of this Wimmer said in his *Oldnordisk Læsebog*, p. 307, that here *punnr* means "en tavshed gennem hvilken enhver lyd let kan trænge i det egenskaben er overført fra luften til tavsheden." I felt that Wimmer surely was right here, and that possibly Norwegian and Icelandic dialects might throw some light on this use.¹¹ In the article referred to¹² I have briefly noted the Eddic expression, and translated 'wrapt attention,' and noted a use of the word *tunnhøyrð*, 'that hears sharply' for Granshered, Telemarken; also *tjukkkhøyrð*, 'hard of hearing,' and related meanings in Dalarne and Jæderen.

⁸ But the meaning, the psychological background, of the word could not have been "den der ejer mange klovdyr"; it would have had to be something like "den der går med sko av fotskind."

⁹ Likewise I am not convinced by the new discussion of stanza 22. I may refer here to the article in *Publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study*, I, pp. 257-59 (1914).

¹⁰ L.c., pp. 269-71.

¹¹ The development in question is common, of course. Cf. also Norw.-Swed. dial. *frön*, *frön*, *fröyn*, etc., 'crisp,' 'raw and cold' (of the air), and Sw. *fröna*, *händer*, 'cold hands'; and Norw. dial. *fröyn*, 'sensitive to cold'; see this Journal, XXV, p. 323.

¹² P. 273.

F. Jónsson however, would take the word in concrete sense and so also *hljóð*, for which he gives Icelandic dialectal examples and translates 'med opmærksomt, lydhørt øre.' Hence as Detter-Heinzel *Sæmundar Edda*, 1903, II, p. 86: "*þunno hljóði* 'mit leisem, feinem Gehör, Ohr.'"

Stanza 13 reads:

Óminnishegri
sás of öldrum þrumir,
hann steln geði guma;
þess fogls fjöðrum
ek fjotræðr vask
í garði Gunnlaðar.

Here the author has the following to say in regard to *óminnishegri*: "udtrykket er, såvidt vides, aldrig blevet forklaret. Der ma være noget ved hejrens væsen, der har bevirket udtrykket, og det er vist det, der i beskrivelsen af hejren udtrykkes således: Hejren kan stå ubevægelig i vandet og vente på bytte (O. Helms i *Salm. lex.*). Hertil passer verb. þruma på det fortræffeligste. Denne hejrens ubevægelighed, under hvilken den synes ligesom at have glemt alt omkring sig, er bleven til en egenskab, der tænkes at kunne påvirke, virke på andre væsener." The author has apparently not seen my article "A Group of Words from *Hávamál I* in the light of Modern Norwegian and Icelandic Dialects," referred to above, where on pp. 259-262 I deal with this expression, which had not to my knowledge, been explained up to that time, 1914.

After noting that the significance of the figure in the stanza lies in the element of magic and the supernatural that is present in the words *hegre* and *fjotræðr*, and that the heron is popularly thought of occupied in harmful activities, I add "The gaunt and hungry-looking heron was thought of as flying about searching for his prey and devouring it. Hence in modern Norwegian dialects to-day the words *hegreleg*, adj., used in Tel., meaning "slugende, følgende sin drift, ubehersket"¹³ (Ross), and in Sætersdalen the vb. *hægra*, "to devour," as *dai kaam hægrande te han*, "they came upon him as if they wished to devour him."¹⁴ "But the heron's gauntness and hungry look, and his gray eyes, gave him in the popular imagination a spectral character and he came to be associated with the realm of ghosts and supernatural happenings," and I compared further Nw. dial. *hegre*, "person med lang hals, vid mund og opspilede øine," and the Shetland term *hegri*, "gaunt and simple-minded fellow." "The application of the word *hegri* to a person is sug-

¹³ The Telemarken meanings "følgende sin drift, ubehersket," develop to "uncontrolled," "ugly," in the Stavanger city dialect use *hegra*, "le høit, på en stygg og støtende måte," *Stavanger Bymål*, by A. Berntsen and A. B. Larsen, Oslo, Norway, 1925, p. 369; also *hegren*, adj., "tilbøielig til å hegre."

¹⁴ For use of the word *hegra*, and *hegreleg*, adj., in Tysnas, Søndbordland, Norway, see *Publications*, l.c., p. 260, note.

gested in the outer appearance; but the vacant expressionless look is something more than that. It is associated with the heron as effect to cause, the one who looks so is under the baleful influence of the heron," which I took to be precisely the meaning in *Hav.* 13. "The poet records in a metaphor a matter of common belief that the meaningless look and the vacant eye of him who had indulged too freely at the feast is in the nature of a sudden numbing of the mind," he is under the spell of the heron, of whom verse 3 says: *hann stelfr geðguma*. I translated the stanza as follows:

A heron of lethargy
flutters o'er the feast,
wiling away men's wits;
with the fetters of that fowl
I was fettered
in the garth of Gunnloth.

GEORGE T. FLOM

*ISLANDSK GRAMMATIK. ISLANDSK NUTIDSSPROG
AF VALTÝR GUÐMUNDSSON. København, 1922.
Pp. VIII+191.*

This is an excellent book that it is a pleasure to call to the attention of all students of Icelandic. The few grammars of Icelandic that we have had so far have succeeded only very imperfectly in presenting spoken modern Icelandic, though they have done well enough as regards the language of literature. Professor Guðmundsson gives 45 pages to the phonology; there is often a more or less detailed explanation of the sound in question, and a transcription of every example cited. The Morphology contains 127 pages, every type or inflexional group here being supplied with excellent lists of the words belonging there; thus the scope of each type, the dominance or weakness of it in the language can be seen at a glance. Of the wealth of examples given the reader will get an idea when I say that the Index, pp. 173-191, contains very nearly 2600 words.

The author intends his book as a practical handbook for those who wish to learn present-day Icelandic, spoken and written. The main emphasis is on the written language; the grammar proper (the Morphology) is based wholly on that. And I rather regret that in this part the transcriptions have been wholly dispensed with. The written form is here, in most cases, quite conservative; so that a modern Icelander can read Old Icelandic fairly fluently without much study. But his pronunciation is so vastly changed from that of Old Icelandic that no Icelandic skald or scribe of the year 1200 could possibly understand him. Of these extensive changes in the spoken language the phonology of this book will give some idea. The author calls it *Lydlæra* (phonology); but the presentation is

almost entirely descriptive of present conditions (phonetics), with but rarely a remark on the history of it. Likewise in the morphology, where I regret to see the descriptive classification in some instances instead of the historical one; but the plea of the practical purpose of the book justifies the order followed I think in every case except, perhaps in the strong verbs (where the *bíta*-class is IV, and the *bríta*-class is V).

A few details may be mentioned. The description of the diphthongal *o* in *logi* as *oi*, "nærmest som eng. *oy* i *boy*," seems to me a little inexact. As I analyze it the diphthong *oi* in *logi* (and in other words before *-gi*) is a normal diphthong, the two elements being of equal length; however, in English *boy* the first element *o* (or *ɔ*) is long, that is it is *ø*, while the second element is a vanish. Hence *logi* is *loji*, but *boy* is *bø*. To the statement under *ei* and *ey* (Icl. *ei*) there seems to be the same objection. In 21, d, we are told that *ð* is, as a rule silent "mellem *r* og *n* og *g* og *s* (hvor da *rdn* udtales som *rn*)"; that is *ð* is silent between *r* and *n* and between *g* and *s*. But then some of the transcriptions given are misleading, namely: "*harðna* = *hardna* hærdes, *stirðna* = *sárdna*, stivne, *orðnir* = *ordnir*, blevne; *bragðs* = *brags*." The transcription seems to be correct for the prevailing pronunciation, but the rule should, then, hardly say "stum" (silent).

To the statement under §22, f, that *f* is pronounced "dels som *b*, dels som *v*: foran *ð* (hyppigst det første)," the examples *habði* and *havði*, *þaðði* and *þaivði*, are added as the pronunciations of *hafði*, and *þæfði*. It would appear from this that both are approved pronunciations, found together geographically. But this is hardly the case; the pronunciation *-bð* belongs to one geographical area (the largest), that with *vð*, to another; and from the note in §21 we learn that in a part of the West of Iceland (Vestfjordene) the pronunciation is *vð*, hence *havði*.

In §2 *þekkia*, 'to know,' is transcribed *þehga*; should this be *þekka* perhaps?

§5. *e* is pronounced *ei* (Icl. *ei*) before *gi* and *gj* "hvor *g* bliver *j* eller forsvinder," as *seginn*, pronounced *sejin*, 'glad,' and *segja* is *seija*, 'to say.' In the latter, the fact is the *i* disappears and *g* > *j*, is it not?

§30. *þ* is pronounced *hb* sometimes as *hp* before *l*, *n*, finally, we are told; with examples: *jaþla* > *jahl* or *jahl*, 'to mumble,' and *opna* > *ohbna* or *ohpna*. Should *jahl* be *jahl* perhaps? Similarly in §36, *þakka*; *þahga* to be *þakka*?

§90. We are told that sporadically *d* > *r*, as *hraparlega*, 'terrible,' from *hrapaðlega*. Evidently this is not a change of *dl* > *rl* but one of progressive assimilation.

§98. Under "Konsonantindskud," the kinds of cases occurring are exceedingly interesting. But that of *ð* in *þettað*, for

þetta, 'this,' is not of the same kind as that of *g* in *þaug*, for *þau*, 'these.' The last is clearly a case of the phonological development: *au* > *aug*. of which there are examples elsewhere. But in *þettað*, *ta* could hardly have become *-tað*. *þettað* is apparently a change of *þetta*+*tað* (demonstrative) to *þettað*.

§100. Metathesis. Observe that the heavy combination in *efði*, of *efla*, 'to strengthen,' becomes *elfði* in the spoken language (hence the principal parts *efla- elfði- elft*). Similarly *tefði* becomes *tefði*, *sigði* becomes *silgði*, *ygði* becomes *ylgði*, *egndi* becomes *engði*, *rigndi* (rained) becomes *ringði*, and *gegn* becomes *gengt*. Some of these are evidenced in ON times (might have been added).

As indicated before the Morphology is excellent both in the clearness of presentation and in the fullness of examples cited; I shall call attention especially to the groupings of verbs of the fourth weak class.

The book is neatly and excellently printed (H. Hagerups Forlag).

GEORGE T. FLOW

OLIVER GOLDSMITH'S THE CITIZEN OF THE WORLD.

A Study by Hamilton Jewett Smith. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1926. Pp. VII+170.

Recent studies in Goldsmith have thrown considerable light on his use of sources. In 1913 Professor A. J. Barnouw showed that parts of No. 1 and No. 2 of *The Bee* were translated from the work of the Dutch essayist, Justus Van Effen and that other paragraphs followed closely a passage in Voltaire (*Modern Language Review*, VIII, 314-323). In 1921 Professor D. S. Crane and Dr. Smith published in collaboration their important discovery of the relationship between *The Citizen of the World* and the *Lettres Chinoises* of the Marquis D'Argens (*Modern Philology*, Vol. XIX, No. 1). Later Professor Crane and Professor J. H. Warner discovered the indebtedness of Goldsmith's *History of England* to Voltaire's *Essai sur les Mœurs* (*Modern Language Notes* XXXVIII, 2. Feb. 1923). In 1924 appeared the French thesis of Mr. R. L. Sells. "Les Sources Françaises de Goldsmith" (*Champion*, Paris), the most ambitious of recent studies in this field, since it has for its aim "d'établir que l'esprit français a non seulement imprégné une grande partie de l'œuvre de Goldsmith, mais encore a été pour quelque chose dans la formation même de son génie." This prevailing theme gives an interesting continuity to the discussion of the background and sources of Goldsmith's work. Mr. Sell's chief discovery is the temperamental and literary relationship of Goldsmith and Marivaux which he illustrates

with striking comparisons of parallel passages. He tells us that the influence second in importance is that of Voltaire. In the past year Dr. Joseph Brown supplemented the researches of Barnouw and Sells by his article, "Goldsmith's Indebtedness to Voltaire and J. Van Effen." (*Modern Philology*, XXIII, 3 Feb. 1926). And now we have Dr. Smith's completed monograph, which has been expected since 1921 when he published a part of his results.

The section on D'Argens expanded through illustration in the present volume remains Dr. Smith's most important and interesting contribution. As a whole, his work is somewhat disappointing. He has thoroughly explored the history of the *Chinese Letters* and their subsequent appearance as *The Citizen of the World*; he has considered the vogue of the Pseudo Letter Genre and in 75 pages has described with copious illustration Goldsmith's use of various sources; but in all of this there is little of significance that is new. Of course there may be nothing important to add to Prior's history of the work or to Miss Conant's useful—and often used—survey of the Genre in "The Oriental Tale in England," but even in the chapters on sources there is no wholly fresh contribution, because since Dr. Smith began his study other scholars have been at work in the field and have been prompter in publishing their results.

Still this volume would have great value as a compilation if it were not for one weakness; Dr. Smith does not make perfectly clear the limits of his own contributions and the extent to which he duplicates the work of others. This vagueness may be excusable in the case of such well known books as Prior's and Miss Conant's, but it is surprising that there is no reference whatever to the work of Mr. Sells who covered much of the same ground as Dr. Smith and anticipated many of his conclusions. The only possible explanation is that Dr. Smith is ignorant of the French thesis, which is so well known to Dr. Brown and to other students of Goldsmith. Dr. Smith has overlooked the influence of Marivaux, but with this exception both scholars have explored the same French sources of the *Citizen*. Mr. Sells exhibits more strikingly Goldsmith's indebtedness to the *Lettres Persanes* of Montesquieu and Dr. Smith treats with greater detail the influence of Du Halde.

This latest study of the *Citizen of the World* furnishes a collection of interesting facts, but with it all we learn very little more about the essayist. I am reminded of one of Goldsmith's comments. (I do not know where he got it!) "It is the spirit of the scholars of the present age to be fonder of increasing the bulk of our knowledge than its utility; of extending their conquests than of improving their empire."

But whatever the value of this monograph to its readers, I fear that its preparation has infected the author with some-

thing of Goldsmith's "unparalleled temperamental carelessness" which led to the "slips" he deplores in his Preface; otherwise how could he on the first page of the first chapter say that Goldsmith wrote in 1860!

CAROLINE F. TUPPER

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THE INFLUENCE OF THE ARTHURIAN ROMANCES ON THE FIVE BOOKS OF RABELAIS, by Nemours H. Clement. University of California Publications in Modern Philology XII, pp. 147-257 (1926).

This University of Chicago dissertation makes its point: Rabelais knew the Arthurian romances, and the connecting thread of his books III, IV, and V, is a kind of burlesque of the Grail Quest. As many as fourteen Arthurian romances were printed before 1553. Rabelais refers to at least five of them, and two of the five are Grail romances.

As is well known, the five books were not planned as a whole. Rabelais finished *Pantagruel* in 1532. This is the second book of the whole work. It had great popularity, and five editions appeared within two years. Stimulated by this eager reception Rabelais, in 1534, published *Gargantua*, an account of the ancestry of Pantagruel which is our first book. For eleven years Rabelais wrote no more. In 1545 he published his third book; in 1552 his fourth; he died in 1553 before the appearance of his fifth book.

The first indication of a plan in Rabelais' work occurs in the third book where the quest of the Bottle is announced. Rabelais naturally sought to connect his last three books with the first two by introducing the same characters, and by using, as a pretext for the voyage after the Bottle, one of the themes of the second book, namely Panurge's marriage. These three books which were written after an interval of eleven years are but loosely connected with the first two and their plan is fundamentally different.

The voyage after the Bottle is a kind of burlesque of the almost interminable wanderings of Arthur's knights in quest of the Grail, and it forms the thread that ties together the last three books of Rabelais. The quest of the Holy Grail was a quest by land, but in two romances, the *Perlesvaus*, and the *Lancelot*, both Perceval and Lancelot sail the seas in their search for the holy vessel. These voyages are sufficiently remarkable to have given a suggestion to Rabelais for his voyage among fantastic islands after the Bottle, and besides he certainly knew the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, and borrowed ideas from it.

The Bottle, like the Grail according to some romances, is located on a mysterious island. The Bottle, like the Grail, appears with an elaborate ceremonial. The Bottle, like the Grail again, is provided with a large number of guards and keepers.

The elaborate dream in Rabelais' book III, and the consultation over its explanation, may be suggested by the dreams in *Lancelot*. There are two noteworthy dreams in *Lancelot*, each with a council for its explanation. The management of the wars in Rabelais is like that of the wars in Arthurian romances. As in the romances the exploits of the Rabelaisian heroes are projected against these wars as a background. The Arthurian romances give large place to the daily life of the characters and to the political, religious, and social usages of the time. So does Rabelais. The Grail romances are notable for the sense of exoticism and mystery which surrounds the adventures. Especially in his last three books, is this characteristic faithfully reproduced by Rabelais.

Rabelais wrote what is emphatically a man's book, whereas the Arthurian romances were addressed, not only to knights and noblemen, but very evidently to court ladies and high-born dames. Rabelais changed the quest for the Grail into a quest for the Bottle, and the effect of his narrative is to make the ideal of the Grail stories ridiculous. Very possibly, however, Rabelais had an ideal of his own, only one that was quite different from that entertained by the writers of chivalry.

In some matters of mechanical detail the thesis might be improved. The bibliography might well have been made complete, for this would add only about fifty titles to the fifty which have been included. Full use is not made of the bibliography, for example Nutt, *Legend of the Holy Grail*, is cited with full title, including date, on page 208, and page 213, although it is in the bibliography. Dunlop, *History of Fiction*, is not in the bibliography, but is cited on pages 213, 216, in the edition of 1906; and on page 246, in the edition of 1816. The romances which Dunlop used should have been consulted. The reprint of the *Perceval* of 1530 (by Apollinaire, 1918) should have been included in the bibliography. It is mentioned on pages 184, 213, without the editor's name but with the publisher (Payot). More information about the early printed prose romances consulted would be welcome.

This dissertation is decidedly worth while. It has been read by your reviewer with pleasure and profit. Not the least of its merits is that it suggests new problems for future investigation. It is to be hoped that Dr. Clement will study in detail those Arthurian romances that he has shown Rabelais knew, examining similarities of phrase and incident, and will publish the results at a future time.

ARTHUR C. L. BROWN

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**DIE DRAMATISCHE HANDLUNG IN SOPHOKLE'S
"KÖNIG ÖDIPUS" UND KLEIST'S "DER ZERBRO-
CHENE KRUG" VON WOLFF VON GORDON.** Bausteine
zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur. Bd. XX. Halle
1926.

In the preface to his comedy "Der zerbrochene Krug" Kleist calls attention to the similarity of his drama to Sophocles' "King Oedipus." Wolff von Gordon attempts to show to what extent this is true in regard to the technique of the two dramas. His monograph is a dramaturgical study in which he employs the analytical method developed and applied by Saran to the study of the drama. The best exposition of this method known to the reviewer is Otto Spiess' analysis of Lessing's Emilia Galotti and Minna von Barnhelm in "Bausteine zur Geschichte der neueren deutschen Literatur. Bd. VI." Halle 1911.

The analytical method breaks up a drama into its smallest elements and then selects and combines the dramatically effective ones. These elements are called motives and their aggregate constitutes the action. Since Aristotle the concept "action" has been the central theme of all scientific treatises on dramatic technique. Its greatest modern exponent was Lessing whom Freytag follows in his "Technik des Dramas" in all essential matters. The older dramaturgies, such as Rudolf Franz', "Der Aufbau der Handlung in den klassischen Dramen." Bielefeld 1910, 4. Aufl. are based upon the older concept of action.

Saran and his followers have evolved an essentially different idea of it. They regard action solely from the point of view of technique, it is the net-work of motives that leads without interruption and in an inner connection from the initial impulse to the catastrophe. There are two main types of action, a "Zielhandlung" and an "Aufhellungshandlung." The former is directed at the winning of some object or goal; the latter's aim is to clear up some earlier event or happening.

In von Gordon's opinion the older dramaturgists commit the error of confusing technique and content. When they discuss the action of a play they make the poet and not the finished drama the starting point of their analysis.

After re-defining such terms as inciting impulse, catastrophe, tragic reaction, etc. to fit the new concept of action the author proceeds to a minute analysis of the two dramas mentioned in the title. Verse upon verse is gone through, threads of action and motives, crossing and recrossing each other, are traced in endless procession. The two dramas have this in common—their starting point is an act which is completed before the beginning of the drama. Comparing them the author comes to the conclusion that the action of "King Oedipus" is a "Zielhandlung," the aim or purpose of which is

to find the murderer of Laios, with a secondary "Aufhellungshandlung" which is of minor importance for the technique of the play. The action of "Der Zerbrochene Krug," on the other hand, is primarily a "Aufhellungshandlung" with a subsidiary Zielhandlung."

Von Gordon's monograph is a very careful and painstaking work, yet the reviewer seriously doubts whether a clearer understanding of the problem involved in the "Zerbrochene Krug" has been gained by it. And for the sake of completeness an analysis of the end of the play, the long variant of Scene twelve should have been included.

THEODORE GEISSENDOERFER

University of Illinois

NOTES

THE SOURCES OF HAMLET: WITH ESSAY ON THE LEGEND, by Sir Israel Gollancz. The Shakespeare Classics, vol. XII. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London, 1926. Pp. xii+321. The volume consists of an essay called "The Legend of Hamlet" (pp. 1-86), an English translation of the first two chapters of the Icelandic *Ambales Saga* (pp. 87-92), the Latin text of Saxo's account of Horwendillus and Amlethus, with Elton's translation into English (pp. 93-163), Belleforest's French version of Saxo's tale, with its English translation, the *Hystorie of Hamblet* (pp. 164-311), and some supplementary notes (pp. 313-321). The essay is to all intents and purposes a reprint of Professor Gollancz's "Introduction" to his earlier volume *Hamlet in Iceland* (published in 1898), although I have noted a few omissions and other changes, all of a very minor character. It is unfortunate that the author did not take advantage of his opportunity to revise the earlier study. He seems to have profited little by the reviews of his *Hamlet in Iceland*. Particularly unfortunate is his failure to utilize Axel Olrik's edition of Arngrímur's epitome of the *Skjöldunga saga* (printed in *Aarbøger* for 1894). Had he not overlooked this highly important edition, he would have known that the *Skjöldunga* did not include an *Amlóðasaga*, in spite of the regrets of Vigfuss on (p. 25). Professor Gollancz seems likewise to be unacquainted with Olrik's extremely important paper, *Amlédsagnet paa Island* (AfnF XV 360 ff.). Neither does he mention P. Herrmann's *Heldensagen des Saxo Grammaticus* (Leipzig, 1922), nor H. Schück's *Histoire de la Littérature Suédoise* (Paris, 1923), with its interesting discussion of the Hamlet legend on pp. 38 ff.¹ On the whole, the "essay on the legend" will disappoint all those who looked for a treatise which would take into account the advances in our knowledge since 1898. At the same time, the reprint will be a boon to those who do not possess a copy of *Hamlet in Iceland*, since that work is out of print. It is also very convenient to have in the same book Saxo and Belleforest. One hardly sees the point of printing so

¹ Zenker's *Bave-Amlethus*, pp. 115 f., ought to have been referred to by Professor Gollancz on p. 32, in his discussion of Sitric as the slayer of Niall.

short a selection from the *Ambales Saga*, however. The text of Saxo chosen is not that of Holder, but that of the edition of 1514. The selection from Belleforest is based on the Paris edition of 1582 rather than on the Lyons edition of 1576.

KEMP MALONE

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AN ELEMENTARY OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR. By Joseph Wright and Elizabeth Mary Wright. Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1923. Pp. 192. This grammar is an abridgement of Wright's *Old English Grammar* (1 ed. 1908, 2 ed., 1913). The changes are 1, the omission of material of the larger grammar dealing with Indo-Germanic vowels and consonants, and various references to IG conditions throughout the book; 2, extensive reduction of the discussion of Primitive Germanic vowels and consonants, as the omission of Chapter III (The Prim. Gmc. Vowel System), and the incorporation of the essentials of it in Chapter II, as §26 (half a page); 3, the inclusion of new material in various parts of the book, as the discussion of OE dialectal conditions, scribal errors, phonological irregularities, etc.; further the fuller discussion and exemplification of the disappearance of a guttural nasal before χ with lengthening of a preceding *a, i, u*; 4, in the morphological part (almost exactly one-half of the book, a reduction of the number of examples cited under the different stems of nouns, ablaut series of strong vbs. and wk. vb. classes, being a reduction of the examples given to about one-third of that in the larger grammar; 5, the chapter on Word-Formation has been entirely omitted.

And otherwise the book has been revised in many places with a view to the greatest servicability to the beginner in Old English. It is just as well that in the Introduction the student should be introduced here only to Old English as a member of the Germanic branch of the Indo-European family; it is a good feature in Chapter II that the changes of Primitive Germanic are classified for the student into 'Independent Changes' and 'Dependent Changes.' (Why not 'Isolative Changes' and 'Combinative Changes?'); the editors have (also wisely) thought best to retain from the larger book the chapter on the Prim. Gmc. development of the Indo-Gmc. consonants, involving as it does the first consonantal shift and Verner's Law (the chapter is reduced from 23 to 14 pp.).

A distinctive and an excellent feature of the larger grammar is its very full listing of words under the different stems or types discussed—in the smaller groups there are complete lists, and so for each ablaut series of the strong verbs. This could

not be done, of course, in a small grammar; and so the selective method has been followed. And the examples are uniformly excellently chosen; there are the ordinary words that the student should learn early in his study, and further we find constantly the very words that are likely to be met with in a first-term course in the language. Only one detail will here be spoken of: the subject of comparison should be dealt with in its entirety in one place, hence that of the adverbs also where the comparison of adjectives is discussed; here the same adverbs are, for the most part already introduced in the case of those comparative and superlative adjective forms that are based on adverbs. Then the 'non-inflectional' aspects of the adverb is rightly given its place with the other Particles. Also under comparison of adjs.¹ I would have put *teþe-teþra-teþest* in the i-umlaut group with *ēaþe* as the first positive form; further the superlative *brǣdost* might have been given with *brǣd*, comp. *brǣdra* or *brǣdra*, and superl. *brǣdest* or *brǣdost* (hence follows either type).

Wright's *Elements* is an excellent book that should find much favor with those who conduct beginning courses in Old English. It is well printed and attractively bound, as all the language publications of The Clarendon Press.

I will mention here that Wright's larger *Old English Grammar* appeared in its 3rd edition in 1925.

GEORGE T. FLOM

AN ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE. Edited by E. Classen and F. E. Harmer. Manchester University Press. London (Longmans, Green & Co.), 1926. Pp. XVI 150. This edition of the *Chronicle* appears in the English series of the 'Modern Language Texts' published by the Manchester University Press. The inclusion in the series of a single selected manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is due to the late Professor W. P. Ker, Editor of the English series. The *D* text, (the *Worcester Chronicle*) was chosen; this is copied in the second half of the XIth century (perhaps completed, ca. 1100). The Introduction to the present edition in discussing the manuscript and its history briefly, notes the importance of the XIth century insertions. Linguistically also many forms especially in the last fifty years of the *Chronicle* are of great interest. The editing has been excellently done. The orthographical irregularities of the original are, of course retained; abbreviated forms are, for the most part left as in the Ms; except that those for *and* and *þæt* are expanded and set in italics. So we are told in the Introduction; but the

¹ P. 127.

edition shows extensive expansions also in other cases, as in the case of the nasal stroke and the sign for *r*-combinations. This was of course the proper way, and we will have to assume that these have all been expanded. A brief account on the abbreviations in the Introduction would have been welcome. The Vocabulary has been carefully prepared, with good and adequate definitions. A splendid feature is the 'List of Names of Places and Peoples,' with the modern equivalents, in the preparation of which Professor Allan Mawer has cooperated.

G. T. F.

EDWARD FITZGERALDS RUBAIYAT DES OMAR KHAYYAM. Letzte Fassung deutsch von H. W. Nordmeyer. Potsdam, Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag, 1926. The book-lover will be delighted with this notable contribution to the literature of Fitzgerald's Omar. Some copies are on fine hand-made paper; on the covers is unique Java paper, the back is vellum. Other copies are less elaborate, and a third of the edition is simpler still, but ever in fine taste. The price (three dollars for the best paper and binding) is reasonable for a book so well printed, and in a small edition. The type is Roman, on a page uncrowded by its three quatrains and so wide that no lines need be broken.

But the work stands on merits that are quite apart from its attractive dress. The translator has, first of all, the innate gifts that fit him for so difficult a task. Then he spared no amount of pains to try out an endless number of possible renderings, choosing and filing, revising and perfecting over a period of years his independent version. It was all a labor of love, and the result is what it deserves to be called: the best of some eight German versions of Fitzgerald's Omar. Among the advantages the present translator has over his predecessors are his long familiarity with English and the fact that his ear for the "magical melody of Fitz-Omar" has been assisted by the science of a teacher like Eduard Sievers. The doubter needs only to re-read the fourth or fifth edition of the English and then test out this version against other translations to see shortly which reproduces the music of Fitzgerald the most consistently. And with all the other things in its favor, Nordmeyer's work is really a translation—conscientious, skilful, adequate—not a hit-and-miss paraphrase.

This brief notice cannot do justice to this translation by quoting even a few quatrains from it and comparing them with the original, nor by giving due consideration to the twenty-page introduction. The latter gives what the German reader should know about the historical Omar, and about Fitzgerald and his work. Sections IV and V contain the translator's conception

of the poem, an original interpretation so logical and profound that it will take its place with the best of the multitude of opinions on Fitzgerald's Rubaiyat.

Professor Nordmeyer's work, dedicated to Professor A. R. Hohlfeld of the University of Wisconsin, is not only the work of a scholar but is the event of many a year in German-American literature.

C. A. WILLIAMS

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PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLITERATION. Proposals of the Copenhagen Conference. April, 1925. Pp. 32. Oxford. 1926. The need for a single, uniform, phonetic alphabet has long been felt among phoneticians and students in linguistic philology as a very pressing one. The use of many different systems among investigators, with individual departures from the one employed in many cases creates confusion, instead of furnishing, as transcription should, a clear and exact record of the sounds of the language or the dialect under consideration. The questionnaire of 1924, sent out upon resolution of the Union Académique Internationale at the Brussels meeting, 1923, having led to no practical, usable, results, a conference of specialists 'chosen according to their special competence' was decided upon. The delegates were selected also with a view to having represented in the deliberations the various groups of languages. Copenhagen was decided upon as the place of meeting; the preliminaries were conducted by Professor Meillet of Paris, Professor Streitberg of Leipzig, and Professors Otto Jespersen and Holger Pedersen of Copenhagen. The Conference took place April 20-25, 1925. There were twelve delegates present, representing Slavic, Baltic, Keltic, Latin, Romance, English, and Germanic (groups of Indo-European); further Chinese, Bantu, and Esquimo; and there were those present who were competent to speak for many other oriental, and African languages, and for American Indian (Amerindian). Those recommendations of the Conference which aim to provide a system of phonetic transcription for the scientific description of sounds are drawn up by Professor Otto Jespersen; those dealing with transliteration are drawn up by Professor Holger Pedersen. It will not be possible in this Note to speak in detail of the proposals; and it would not be right to single out two or three matters about which one might be inclined to regret the recommendation made, unless one also give space to a statement of the reasons for the particular decision made. But a few things may be mentioned. As between the monotype method and the method of diacritical marks the conference adopted a system

combining the two, but giving a large place to the former. Hence the compound symbol *d*, (as in 'ridge') is replaced in the recommendations by a 'made' monotype, being a *d* whose main stave is extended below the line and written as the loop of a *j*. As a sign for a syllabic sound a circle below the letter is adopted, thus *ḡ*, instead of any one of the various ambiguous devices now in vogue. Similarly excellent is the elimination of the letter *a* (Roman, as opposed to italic *a* for the low back *a*), for the fronted *a*, and the adoption in its place of a single-dotted *á*; this is in accord with a system of superior dots to represent fronting, thus *á-ä*; *û-ü*, and *ö-ø*. Hence also *ü* becomes the sign for the intermediate sound in the series (the symbols for which as recommended are now) 'j, j—ü—u, instead of the series j-y-u (which personally I prefer, and no doubt many will so prefer). These are a few of the matters dealt with in the 29 sections of the Proposals. Every phonetician and every teacher of language in our colleges should acquaint himself with these proposals and the reasons set forth for each of them. Published by The Clarendon Press.

NECROLOGY

FRIEDRICH KLUGE†

Am 21. Mai ist Friedrich Kluge, gerade einen Monat vor seinem 70. Geburtstag, der seinem Leben einen letzten Lichtblick von Dankbarkeit und Treue der Schüler und Freunde geben sollte, nach kurzer Krankheit heimgegangen. Ein Gelehrtenleben, in dem neben grössten wissenschaftlichen Erfolgen bittere Enttäuschungen stehen, ein Menschenleben, dem tiefstes Weh nicht erspart blieb, ist erloschen.

Ausgegangen ist Friedrich Kluge, der Sohn des Rheinlandes (geb. zu Köln 22.6. 1856), mit seinem Humor und Frohsinn—die ihn bis in die letzten Jahre begleiteten—von Leipzig, wo er Friedrich Zarncke hörte und mit den älteren gleichstrebenden Forschern Braune, Paul, Sievers am Ausbau der germanischen Sprachwissenschaft entscheidenden Anteil nahm: 1880 Privatdozent zu Strassburg, 1884 Prof. zu Jena, von 1893 ab als Nachfolger Hermann Pauls in Freiburg. In 46 Jahren gelehrter Arbeit entwickelte er eine reiche Tätigkeit und legte Stein um Stein zu einem festgefügteten Bau, der ihm unter den Grossen seiner Wissenschaft einen bleibenden Namen, bei seinen Freunden und Schülern dankbares Andenken sichert.

Die Bewertung der wissenschaftlichen Leistung Kluges, Achtung und Bewunderung seiner erstaunlichen, nimmermüden Arbeitskraft sind mitbestimmt durch eine fast 25 jährige Blindheit, der er mit reichem, stets bereitem Wissen begegnete, der er immer erneute Durchnahme der Quellen unsrer sprachlichen und literarischen Überlieferung entgegensetzte, dankbar für die Hülfe seiner Nächsten und treuer Freunde, die ihm das eigene Schauen zu ersetzen suchten. Aber gerade sein Leiden machte ihn feinfühlig im Erkennen verborgener Zusammenhänge sprachlichen Lebens und Geschehens und gab seiner Darstellung ein vorsichtiges Heranführen zu den Problemen, die dann selbst zu lösen er dem Hörer und Leser überlassen durfte.

In gleicher Weise gestaltete er die Vorlesungen und Übungen, vom Einfachen zum Schwereren fortschreitend, das Stoffgebiet der Stunde von verschiedenen Seiten betrachtend und ihm in der Wiederholung immer neue Aufschlüsse abgewinnend; spielend gewann er die Studenten seiner geliebten Wissenschaft und führte viele durch den gesamten Studiengang der Universität; über 100 Doktorschriften sind unter ihm entstanden, weitausschauende Arbeiten Jüngerer hat er angeregt, beraten und aus seinen reichen Sammlungen gefördert.

Dauernd wird Kluges Name bestehen in seinem *Etymologischen Wörterbuch*, das zuerst 1881–1883 herauskam und bis 1924 in 10 Auflagen erschien: ein beispielloses Werk in seinem Einfluss auf Lebende, in seinem Fortwirken auf kommende Geschlechter.

Erwachsen ist ihm dies Werk seit den Anfängen seiner Studien, es hat ihn begleitet in seiner eigenen Entwicklung als Forscher und zeigt seit dem Ende des Jahrhunderts beredt, wie Kluge *Wortforschung zur Wortgeschichte auszubauen* bestrebt war, wie er den Zusammenhang von Sprache und Kultur als leitenden Gedanken in seiner Facharbeit erkannt und befolgt hat!

Den unendlich vielen Fragen, die der gesamte deutsche Sprachschatz mit seiner Vorgeschichte, in altem Erbgut, in neueren Schöpfungen und in den Entlehnungen aus anderen Sprachen stellt, gerecht zu werden, unternahm Kluge die Prüfung der Denkmäler und ihrer Überlieferung, verwertete die Erkenntnisse der Vorgänger. Der gleichen Aufgabe widmete er (und unter seiner Führung eine stattliche Schar bedeutender Fachgelehrter) die *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung*, die in 15 Bänden und 6 Beiheften (1900–1914) abgeschlossen vorliegt.

Aber gerade die Arbeit an der Geschichte des deutschen Sprachgutes in neuerer Zeit wies ihn schon früh auf die bis dahin wenig begangenen Pfade der Sonder—und Berufssprachen, die er nicht minder zielbewusst und erfolgreich behandelte; so in der *Entstehung unserer Schriftsprache* (1886) und in den bedeutsamen Untersuchungen *Von Luther bis Lessing* (1888, zuletzt in 5. Aufl. 1918), auf der anderen Seite in der *Studentensprache* (1892 und 1895), im *Rotwelsch* (1901) und im *Wörterbuch der Seemannssprache* (1911).

Über den Kreis des Deutschen hinaus hat Kluge auch den übrigen germanischen Sprachen gedient, die grosse zusammenfassende Darstellung des *Grundrisses der germanischen Philologie* zuerst mit Karl Trübner besprochen, daran mehrfach mitgearbeitet und ist erfolgreich an der Aufhellung des Altenglischen und Bekanntgabe alt—und mittelenglischer Texte wie an der Darstellung des Sprachbestandes und der Geschichte der englischen Sprache beteiligt.

Der Weg zu den älteren Stufen der germanischen Sprachen führt ihn folgerichtig zur *Vorgeschichte der altgermanischen Dialekte* (1891, in 2. Aufl. 1906), zum *Gotischen* (zuletzt 1911), zum *Urgermanischen* (1913), zu den Vorarbeiten eines *Ducangius Theodiscus* (1915). Wertvolle Einzeluntersuchungen gelten der indogermanischen, germanischen und intern deutschen Grammatik, der Wortbildungslehre.

Aber die Ergebnisse der eigenen Forschung, die Kluge gegen Anschauungen und Widersprüche Anderer oft zu verteidigen

hatte, und wobei er gewisser Schärfe nicht entbehrte, wollte er auch dem deutschen Volk zugänglich machen; er legte sie in Sammlungen kleiner Schriften (z. B. *Unser Deutsch*, 1907; *Wortforschung und Wortgeschichte*, 1912) in Monatsschriften, Zeitungsberichten und zahlreichen Vorträgen nieder und griff ein in die Nöte der lebenden Sprache durch herzhaftige Mitarbeit am Deutschen Sprachverein.

Nach dem Zusammenbruch des Vaterlandes, dessen Grösse Kluge erlebt hatte, nach der für ihn schmerzlich demütigenden Emeritierung hat der Gelehrte für weite Kreise den entscheidenden Aufbau seiner Anschauungen in der *Deutschen Sprachgeschichte* (1920, in 2. Aufl. 1925) vollendet, zu der seit den 90er Jahren der Grund gelegt worden war. Die Sprachgeschichte ist das Gegenstück zum Wörterbuch und gibt, mit ihrer Fortführung *Von Luther bis Lessing* die Geschichte unserer Sprache und unseres Sprachschatzes in grossen Zügen.

Das Land Baden aber, dem er 25 Jahre gedient, hat besondere Ursache, Friedrich Kluge auch für sein Eintreten auf dem weiten Gebiet der Volkskunde zu danken. Mit Friedrich Pfaff und Elard Hugo Meyer hat Kluge seit 1894 im fränkischen Gebiet und besonders in dem an altem Kultur—und Sprachgut reichen alemannischen—Südwesteck des Reichs gesammelt. Eine reiche Ernte wurde heimgebracht, die Meyers *Badisches Volksleben im 19. Jahrh.* ermöglichte, Pfaffs Einzelarbeiten zugut kam: Kluge hat das *Badische Wörterbuch* begründet, 30 Jahre diesem Werk gelebt, in der Stille, ohne staatliche Hilfe gesammelt, geworben und geraten. Wenige Tage vor seinem Heimgang hat er sich der 2. Lieferung dieses rüstig voranschreitenden Werkes noch freuen können.

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ACTIVE ARCITE, CONTEMPLATIVE PALAMON

In Boccaccio's *Teseide*, Chaucer found a verbose and over-decorated romantic epic which almost smothered a simple story of knightly love in conflict with knightly friendship. Upon that story he seized, and wrote the *Knights Tale*. In the Italian poem, Palamon and Arcite are as alike as two peas. They regard their vows of friendship as no less important than their love for Emily, and fall to fighting only after stanzas of courtly regret. But Chaucer's keen sense of dramatic values made him wish to add to the Damon and Pythias element a real conflict of character. Consequently, he differentiates the two knights much more sharply than does Boccaccio.

For this differentiation, however, the prayers of Palamon and Arcite, as given by Boccaccio, may well have furnished a clue. They are closely followed by Chaucer. Palamon, we remember, desires only Emily. Whether or not he wins the combat is a matter of negligible importance. Arcite, on the other hand, prays so hard for victory that he forgets even to mention Emily. Fundamentally, this is old fairy-story material; but translated into human terms, it does suggest a real difference of character. Palamon thinks of ends; Arcite, of instruments. To the former, arriving is more important than going; to the latter, "the prize is in the process." These two types have existed, no doubt, since the dawn of time. They have been given various names at various periods. In the Middle Ages, men spoke of the Active Life and the Contemplative Life.

I wish to put forward, in a purely tentative way, the hypothesis that Chaucer, in differentiating the characters of Palamon and Arcite, was at least partly governed by the current conception of these two ways of life. No attempt will be made to portray the *Knights Tale* as an elaborate, Dantesque allegory. The poem was conceived as a romantic story, and should be read as such. But just as a modern playwright might, without anything that could be called allegorical intention, embody in two contrasted characters the spirit of radicalism and the spirit of conservatism, so Chaucer, in his contrasted characters, may have embodied the Active and the Contemplative Life. The modern audience, while taking the play as a play, may

respond to the larger significance of the conflict. Chaucer's readers, while taking the tale as a tale, may also have taken "the moralitee." Indeed, they would be accustomed, far more than modern readers, to extracting hidden meanings from what they read. The researches of scholars who, taking medieval literary criticism at its word, have sought allegorical significance in medieval works, are proving fruitful. The value of such studies is, to be sure, often marred by the craving to give limited discoveries a universal application. With the exception of Dante and a few other writers steeped in scholastic scriptural interpretation, medieval allegory was likely to be easy-going and unsystematic. A poet might, as a kind of subordinate zest, provide his work with one, or several, allegorical meanings. A few hints would be carelessly thrown out. For the reader, the fun lay in making what he could out of those hints.

Yow lovers axe I now this questioun,
 Who hath the worse, Arcite or Palamoun?
 That oon may seen his lady day by day,
 But in prison he moot dwelle alway.
 That other wher him list may ryde or go,
 But seen his lady shal he nevermo.¹

Chaucer's "questioun" is primarily, of course, a bit of love-casuistry. But let us be medieval readers, with a passion for analogies. Thousands of delicious comparisons can be drawn between serving an earthly lady and serving the Queen of Heaven. And to serve the Queen of Heaven is to serve God. Now is it better to plunge into the turmoil of practical affairs, there to serve indirectly a God whose face will often seem further away the more we strive to reach it; or to "flee from the press" and anticipate the joys of heaven by serving God directly in inactive and perhaps selfish contemplation of his goodness? *The Knightes Tale* may be interpreted as an attempt to grapple with this problem.

Emily is first seen by Palamon. His cry arouses Arcite, who supposes that his comrade is lamenting the woes of imprisonment. Palamon explains the cause of his outcry, and at the same time gives us the key to his character:

I noot wher she be womman or goddesse,
 But Venus is it, soothly, as I gesse.²

¹ *Knights Tale*, 489-494.

² *Ibid.*, 243-244.

He then falls on his knees, and addresses to this "Venus" a prayer for deliverance. His attitude is that of the visionary, the contemplative.

The more practical Arcite shows himself not the devotee, but the lover:

The fresshe beautee sleeth me sodeynly
Of hir that rometh in the yonder place;
And, but I have hir mercy and hir grace,
That I may seen hir atte leeste weye,
I nam but deed.³

This is the language of courtly love. "Atte leeste weye" suggests both the humility of the *soupirant* and the indirect service characteristic of the Active Life.

At Arcite's declaration of love, Palamon accuses him of being false to his vow,

Til that the deeth departe shal us tweyne,
Neither of us in love to hindren other,
.
.
.
For which thow art y-bounden as a knight
To helpen me, if it lay in thy might.⁴

There should be, that is, no conflict between the two ways of life. Each must support the other. In particular, the Active Life is "y-bounden" to help the Contemplative. This agreement is of course dissolved by death.

Arcite, in his reply, insists that although Palamon *saw* Emily first, he did not *love* her first:

For *par amour* I loved hir first er thow.
What wiltow seyn? thou wistest nat yet now
Whether she be a womman or goddessel
Thyn is affeccioun of holinesse,
And myn is love, as to a creature.⁵

The distinction drawn by Arcite is precisely the distinction between Contemplative Life and Active Life. When he goes on to say that in any case love knows no law, he exhibits still more plainly his reliance on fact as opposed to theory. It is worth

³ *Ibid.*, 260-264.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 276-292.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 297-301. Cf. St. Thomas, III *Sent.*, xxxv, 1, 2, 3, c.: "Contemplatio nominat actum videndi Deum in se, sed speculatio nominat actum videndi Deum in creaturis, quasi in speculo."

noting also, that he is willing to give up all hope of Emily merely because he sees no chance of escape.⁶

Not for him are the mystical pleasures of ideal contemplation.⁷ But when, through the intercession of Perotheus, Arcite is released from prison, both knights bewail their lot. Arcite wishes now that he might remain behind the bars:

Only the sighte of hir, whom that I serve,
 Though that I never hir grace may deserve,
 Wolde han suffised right y-nough for me.
 O dere cosin Palamon, quod he,
 Thyn is the victorie of this aventure,
 Ful blisfully in prison maistow dure;
 In prison? certes nay, but in paradys!⁸

Here the man of action pays rueful tribute to the blessings of the contemplative. Highly suggestive is the comparison between prison and paradise. As for the liberated Arcite, he is "nought in purgatorie, but in helle."⁹ Freedom to bustle about in the world is a dubious privilege when we have no clear conception of our goal:

A dronke man wot wel he hath an hous,
 But he noot which the righte wey is thider;
 And to a dronke man the wey is slider.
 And certes, in this world so faren we;
 We seken fast after felicitee,
 But we goon wrong ful often, trewely!¹⁰

Is not this more than mere love-casuistry? A modern reader hurries over such passages in his eagerness to "get the story"; a medieval reader would "get the story" in the light of such passages. These lines express the whole tragedy of the man who does for the sake of doing.

Correspondingly, Palamon is in despair at the release of Arcite. Enviously he imagines the means by which his comrade may return to Athens, and to Emily. He rebels against the divine will which he understands so much more clearly than

⁶ *Ibid.*, 304-328.

⁷ In the *Teseide*, Arcite, not Palamon, sees Emily first. Both knights think she is a goddess, and there is no difference in their reactions. They do not quarrel at this point, but vie only in the description of their pangs, "E l'un l'altro conforta nel parlare." (*Tes.* III, 12, 14, 26.)

⁸ *Knights Tale*, 372-378.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 368.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 404-409.

Arcite, and longs to be free to act.¹¹ The situation is carefully balanced. Neither the Active nor the Contemplative Life is to be desired when separated from its complement. The former is aimless, the latter impotent; the former lacks flowers, the latter lacks roots.¹²

In the Second Part of the poem, Arcite, true to the principles of the Active Life, returns to Athens in disguise under the Boccaccian name of Philostrate. For "a year or two," he serves Emily as a hewer of wood and drawer of water.¹³ Gradually, however, he becomes squire of the chamber to Theseus, and a man of wealth and good repute in the kingdom. But this practical success brings him no nearer to the true goal. The curse of Arcite, and of his kind, is to be successful in the means and defeated in the end.

Stirred by the vague uneasiness of the active man, he wanders forth into the woods on a May morning to express in solitude his longing for Emily. He comes upon Palamon, who at last has broken prison. Envy of each for the characteristic life of the other brings them together. The contemplative Palamon, in escaping from the dungeon, has become active; the active Arcite, in his sylvan moping, has moved in the direction of contemplation.

The result of this interpenetration of planes is a furious quarrel. They meet next day to fight, Arcite carrying with him the arms which Palamon is to use in the duel. "In like manner," interposes the medieval reader, "must the Contemplative Life, if it is to exert any influence on mankind, do so through the medium of an Active Life which often proves its foe."¹⁴

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 445-475.

¹² In the *Teseide*, the complaints of the knights upon Arcite's release are less neatly balanced. Arcite is sorry to leave Palamon and Emily. Palamon is sorry to lose Arcite, and to remain in prison. Their affection for each other is stressed in a way which prevents dramatic conflict of personalities or ideas. (*Tes. III, 47 ad fin.*) Palamon feels a twinge of "nuova gelosia," but nothing comes of it. (*Ibid.*, 60.)

¹³ *Knights Tale*, 564.

¹⁴ In the *Teseide*, the encounter between the lovers in the wood is brought about more elaborately, but not in a way to encourage allegorical interpretation. Since they have never regarded each other as enemies, their decision to fight is arrived at only after much sentimental verbosity from which no contrast of character emerges.

The interposition of Theseus, and the preparations for the tournament, do not directly concern us. Very important, however, are the three prayers: of Palamon to Venus, of Emily to Diana, of Arcite to Mars.

Palamon's prayer is exactly what would be expected of him. He does not regard victory and glory as goods in themselves. They are means to an end; and the end, to this contemplative, is so precious that it makes the means utterly negligible:

I recche nat, but it may bettre be,
 To have victorie of hem, or they of me,
 So that I have my lady in myne armes.
 For though so be that Mars is god of armes,
 Your vertu is so greet in hevене above,
 That, if you list, I shal wel have my love.¹⁵

The statue of Venus makes a sign indicating that his prayer has been answered.

Emily, as befits her character, prays for the preservation of her maidenhood and for peace between her lovers:

That all hir hote love, and hir desyr,
 And all hir bisy torment, and hir fyr
 Be queynt, or turned in another place.

 My maydenhede thou kepe and wel conserve,
 And whyl I live a mayde, I wol thee serve.¹⁶

She desires to be a contemplative, a nun. But her prayer is denied, for she is destined to serve God in the Active Life.

If, like Chaucer, we conceive of this Theban warrior and this Scythian girl as medieval characters, it will appear that they are praying to two different images of the Mother of God. To the lover, Mary is Queen of Love; to the maiden, she is the Virgin. Hence Mary may be "figured" as both Venus and Diana. Palamon speaks of her "vertu"—her efficacy—"so greet in hevене above." Emily adjures her by "tho thre formes that thow hast in thee,"¹⁷ a phrase which applies equally well to Diana and to the Virgin.

To this throne of true grace the unfortunate Arcite does not address his prayer. Mars can hardly be interpreted as sym-

¹⁵ *Knights Tale*, 1387-1392.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1461-1472.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1455.

bolizing any aspect of Christian divinity. In our ethical allegory, he represents the spirit of the knight who fights for the sake of winning, no matter what is to be won. He is the objectification of Arcite's own craving for practical success. Arcite's earlier remark, "We witen nat what thing we preyen here,"¹⁸ is now to assume ironic significance. The knight, in his thirst for immediate glory in the Active Life, literally forgets what he is praying for. "Yif me victorie," he concludes; "I aske thee namore."¹⁹ This prayer, like Palamon's, is accepted.²⁰

Venus's complaint to Saturn at the defeat of Palamon by Arcite had best be regarded as epic machinery, hardly subject to symbolic analysis. But the granting of both knights' prayers does not depend upon a mere quibble. Saturn's speech to Venus:

Mars hath his wille, his knight hath al his bone,
And by myn heed, thou shalt ben esed sone,²¹

has an ethical bearing. In life, the false god of worldly success to whom men offer their prayers may seem all-powerful; but his real impotence is shown when death draws near. Then it is that those who have prayed aright have their reward.

This thought, so characteristic of the *memento mori* tradition, is stressed throughout the account of Arcite's death "What is this world? what asketh men to have?"²² he cries, in pathetic reminiscence of his own mistaken prayer. The women of Athens, with unconscious irony, take up the same theme:

'Why woldestow be deed,' these wommen crye,
'And haddest gold y-nough, and Emelye?'²³

And finally, Egeus sums up the whole matter:

This world nis but a thurghfare ful of wo,
And we ben pilgrimes, passinge to and fro;
Deeth is an ende of every worldly sore.²⁴

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 402.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1562.

²⁰ As has been observed earlier, the three prayers follow the *Teseide* very closely. Cf. *Tes.* VII, 24-28, 46, 79-86.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 1811-1812.

²² *Ibid.*, 1919.

²³ *Ibid.*, 1977-1978.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1989-1991.

In this way, the inadequacy of Arcite's ideals is made manifest; while Palamon, who has never turned his eyes from his vision, wins at last the hand of Emily.²⁵

It is time for our medieval reader to sum up the "moralitee." Those who lead a purely active existence are too easily satisfied with worldly success, and lose sight of the higher goal toward which they should strive. A purely contemplative existence, on the other hand, brings great rewards, but it never issues forth in good deeds. The contemplative man is, as it were, in prison: he knows the truth, but he cannot make it prevail.

The fault of Arcite lies in being too completely devoted to the Active Life. His love is too thoroughly "as to a creature": he does not see the eternal light reflected in the fair eyes of Emily. In the crucial moment of his prayer to Mars, he wholly succumbs to his tragic error, and thinks more of glory in battle than of the lady whom he serves.

The fault of Palamon, on the other hand, lies in excessive devotion to the Contemplative Life. His love is "affeccioun of holinesse." He combats his fault, however, much more successfully than Arcite. When Palamon escapes from prison, he becomes what a man should be—a working dreamer. In his prayer, he is true to his best self, thinking steadfastly of his pure aim, but willing to make the dream a reality on this earth. Since he still thinks more of ends than of means, he is defeated by Arcite; but he has prayed for a more enduring thing than victory, and eventually he has his reward.

Some such moral as this could be derived by a medieval reader from the characters of Palamon and Arcite. Without ceasing to regard the story as a story, he would recognize its allegorical implications. Whether Chaucer intended that his tale should be interpreted in this way is an entirely different question. He certainly differentiated Palamon and Arcite in a way which does not appear in the *Teseide*, and it is possible that the Active-Contemplative contrast motivated the change that

²⁵ In the *Teseide*, Arcite is more truly the hero than Palamon. Emily is married to Arcite before he dies. Arcite is glorified to such an extent that Palamon's later marriage to Emily seems sheepish and anti-climatic. In an impressive apotheosis, Arcite has the pleasure of looking down with pity upon the mourning made for him, and on the magnificent temple erected to his memory. (*Tes.* XI)

he made. The idea that the truest service lies in action for the sake of contemplation, and contemplation for the sake of action—the ethical theme of the *Divine Comedy*—accords with everything we know of Chaucer's character and opinions.

No one would be less surprised than I to learn that Chaucer had no allegorical intention in writing this poem. He would not object, however, to a reader's attempt to moralize his tale, and might even be pleased to find in it a meaning which he had not put there. The aim of the scholar is to reconstruct the total literary experience of past ages. The interpretation here suggested may or may not be Chaucer's, but it is medieval, and may have some value in helping us to sense a fourteenth century reader's reaction to the *Knights Tale*.

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VARIETY ENTERTAINMENT BY ELIZABETHAN STROLLING PLAYERS

Dr. W. W. Greg has suggested in a discussion of the extant version of *Orlando Furioso* that it is probably an adaptation used by strolling players;¹ he bases his suggestion on the exaggeration of variety show entertainment in the preserved text; he believes that the almost extraneous clownery and fencing displays were efforts of the strolling players to please the tastes of their provincial audiences. It is my purpose here to call attention to the practice of these travelling players, both at home and on the Continent, of combining variety show or vaudeville performances with their regular productions. In forthcoming studies, I hope to point out also the importance of tricks of the variety show stage which appeared in regular performances of Elizabethan plays in the London theatres.

If the London playhouses found it expedient to employ vaudeville attractions, the strolling actors found it essential. Playing before even less cultivated audiences than in London, the dramatic companies on tour realized the good business policy of catering to the demands of cruder tastes. On tour, the players had no theatres; their plays were presented in town-halls and inn-yards before crowds accustomed to the performances of wandering jugglers, tumblers, and mountebanks. The players had to satisfy this taste by mixing feats of activity, spectacular matter, dancing, singing, and juggling with their regular performances.

Since all of the London men's companies went on tour² at intervals, the personnel had an opportunity for the cultivation of individual talents for entertainment which they would hardly have abandoned on their return to the city stages. Indeed, the schooling received before provincial and foreign audiences may have accentuated a natural willingness on the part of most actors to furnish diverse entertainment in regular play performances on the London stages. A large troupe was expensive

¹ *Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements: The Battle of Alcasar and Orlando Furioso* (Oxford, 1923), 353-354.

² Thaler, Alwin, "The Travelling Players in Shakespeare's England." *Modern Philology*, XVII (1920), 489-514.

in travelling; since the players wished to attract as large crowds as possible, each actor added "specialties" to his regular repertoire. Actors were usually skilled fencers; they could dance and sing comic songs; and almost any actor could turn a few hand-springs or engage in a bit of gross foolery that would delight a provincial audience. In addition to regular players, the companies at times carried specialized performers, as when the Earl of Essex's men travelled with "the turk,"³ a celebrated rope dancer.

The records of provincial towns are filled with entries of payments to travelling players and showmen; they frequently specify the form of the entertainment offered, ranging from the attraction of "one John Shepheard . . . who came with a commission to shew a sow with 6 hoggs"⁴ at Coventry in 1639 to regular stage plays. Frequently feats of activity and plays are definitely ascribed to the same troupe, and sometimes acrobats are alluded to as "players." The celebrated acrobat, John Symons, who was a favorite at court, carried a company of players on tour. The records at Nottingham for 1580-89 have this entry:⁵

Item given in reward to Symons and his companie, being the Queenes players, xx s.

Symons had been with Lord Strange's men in 1583 but returned to the Stanley family by 1586, Chambers thinks⁶.

The Bath accounts for 1588 show a payment to "the queenes men that were tumblers"; accounts for the same year show an entry of payment to the Queen's players.⁷ Whether the two companies were the same is not clear. John Dutton and John Laneham, two acrobats, conducted a company which seems to have had a mixed repertoire into the provinces during 1589-90. They had a Turkish rope-dancer with them on this trip and performed at Coventry, Ludlow, Nottingham, Bridgnorth, and Faversham.⁸

³ Murray, J. T., *English Dramatic Companies, 1558-1642*. (London, 1910), II, 239.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 253.

⁵ *Ibid.* I, 12, n. 1.

⁶ Chambers, E. K., *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford, 1923), II, 101.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 111.

The town records give numerous evidences of the fact that the players travelled with musicians and acrobats, or combined acrobatic or musical parts with their own repertoires. To give all the references would make the present discussion unwieldy, and a few of the more significant entries will serve to indicate the relations of actors and variety entertainers in the provinces.⁹ For October 31, 1590 there is an entry at Ipswich of payment to the Lord Admiral's men, the Earl of Essex's men, and "gevyn to the Torkey Tumblers 1 £.¹⁰ It appears that they were all there at the same time, if not together. In an entry at Leicester for 1589-90 is "Itm given to certen players, playing uppon ropes at the Cross Keys, more than was gathered xxviii s iii d."¹¹ At Coventry for 1638 is an entry: "Paid given to the Kings players and hocus pocus xx s."¹²

During the reigns of James I and Charles I, the entries are numerous for all sorts of variety entertainers, including French

⁹ The following entries are found in Murray, *op. cit.*, II, 229-375:

Nottingham, 1578-9:

"Dec. 19. Item gevyn, the 19th of Desember, vnto my Lorde Haworth plears and mvssysons v s."

Canterbury, 1592-3:

"Itm for the dynner of the Queenes players wch were there with musyck iii s."

Canterbury, 1603-4:

"Itm delivered to Mr. Maior to giue vnto the Princes tumblers and vnto the Lo Dudles players & musicians xiii s viii d."

Coventry, 1583:

"to the Lo Barkeles players & musicians xiii s iiiii d."

"to the Lo Dudles players & musicians xiii s viii d."

Coventry, 1588:

"yeven to Wallans the Berward & his company xiii s iii d."

Coventry, 1590:

"given to the Earle of Essex & the turk xl s."

Coventry, 1621:

"Paid wch was given to William Peadle & other players, Dauncers vpon ropes the 29th of November last as appeareth by a bill vnder Mr. Maiors hand x s."

Coventry, 1634:

"Paid given to the players dauncers on the rope vi s viii d." paid given to the players that would have shewed a sight about witches vi s."

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 293.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 304.

¹² *Ibid.*, 253.

acrobats with dancing baboons, trick horses, jugglers performing tricks of legerdemain,¹³ etc. All of these performances indicate the increasing taste for such attractions. Certainly, stage players in the face of this competition could do little else than strengthen their own offerings with vaudeville additions. That the players adapted their plays and performances to suit provincial tastes is apparent from the reception given them in the towns which they visited. As early as 1565, the popularity of players and other entertainers is the occasion of a pious lament by William Alley in *The Poor Mans Librarie*:¹⁴

Alas, are not almost al places in these daies replenished with iuglers, scoffers, iesters, plaiers, which may say and do what they lust, be neuer so fleshly and filthy? and yet suffred and heard with laughing and clapping of handes.

Not only did England swarm with native variety entertainers and players combining variety features with regular plays, but many Italian and some French acrobats and actors performed in England during the Elizabethan period up until the closing of the theatres. In November 1573, Thomas Norton complains of "the unchaste, shameless and unnatural tomblinge of the Italian weomen."¹⁵ Feats of activity seem to have been a regular part of the repertoire of Italian actors of this period, particularly of *commedia dell' arte* performers. The Earl of Lincoln saw Italian players in Paris, June 8-22, 1572. At the Louvre he saw "an Italian playe, and dyvers vauters and leapers of dyvers sortes verye excellent."¹⁶ From Italian players in England, native actors may have learned many tricks profitable to them in their own tours.¹⁷

¹³ From 1615 onward, Murray points out (II, 247, n. 1), "the number of puppet shows, art and skill men, wonder exhibitors, etc. increases. The townspeople seem to have had an omnivorous appetite for such 'shewes'."

¹⁴ Chambers, *op. cit.*, IV, 192, App. G.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 262, App. C.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 261, App. C.

¹⁷ Acrobatics and variety entertainment are suggested in *The Mayor of Queenborough* (Act 5, Sc. 1) in the dialogue between Simon, the mayor, and the strolling players who are brought in before him. To one he remarks: "You're very strong in the wrists, methinks. And must all these good parts be cast away upon pedlars and maltmen, ha?" A little later Simon says: "There's nothing in a play to a clown, if he have the grace to hit on't; that's the thing indeed: The king shows well, but he sets off the king." Further on, the Second

Travelling actors who found it necessary to interlard their performances with vaudeville matter when performing before English provincials faced conditions on the Continent that caused them to reduce their performances frequently to mixed variety shows. Scarcely any of the English companies travelling in foreign countries could speak the vernacular with any fluency, and they had to depend on spectacles and music that would please without requiring linguistic understanding.¹⁸

Although English actors visited most of the leading courts of Europe at intervals during the last quarter of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries, they found greatest favor in Germany. The records of their travels there prove more conclusively the type of performance offered to foreign spectators.

The performance of a mixed play and acrobatic exhibition called *The Force of Hercules* by Leicester's company in Holland in 1585 has been pointed out by Chambers and others.¹⁹ Will Kemp, famous clown and morris dancer, seems to have been with this troupe.

English actors were in Saxony in 1586 as performers for Christian I and had contracted to furnish him with music, entertainments, and "Springkunsts" at banquets. In the account of their departure from court on July 17, 1587, their ability in music and acrobatics is noted.²⁰ These were without doubt regular actors because two of them, Thomas Pope and George Bryan, later joined the Lord Chamberlain's company and were associates of Shakespeare.²¹ Pope became famous on

Player announces: "We have a play wherein we use a horse," but Simon will have none of it.

Cf. also Maas, H., *Aussere Geschichte der englischen Theaterruppen in dem Zeitraum von 1559 bis 1642. Materialien*, XIX (Louvain, 1907), 7. The author indicates the mixed repertoires of the travelling players and goes on to say: "Dumb Shows, Pantomimen mit sehr oder minder grossen Verwendung komischer Figuren, Feats of tumbling and activity, sind früh bezeugt und gehen auf alte gewohnte Volksbelustigungen zurück (vgl. z. B. Dumshow im *Gorbuduc*, Lord Strange's Tumblers, Chalmer's *Apology* 394, die Feats of tumbling and activity 1582/3 in den Revels Accounts p. 177) Fechten (Fencers), sowie Musiker haben bei wandernden Truppen eine Rolle gespielt."

¹⁸ Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 550-1.

¹⁹ Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 272.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 273.

²¹ Cohn, Albert, *Shakespeare in Germany* (London, 1865), xxv-xxvi.

the London stage as a rustic clown. In the records of the court of Saxony, they are called "instrumentalists" and "fiddlers."

Robert Brown, an actor and former associate of Edward Alleyn, received a passport in 1592 from Lord Admiral Howard for himself and other actors to cross to the Netherlands and thence into Germany. The passport enumerates their qualities as actors of tragedies, comedies, and histories and also their ability in music and feats of activity.²²

Maurice of Hesse had English actors in his service in 1597-98 and in 1602. They excited the jealousy of German players who probably envied their skill in acrobatics and dancing. An entry in Wilhelm Buch's chronicle says:²³

Anno 1602 hat er die Engländer alle mit einander von sich gejagt und des springens und tanzens müde geworden.

The court accounts specify payment of four thalers for a pair of shoes for the clown with the English comedians. Enormous shoes such as modern circus clowns sometimes wear were already a part of a clown's equipment. Will Kemp was noted for his tricks with shoes. Part of the variety repertoire of the English clowns in Germany seems to have consisted in tricks with shoes. Marx Mangoldt in a poem on the Frankfort fair, *Marchschiffs Nachen* (pr. 1597), describes performances of English actors at the fair; he emphasizes the variety nature of the performance and stresses particularly the shoes of the clown, his grotesque costume, the devil play, the leaping and jumping of the acrobats, and the music of the actors.²⁴ These players

²² Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 274: "Messieurs, comme les presents, porteurs, Robert Browne, Jehan Bradstriet, Thomas Saxfield, Richard Jones, ont delibere de faire ung voyage en Allemagne, avec intention de passer par le pais de Zelande, Hollande et Frise, et allantz en faict de musique, agilitz et jeux de commedies, tragedies et histories, pour s'entretenir et fournir à leurs despenses en leur dict voyage," etc.

²³ *Ibid.*, II, 279.

²⁴ The poem is translated and reprinted by Cohn, *op. cit.*, lx. Referring to the fool, Mangoldt says:

"And many a clownish trick he knows,
Wears shoes that don't much pinch his toes.
His breeches would hold two or more,
And have a monstrous flap before.

.
And I must praise too the leaper's art,
Because so very high he springs,

probably composed Sackville's troupe. Mangoldt confesses that most of the spectators came to see the practical jokes of the clowns and the feats of the acrobats rather than to see the comedy or even to hear the music. Fynes Moryson, describing a play by English comedians at the Frankfort Fair, also asserts that the Germans came more for the gestures and antics of the actors than for the words, which they could not understand.²⁵

Music and dancing were indispensable to the actors who appeared before foreign audiences. Both were used for interact entertainment as well as for diversion throughout the performance of plays. In *The Return from Parnassus*, Studioso exclaims:²⁶

"God save you, Master Kemp; welcome, Master Kemp, from dancing the morris over the Alps."

Studioso is referring to Will Kemp's continental tour when he further increased his reputation as a dancer and clown. Music and dancing as well as clown play are mentioned as part of the entertainment of English comedians, described in Röchell's chronicle of the city of Münster in an entry for 1599:²⁷

They acted on five successive days five different comedies in their own English tongue. They carried with them various musical instruments, such as

And also for some other things.
 His manner is so full of graces
 In dancing, and in all his paces,
 To see it's really a delight,

 . . . all men, understand me right,
 Do not unto this play repair
 At merry comedies to stare,
 Or for the music and the lute,
 But very many of them do't
 To see the fool's coarse jokes and blows,
 And leaper's tightly-fitting hose."

²⁵ Hughes, C. (ed.), *Shakespeare's Europe* (London, 1903), 304. Moryson says: "So as I remember that when some of our cast dispised stage players came out of England into Germany, and played at Franckford in the tyme of the Mart, having nether a complete number of actours, nor any good apparell, nor any ornament of the stage, yet the Germans, not understanding a worde they sayde, both men and wemen, flocked wonderfully to see theire gesture and action, rather than heare them, speaking English which they understoode not, and pronouncing peeces and patches of English playes, which myselfe and some English men there present could not heare without great wearysomeness."

²⁶ Act 4, Sc. 3.

²⁷ Translation and reprint by Cohn, *op. cit.*, cxxxiv-cxxxv.

lutes, cithern, fiddles, fifes, and such like, they danced many new and foreign dances (not usual in this country) at the beginning and at the end of their comedies. They were accompanied by a clown, who, when a new act had to commence and when they had to change their costume, made many antics and pranks in German during the performance, by which he amused the audience.

A play-bill from Nuremburg, announcing the performance of English actors on April 21, 1628, stresses the clown, the dancing, and the merry interludes to be mixed in the performance of the plays:²⁸

Know all men, that a new Company of Comedians have arrived here, who have never been seen before in this country, with a right merry Clown, who will act every day fine Comedies, Tragedies, Pastorals, and Histories, intermixed with lovely and merry Interludes, and today, Wednesday the 21st of April they will present a right merry comedy, called Love's Sweetness turned into Death's Bitterness. After the comedy will be presented a fine Ballet and laughable Droll—The Lovers of such plays must make their appearance at the Fencing-house in the afternoon at 2 o'clock, where the play will begin at the appointed hour precisely.

The play of clowns was frequently used in the form of extraneous inter-act amusements, as the extract from Röchell's chronicle indicates. In the contents of the German edition of English comedies and tragedies performed in Germany, printed in 1620, some of these interludes of clownery are included. The description of the interludes in the table of contents will make clear the nature of the performance:²⁹

"A merry jest with the clowns, of the beautiful Mary and the old cuckold.

Another merry jest with the clown, in which he makes merry pastime with a stone.

The following English interludes may be acted at pleasure between the Comedies (acts). All in verse and most with musical notes." (Five pieces without titles.)

In most of the plays in the edition of 1620, the scenes are disconnected and poorly related. In one of the plays, the *Comedy of Fortunatus*, there is no written part for the clown but his entrances are indicated by directions for him to act something.³⁰ Thus it appears that the clown was left to extemporize any buffoonery he chose.

The intervals between the acts were frequently filled with music, according to Michael Praetorius, a writer on music of the

²⁸ *Ibid.* Plate opposite p. xcvi. Trans. by Cohn.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, cviii.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, cx.

period.³¹ Cornets, fiddles, and similar instruments as well as vocal music were employed.

German dramatists and actors were greatly influenced by the wandering English players; early German drama shows evidence of the disconnected variety show popularized by the English comedians. Johannes Bolte suggests³² that the singing jigs of the English actors were forbears of the opera; he shows that these jigs, a mixture of singing dialogue, dance, and action, had a marked influence on German playwrights, notably Jacob Ayrer. Most of the *Singspiele* had to do with singing, dancing, and clown play, and were little more than vaudeville entertainments. Bolte credits the English with the introduction of this form of entertainment into Germany.³³

Jacob Ayrer, who wrote under the influence of the English comedians between 1595 and 1600, employed "English clowns" in his plays. In his second piece, the clown is called "Jahnn der Bot oder Engellendische Narr." This Jahnn plays an important part in nearly all his plays. In his *Comedy of the Beautiful Sidea*, he employs a conjuror and devil who spits fire, dances, and does other entertaining vaudeville tricks.³⁴

English plays which were carried into Germany were of the type best adapted to the introduction of variety entertainment such as fencing, spectacular magic, singing, dancing, and clown absurdities. Plays like *Fortunatus*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Hieronimo*, *Julius Caesar*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Doctor Faustus*, *Orlando Furioso*, even *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and many others were popular on the German stage because they lent themselves easily to the insertion of spectacular scenes. The clown portion of *Midsummer Night's Dream* proved the most popular part of the play. This part was acted separately before 1636, and there is a later version called *Absurdica Comica or Mr. Peter Squenz* by Andrew Gryphius, who died in 1664.³⁵

³¹ *Ibid.*, cxxxv-cxxxvi.

³² *Die Singspiele der englischen Komödianten in Deutschland* (Hamburg, 1893), 2.

³³ *Ibid.*, 2: "Die englische Name dieser Gesangssossen Jig, welcher zugleich einen muntren Tanz im 6/8 oder 12/8 Takt bezeichnet, weist auf die enge Verbindung von Gesang und Tanz hin, die bei den englischen 'Instrumentisten' und 'Springern' in Deutschland als etwas ganz Neues erschien."

³⁴ Reprint and translation by Cohn, *op. cit.*, 15 ff.

³⁵ Cohn, *op. cit.*, cxxxi.

The version of Hamlet, *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, probably acted by English players in Germany, is filled with vaudeville matter. Directions provide for the gross exaggeration of clown parts. At one point the ghost slaps the sentinel and makes him drop his musket.³⁶ Two clowns, Phantasma and Jens, are utterly out of place in the play. The duel in the last act is frankly a fencing match.³⁷ English tragedies of blood attained the highest popularity on the German stage because of their spectacular combats and the opportunity for the display of tricks of sleight.

On the Continent and especially in Germany, English actors became famed for their varied and entertaining performances. They were noted especially as acrobats,³⁸ dancers, musicians, clowns, and variety entertainers. The actors who went from the court of the Duke of Brunswick to visit Christian IV at Copenhagen were called "furstelige comedianten och springers."³⁹ The players were also frequently alluded to as singers, instrumentalists, dancers, etc. The plays written in Germany under the influence of English actors utilized the tricks of variety entertainment taught by the visiting players; thus they reflect the sort of dramatic performances offered by the travelling actors.

English actors, who saw the entertaining value of vaudeville material while abroad or while touring in English provincial towns, would naturally have been prompted to continue this popular form of entertainment on their return to the London theatres. Without doubt, travelling in the provinces and on the Continent added much to the versatility of the already diversely trained players who made up the London companies. Perhaps this training was an important factor in the willingness of players and producers to insert extraneous and often incongruous matter in Elizabethan plays, even in the stateliest tragedies.

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³⁶ Act 1, Sc. 2.

³⁷ Act 5, Sc. 6.

³⁸ Herz, Emil, *Englische Schauspieler und englisches Schauspiel zur Zeit Shakespeare in Deutschland* (Hamburg und Leipzig, 1901), 13. Speaking of the acrobatic ability of Robert Browne's troupe, Herz says: ". . . wobei auch ihre gymnastische Geschicklichkeit hervor gehaben wird; 'einer,' so berichtet die Chronik Valentin Müllers, 'sei in Paul Merckerts Hof gesprungen und die Wand rauff gelaufen'."

³⁹ Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 276.

THE FALL OF HYPERION

To interpret the intuition of experience that Keats expressed in *The Fall of Hyperion*, the critic must study the forces of human life, religious, philosophical, social, poetical, or what not, that affected the poet in the period in which the poem was composed. The influences that shaped and formed Keats's philosophy of poetry can be grouped under two heads—contemporary, such as those of Leigh Hunt, Wordsworth, and Hazlitt, and Elizabethan, such as those of Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton. In Keats's poetry we find a conflict between the complex ideals of contemporary romanticism and the equally complex ideals of Elizabethan humanism. In *The Fall of Hyperion* and *Hyperion* this conflict has narrowed down to a struggle between the humanitarianism of Wordsworth and the humanism of Milton.

While Keats was working on the composition of *Endymion*, he chose the "fall of Hyperion" as the subject of his next long poem. In a previous essay¹ I have interpreted *Endymion* as an expression of the neo-Platonic philosophy of the Renaissance which Keats assimilated from Spenser and Shakespeare. In *Endymion* Keats conceived of the function of poetry as a subjective expression of beauty. But, while he was composing *Endymion*, he began to study Wordsworth's humanitarian philosophy of poetry. From the middle of August to the end of September, 1817, he visited Benjamin Bailey, who was a student of divinity at Oxford. Bailey revered Wordsworth as a philosophic Christian poet, and he sought to convert Keats to a belief in Wordsworth's Christian humanitarianism. In a memorandum of this visit, Bailey discussed Keats's opinion of Wordsworth. "The following passage from Wordsworth's Ode on Immortality," he said, "was deeply felt by Keats, who however at this time seemed to me to value this great Poet rather in particular passages than in the full-length portrait, as it were, of the great imaginative and philosophic Christian Poet, which he really is, and which Keats obviously, not long

¹ C. L. Finney: "Keats's Philosophy of Beauty," *Philological Quarterly*, V., 1-19.

afterwards, felt him to be."² As a matter of fact, Bailey underestimated the immediate and considerable effect of his propaganda upon Keats.

During his visit at Oxford Keats composed the whole of the Third Book of *Endymion*. According to his original plan he would have developed in this book the neo-Platonic ideal of friendship as it is expressed, for instance, in the Fourth Book of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*; but under the influence of Bailey he metamorphosed the neo-Platonic ideal of friendship into an expansive, universal love for humanity, which Bailey and Keats regarded as the spirit of Wordsworth's philosophy. In the Third Book Keats expressed his glorious dreams of humanitarian service. In the depths of the sea Endymion, directed by divine power, met the old man Glaucus, in cooperation with whom he restored to life and happiness all the thousands of lovers who had perished in the sea. Although Spenser's ideal of friendship was a rational discipline and Wordsworth's humanitarianism an expansive emotion, Keats converted easily the one into the other in the Third Book without affecting the mystical allegory of the poem as a whole; for the metaphysics of both Spenser and Wordsworth were systems of pseudo-Platonic mysticism. Platonism has been the most potent force of assimilation and reconciliation in the history of philosophy. Spenser fused Platonism with Calvinistic Christianity and Aristotelian ethics and Wordsworth fused it with Anglican Christianity, Rousseauistic naturalism and Godwinian perfectibility.

The letters which Keats wrote during his visit at Oxford demonstrate that Bailey's conversation and Wordsworth's poetry awoke in him a love for humanity. In a letter to Reynolds he described his boatings on the Isis with Bailey. "There is one particular nice nest," he wrote, "which we have christened 'Reynolds's Cove,' in which we have read Wordsworth and talked as may be"; and, referring to their friend John Martin, he asked: "Has Martin met with the Cumberland Beggar, or been wondering at the old Leech-gatherer?" From such poems as *The Old Cumberland Beggar* and *Resolution and Independence*, Keats conceived of Wordsworth as a sympathetic poet of the human heart. In his letters Keats quoted phrases from the

² Sir Sidney Colvin: *John Keats*, N. Y., 1917, p. 145.

passage in *The Old Cumberland Beggar* in which Wordsworth said that "'tis Nature's law" that the "meanest of created things," the "dullest or most noxious," possesses a "spirit and pulse of good." The poor villagers give alms to the old beggar for this single cause

That we have all of us one human heart;

and this charity keeps alive in their minds a kindly feeling for humanity, which otherwise would die in selfishness and cold oblivious cares.

In a letter to Bailey, November, 1817, Keats admitted with characteristic honesty that his own heart was not as susceptible to sympathy for humanity as Wordsworth's. "I wish I had a heart always open to such sensations," he said; "but there is no altering a man's nature, and mine must be radically wrong, for it will lie dormant a whole month. This leads me to suppose," he added, adapting a sentiment of Wordsworth, "that there are no men thoroughly wicked, so as never to be self-spiritualized into a kind of sublime misery; but, alas! 'tis but for an hour. He (Wordsworth) is the only Man 'who has kept watch on man's mortality,' who has philanthropy enough to overcome the disposition to an indolent enjoyment of intellect, who is brave enough to volunteer for uncomfortable hours."

But, despite his admiration for Wordsworth as the poet of the human heart, his critical insight enabled him to detect the flaw in Wordsworth's humanitarian poems. In this same letter to Bailey, he criticized Wordsworth's *Gipsy*. "It seems to me," he said, "that if Wordsworth had thought a little deeper at that moment he would not have written the poem at all. I should judge it to have been written in one of the most comfortable moods of his life—it is a kind of sketchy intellectual landscape, not a search after truth." Wordsworth, indeed, was too self-centered to possess true insight into the hearts of other men. He pitied men but he could never see life from any point of view except his own. His poetry is always subjective. The old leech-gatherer, for instance, lost his reality as a wretched but patient human being and became a symbol of the poet's meditations about life.

This humanitarianism, so confident of its solution of the problems of life, could never completely engross the critical and objective mind of Keats. It was never for him more than a

speculative possibility. "Nothing ever becomes real until it is experienced,"—he said again and again, "even a proverb is no proverb till your life has illustrated it." And so these two ideals of poetry, beauty and humanity, ran parallel in his mind; and each he tested in the light of his own increasing experience of life.

By the end of November, two months after his visit with Bailey at Oxford, he decided that he could not as yet accept Wordsworth's humanitarian philosophy of poetry. In a letter to Bailey, 22 November, he reasserted his belief in the principle of beauty which he explained at length. In this connection it is necessary to consider only his comparison of his mind with Wordsworth's. He defined his own mind as "simple imaginative" and said that what the imagination, in a state of aesthetic vision, seizes as beauty must be truth; for they are inseparable, and hence identical, qualities of spirit, the highest reality. He defined a second type of mind as logical and said that he was unable to believe that even the greatest of philosophers ever discovered truth by means of consecutive reasoning. A third type of mind he defined as the complex, which is both imaginative and logical, which "would exist partly on Sensation, partly on thought." "Such a one," he said to Bailey, "I consider yours, and therefore it is necessary to your eternal happiness that you not only drink this old Wine of Heaven . . . but also increase in knowledge and know all things." To such a man as Bailey, he decided, "it is necessary that 'years should bring the philosophic mind.'" He quoted this phrase from the *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality*, in which Wordsworth described the growth of his mind out of the aesthetic into the philosophic stage. In this definition of the Wordsworthian type of mind, it is probable that Keats recalled Bailey's characterization of Wordsworth as a "great imaginative and philosophic Christian Poet."

In December, 1817, Keats met Wordsworth for the first time; and in this and the following month he saw a great deal of him at the homes of their common friends in London. Haydon introduced the two poets to each other, and on this or on a later occasion, for contemporary accounts vary, Keats was induced to recite his Hymn to Pan, at the conclusion of which Wordsworth remarked dryly "a very pretty piece of paganism."

In a letter to Reynolds, 3 February, 1818, Keats indulged in a biting criticism of the egotistic and didactic character of Wordsworth's philosophy:

It may be said that we ought to read our contemporaries, that Wordsworth etc. should have their due from us. But, for the sake of a few fine imaginative or domestic passages, are we to be bullied into a certain Philosophy engendered in the whims of an Egotist? Every man has his speculations, but every man does not brood and peacock over them till he makes a false coinage and deceives himself. Many a man can travel to the very bourne of Heaven, and yet want confidence to put down his half-seeing We hate poetry that has a palpable design upon us, and, if we do not agree, seems to put its hand in its breeches pocket. Poetry should be great and unobtrusive, a thing which enters into one's soul, and does not startle or amaze it with itself, but with its subject. How beautiful are the retired flowers! how would they lose their beauty were they to throng into the highway, crying out, "Admire me, I am a violet! Dote upon me, I am a primrose!"

The egotism which Wordsworth displayed in the incident of the Hymn to Pan was probably the immediate cause of this severe censure; but the real cause was more fundamental. In November, before Keats had met Wordsworth, he had made clear to Bailey, as we have seen, his inability to accept Wordsworth's humanitarianism and he had reaffirmed his faith in the neo-Platonism of the Elizabethans. And, in this letter to Reynolds, he criticized the subjective poetry of Wordsworth by contrasting it to the objective poetry of Shakespeare. "Why be teased with . . . 'Matthew with a bough of wilding in his hand,' " he asked, "when we can have Jacques 'under an oak?'" From his intensive study of Shakespeare, Keats had decided that the proper function of poetry was the objective expression of beauty and truth. In a letter to his brothers, 28 December, 1817, he defined the objectivity of Shakespeare as "negative capability," which is, he said, the capability of "being in uncertainties, mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact and reason." "The excellence of every art," he said, "is its intensity, capable of making all disagreeables evaporate from their being in close relationship with Beauty and Truth. Examine 'King Lear,' and you will find this exemplified throughout."

In this period Keats read Shakespeare and Milton, and the objectivity of Shakespeare's dramas taught him to prefer the objectivity of Milton's *Paradise Lost* to the subjectivity of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. He probably began to study Milton

in November, 1817, after his rejection of the influence of Wordsworth; for as early as January, 1818, he had decided to model "Hyperion" upon the style and plot of *Paradise Lost*. Taylor, the publisher of *Endymion*, had suggested that Haydon make a drawing for the frontispiece of that poem; but the artist preferred to wait until the publication of "Hyperion"; and Keats wrote him, 23 January:

I have a complete fellow feeling with you in this business—so much so that it would be as well to wait for a choice out of 'Hyperion'—when that poem is done there will be a wide range for you—in *Endymion* I think you may have many bits of the deep and sentimental cast—the nature of 'Hyperion' will lead me to treat it in a more naked and grecian Manner—and the march of passion and endeavour will be undeviating—and one great contrast between them will be—that the Hero of the written tale being mortal is led on, like Buonaparte, by circumstance; whereas the Apollo in *Hyperion* being a fore-seeing God will shape his actions like one.

In this letter Keats's intuition of "Hyperion" was essentially that which he expressed in the Miltonic and neo-Platonic *Hyperion*, in which Apollo and the Olympians are the heroic gods of beauty.

In March and April Keats was engaged in a study of Milton; for in a letter to Reynolds, 27 April, he said: "I long to feast upon old Homer as we have upon Shakespeare and as I have lately upon Milton." In this period he probably made those illuminating comments on *Paradise Lost* which have been preserved on the margins of his copies of the poem. When he had read Milton as a boy, he had enjoyed him for his "sweets of song," as he said in his *Epistle to Charles Cowden Clarke*, which was written in September, 1816; but in April, 1818, because of his growing intellectual maturity and his increasing interest in the problems of human life, he appreciated Milton's argument to "assert Eternal Providence and justify the ways of God to men."

In this period Keats's distaste for Wordsworth's Christian humanitarianism was increased by an incipient scepticism, which was induced probably by his reading of Voltaire and Gibbon in February. In answer to Bailey's continued propaganda for humanitarian Christianity, he wrote to him, 13 March: "I have never had your sermon from Wordsworth, but Mr. Dilke lent it to me. You know my ideas about Religion. I do not think myself more in the right than other people and that nothing in this world is proveable. I wish I could enter into

your feelings on the subject, merely for one short 10 minutes and give you a page or two to your liking." After this statement of his agnosticism, Keats quoted his sonnet on the human seasons, in which he expressed a sceptical interpretation of the course of human life:

Four Seasons fill the measure of the year;
 There are four seasons in the mind of Man:
 He hath his lusty Spring, when Fancy clear
 Takes in all beauty with an easy span:
 He chews the honied cud of fair Spring thoughts,
 Till in his Soul, dissolv'd, they come to be
 Part of himself: He hath his Autumn Ports
 And havens of repose when his tired wings
 Are folded up, and he content to look
 On mists in idleness—to let fair things
 Pass by unheeded as a threshold brook.
 He has his Winter too of Pale misfeature,
 Or else he would forego his mortal nature.³

The idea of this sonnet, strange to say, came from Wordsworth's *Excursion*, in which the sceptical Solitary, who read Voltaire, argued with the pious Wanderer and the poet against religious faith:

. . . . in the life of man
 we see as in a glass
 A true reflection of the circling year
 With all its seasons. Grant that Spring is there,
 In spite of many a rough untoward blast,
 Hopefull and promising with buds and flowers;
 Yet where is glowing Summer's long rich day,
 That ought to follow faithfully expressed?
 And mellow Autumn, charged with bounteous fruit,
 Where is she imaged? in what favoured clime
 Her lavish pomp, and ripe magnificence?
 —Yet, while the better part is missed, the worse
 In man's autumnal season is set forth
 With a resemblance not to be denied,
 And that contents him; bowers that hear no more
 The voice of gladness, less and less supply
 Of outward sunshine and internal warmth;
 And, with this change, sharp air and falling leaves,
 Foretelling aged Winter's dreary sway.

(*The Excursion*, V., 391 et seq.).

The Excursion had a greater influence upon Keats than any other poem of Wordsworth. In *I Stood Tiptoe Upon a Little Hill*,

³ I have quoted this sonnet in the form in which it is printed in his letters.

which was written in 1816, Keats stated a theory of the origin of Greek mythology, which, critics agree, he derived from the Fourth Book of *The Excursion*. After his visit with Bailey in August and September, 1817, he studied *The Excursion* as the text-book of Wordsworth's philosophy; and in January, 1818, two months before he wrote this sonnet on the human seasons, he said that *The Excursion* was one of the "three things to rejoice at in this age." Since Keats knew *The Excursion* so thoroughly, I think that he used Wordsworth's idea of the human seasons consciously. In *The Excursion* Wordsworth let the sceptical Solitary state objections to religious faith in order that the pious Wanderer could refute them. Now, since Keats was a sceptic and since he was disgruntled at Wordsworth, it is quite probable that he was provoked to emphasize the Solitary's objections to religious faith. Very likely he knew that Bailey, the ardent Wordsworthian, to whom he sent the sonnet, would connect it with its source in *The Excursion*. At the end of the letter, at any rate, he betrayed impatience with Bailey's insistent propaganda for Christian humanitarianism. "Now my dear fellow," he said, "I must once for all tell you I have not one idea of the truth of any of my speculations—I shall never be a reasoner, because I care not to be in the right, when retired from bickering and in a proper philosophical temper."

Keats's scepticism was rooted in an impersonal observation of the vicissitudes of human life. When he himself experienced adversity, his scepticism sank into pessimism. For three months his brother Tom had been threatened with consumption; and at the end of the letter to Bailey Keats said simply: "My brother Tom desires to be remembered to you; he has this moment had a spitting of blood, poor fellow!" For the next three months Keats remained with his brother in Devonshire; and the inclemency of a rainy season, absence from his friends, and the sickness of his brother profoundly depressed his spirits. In his unhappiness he sought comfort in the humanitarian philosophy of Wordsworth. On the 25 March he wrote a poetical *Epistle to Reynolds*, in which he studied the solution of the problem of evil in nature which Wordsworth presented in *Elegiac Stanzas*.

In his *Epistle to Reynolds* Keats described Claude's *Enchanted Castle* to his sick friend. The painting, he said in substance, is idealistic rather than realistic. It is an imaginative represen-

tation of the artist's desire for a beautiful and beneficent nature. Keats, however, could not be satisfied with an ideal interpretation of nature; for he had suffered pain and sorrow.

Dear Reynolds! I have a mysterious tale,
 And cannot speak it: the first page I read
 Upon a Lampit rock of green sea-weed
 Among the breakers; 'twas a quiet eve,
 The rocks were silent, the wide sea did weave
 An untumultuous fringe of silver foam
 Along the flat brown sand; I was at home
 And should have been most happy,—but I saw
 Too far into the sea, where every maw
 The greater on the less feeds evermore.—
 But I saw too distinct into the core
 Of an eternal fierce destruction,
 And so from happiness I far was gone.

.
 Still do I that most fierce destruction see,—
 The shark at savage prey,—the Hawk at pounce,—
 The gentle Robin, like a Pard or Ounce,
 Ravening a worm,—Away ye horrid moods!
 Moods of one's mind!

With as realistic an eye as Tennyson, Keats saw "Nature, red in tooth and claw." His imaginative insight into the destructive spirit of nature, however, spoiled his happiness, and he questioned the authenticity of the imagination:

. . . . is it that imagination brought
 Beyond its proper bound, yet still confin'd,
 Lost in a sort of Purgatory blind,
 Cannot refer to any standard law
 Of either earth or heaven? It is a flaw
 In happiness, to see beyond our bourn,—
 It forces us in summer skies to mourn,
 It spoils the singing of the Nightingale.

When his brother fell sick with consumption, Keats found no consolation in his philosophy of "negative capability." In actual "uncertainties, mysteries, doubts," he could not abstain from an "irritable reaching after fact and reason." His imagination, in which he had formerly placed his faith, increased the "disagreeables" of life. He could not accept, however, Wordsworth's conversion of present evil into ultimate good, and he ended the poem in stark pessimism. "Oh, never," he cried in despair,

Oh, never will the prize
High reason, and the love of good and ill
Be my reward!

In his despair Keats resolved to seek peace and happiness in Wordsworth's humanitarianism. What his intellect denied, his will accepted. The climax of his acceptance of Wordsworth's philosophy appeared in a letter to Reynolds, 3 May, 1818. Considering the genius of Wordsworth, he said: "We find what he says true as far as we have experienced, and we can judge no further but by larger experience—for axioms in philosophy are not axioms till they are proved upon our pulses. We read fine things, but never feel them to the full until we have gone the same steps as the author."

In *Tintern Abbey* Wordsworth defined three stages in the evolution of his philosophy of nature—the youthful stage, in which he sought nature for the "coarser pleasures of his boyish days," such as hunting, fishing, and swimming; the aesthetic stage, in which he loved nature for impressions of beauty; and the humanitarian and religious stage, in which he found in nature an inspiration to love humanity and to love God. On an analogy with these three stages of Wordsworth's philosophy, Keats compared human life to a mansion of many apartments, the first of which is the "Infant of Thoughtless Chamber"; the second, the "Chamber of Maiden-Thought," in which one experiences the beauty of nature but in which also one becomes conscious that the "world is full of Misery and Heartbreak, Pain, Sickness, and oppression—whereby this Chamber of Maiden-Thought becomes gradually darkened, and at the same time, on all sides of it, many doors are set open—but all dark—all leading to dark passages." "We are now in that state," Keats said to Reynolds; "we see not the balance of good and evil." "To this point," he continued, "was Wordsworth come, as far as I can conceive, when he wrote 'Tintern Abbey,' and it seems to me that his genius is explorative of those dark Passages. Now if we live, and go on thinking, we too shall explore them. He is a genius and superior to us, in so far as he can, more than we, make discoveries and shed light on them."

In *The Excursion* (IX. :207 et seq.) Wordsworth argued that all men possess kindly instincts which make possible the per-

fectibility of human nature and human society. It would be strange, he says, if God

should hide
The excellence of moral qualities
From common understanding; leaving truth
And virtue, difficult, abstruse, and dark.

If we consider this true equality of men, he said, we have cause for gratitude and hope. Social evils are caused by ignorance and injustice; but humanity is gradually progressing in knowledge and wisdom; and in some future time, through universal education, both the evil in human nature and the evil in society will be removed.

O for the coming of that glorious time
When, prizing knowledge as her noblest wealth
And best protection, this imperial Realm,
While she exacts allegiance, shall admit
An obligation, on her part, to *teach*
Them who are born to serve her and obey;
 so that none,
However, destitute, be left to droop
By timely culture unsustained
And, if that ignorance were removed, which acts
To breed commotion and disquietude
So shall licentiousness and black resolve
Be rooted out, and virtuous habits take
Their place; and genuine piety descend,
Like an inheritance, from age to age
Change wide, and deep, and silently performed,
This land shall witness; and as days roll on,
Earth's universal frame shall feel the effect,
Even till the smallest habitable rock,
Beaten by lonely billows, hear the songs
Of humanised society; and bloom
With civil arts, and send their fragrance forth,
A grateful tribute to all-ruling Heaven.

Keats accepted with enthusiasm Wordsworth's conception of the function of knowledge. In the letter to Reynolds, he said: "An extensive knowledge is needful to thinking people—it takes away the heat and fever; and helps, by widening speculation, to ease the Burden of the Mystery"; but, he added shrewdly, "it is impossible to know how far knowledge will console us for the death of a friend, and the ill 'that flesh is heir to.'" Knowledge, he thought, would not only help him to solve his

own problems but it would also enable him to assist in the progress of humanity. In a letter to Taylor, 24 April, he said: "I find that I can have no enjoyment in the world but continual drinking of knowledge. I find there is no worthy pursuit but the idea of doing some good to the world." Men do good to the world in various ways, but his way, he said, lay "through application, study, and thought." He could read Latin and French and he expressed a determination to learn Greek and Italian and in other ways prepare himself for a thorough study of metaphysics.

Wordsworth's prophecy of the progress of human nature and society through education impressed Keats as profound philosophy and he promptly decided that Wordsworth was a greater philosopher than Milton because Wordsworth's conception of human nature was more sympathetic and enlightened than Milton's. In the letter to Reynolds he made a summary of the progress of the human intellect in ethical and religious ideas from the time of Milton to the time of Wordsworth. "Yet Milton," he concluded, "as a philosopher had sure as great powers as Wordsworth. . . . It proves there is really a grand march of intellect, it proves that a mighty Providence subdues the mightiest minds to the service of the time being, whether it be in human knowledge or Religion."

These humanitarian principles, universal benevolence, the perfectibility of human nature, the idea of progress, and the omnipotence of education, which Keats associated with Wordsworth, found their most complete and philosophical expression in William Godwin's *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*. Wordsworth's philosophy in *The Excursion*, indeed, is a fusion of Rousseauistic naturalism and Godwinian perfectibility. Keats's humanitarianism was inspired by Wordsworth; but it is possible that it was influenced indirectly by Godwin. Although we have no evidence that he ever read Godwin's *Political Justice*, we know that he read Godwin's novels. In a letter to his brother in America, 2 January, 1819, he quoted Hazlitt's characterization of Godwin as a novelist and said that he thought that it was quite correct. Keats's references to Godwin, however, occur in letters that were written after he had rejected the humanitarian philosophy of poetry. In these references he showed a familiarity with Godwin's philosophy, which, it

seems, he obtained through conversation with Charles Wentworth Dilke, who in politics was a disciple of Godwin. In a letter to his brother in America, October, 1818, he discussed the political situation in England, and said: "Dilke, whom you know to be a Godwin perfectability Man, pleases himself with the idea that America will be the country to take up the human intellect where England leaves off—I differ there with him greatly." In another letter to his brother, 17 September, 1819, he made a summary of the history of the progress of the human intellect in political ideas which is closely parallel to his summary of the progress of the human intellect in religious ideas in the letter to Reynolds which I have discussed above. As a liberal in politics, like Hunt, Shelley, and Byron, Keats was naturally familiar with the ideas of Godwin, who was the leader of liberal thought in England. It is probable, therefore, that Godwin's ideas, especially the idea of the progress of the human intellect, influenced Keats's interpretation of Wordsworth's humanitarian philosophy of poetry.

In June, 1818, the emigration of his brother George to America, added to the sickness of his brother Tom, strengthened his resolve to seek comfort in humanitarianism. On the eve of his brother's departure for America, he wrote to Bailey: "I am never alone without rejoicing that there is such a thing as death—without placing my ultimate in the glory of dying for a great human purpose. Perhaps if my affairs were in a different state, I should not have written the above—you shall judge: I have two brothers; one is driven, by the 'burden of Society,' to America . . . the other with an exquisite love of life, is in a lingering state I have a sister too, and may not follow them either to America or to the grave."

In this crisis his Scotch tour afforded him a measure of relief. After accompanying his brother George to Liverpool, 22 June, he started on a walking tour with Charles Brown through the Lake Country to Scotland. The idea of this tour was conceived in April in the midst of his enthusiastic acceptance of Wordsworth's humanitarianism. It was to be, he wrote to Haydon, a sort of prologue to the life he intended to live, that is, a life passed in travelling, reading and writing. Since Keats derived his humanitarian principles from *The Excursion*, it is probable that his Scotch tour was suggested by *The Excursion*,

in which Wordsworth and a Scotch Wanderer, travelling through the dales, meditate on the manners and customs, and the thoughts and feelings, of the humble dalesmen, and from their simple lives draw many lessons of human sympathy and divine faith.

The letters which Keats wrote on this excursion offer ample evidence of his primary interest in human nature, which Wordsworth taught him exists in rustics in uncorrupted form. In a letter to his brother Tom, 1 July, he described a Scotch dance, in which the peasants "kickit and jumpit with mettle extraordinary." "I was extremely gratified," he said, "to think that, if I had pleasures they knew nothing of, they had also some into which I could not possibly enter I never felt so near the glory of patriotism, the glory of making by any means a country happier. This is what I like better than scenery." He failed, however, to enter into the lives of the villagers as fully as Wordsworth claimed to have done in *The Excursion*; for, as he confessed, his continued moving from place to place prevented his becoming learned in village affairs.

A two days excursion into Ireland gave him an opportunity to make a comparison of the Scotch and the Irish. The former, he found, are rational, thrifty, and grave; the latter, impetuous, extravagant, and merry. "The Scotchman," he said, "has made up his Mind with himself in a sort of snail-shell wisdom. The Irishman is full of strongheaded instinct." His new faith in the perfectibility of human society was shaken by the abject poverty of the Irish peasants. "What a tremendous difficulty," he said, "is the improvement of such a people. I cannot conceive how a mind 'with child' of philanthropy could grasp at its possibility—with me it is absolute despair." In the poverty-stricken and impulsive Irish, however, he found more hope for progress than in the comfortable and complacent Scotch.

On 8 August Keats was forced to abandon his Scotch excursion because of a severe cold in his throat. When he returned to Hampstead, 18 August, he found his brother Tom, who had suffered a relapse during his absence, in the last stage of consumption. On 1 December Tom died. In letters written during this period, Keats revealed the anguish which he felt in watching his brother, who had an "exquisite love of life," "grow spectre thin and die." On 21 September he wrote to Dilke:

"I wish I could say Tom was any better. His identity presses upon me so all day that I am obliged to go out—and although I intended to have given some time to study alone, I am obliged to write and plunge into abstract images to ease myself of his countenance, his voice, and feebleness—so that I live now in a continual fever." Keats had resolved, as we have seen, to prepare himself to be a poet of the human heart by years of study; but, when he returned to Hampstead, he was compelled to "plunge into (the) abstract images" of *The Fall of Hyperion* to "ease" himself of the countenance, the voice, and the feebleness of his dying brother.

Before interpreting *The Fall of Hyperion*, I shall recapitulate briefly Keats's study of the philosophy of poetry in the period in which the theme of "Hyperion" took shape in his mind. While he was composing *Endymion*, he chose "Hyperion" as the subject of his next long poem. In *Endymion* he expressed subjectively the neo-Platonic philosophy of beauty which he derived from Spenser. During his visit with Bailey at Oxford in August and September, 1817, he studied Wordsworth's humanitarianism which caused him to distrust his philosophy of beauty; but at the end of November, he wrote Bailey that he could not accept Wordsworth's philosophy. He studied Shakespeare and Milton; and the objective art of Shakespeare's dramas, which he called "negative capability," taught him to prefer the objectivity of Milton's *Paradise Lost* to the subjectivity of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. The function of poetry, he decided, was the objective expression of beauty. By January, 1818, he had already worked out the style of *Hyperion* in imitation, it would seem of the style of *Paradise Lost*; for in a letter to Haydon, 23 January, he said that its style would be "naked and grecian" in contrast to the "deep and sentimental" style of *Endymion*. But by the end of April the sickness of his brother Tom and the emigration of his brother George to America caused him to seek comfort for his sorrows in Wordsworth's philosophy of poetry as the subjective expression of sympathy for the miseries of humanity. The letters which he wrote during the next four months are filled with his enthusiasm for Wordsworth's humanitarianism. In this period he made an intuition of "Hyperion" as a vision in which he would express the ideals of humanitarianism. After he returned from his Scotch excursion, 18 August, he composed

an introduction for this projected humanitarian version of "Hyperion," but abandoned the undertaking before he began to compose the body of the poem. This humanitarian introduction is preserved as the introduction to *The Fall of Hyperion*, the body of which, however, is a revised portion of a later and Miltonic version.⁴

At this point it is necessary to survey briefly the sequence of facts in Keats's life that induced him to attempt to fuse two distinct versions of "Hyperion." In September and October, 1819, the attacks of the reviewers on *Endymion* and the approaching death of his brother Tom made him realize the inadequacy of humanitarianism as a philosophy in which he could find peace and happiness in the midst of disappointment and sorrow. In a letter to Woodhouse, 27 October, he rejected the philosophy of Wordsworth, which he called the "egotistical sublime," and reaccepted the philosophy of "negative capability," that is, the philosophy of poetry as an objective expression of beauty, which he had formulated from a study of Shakespeare and Milton. After October, 1818, Keats never revealed in his letters a serious interest in Wordsworth's humanitarianism. In October, or perhaps not until after the death of his brother on 1 December, he began the composition of *Hyperion*, which he completed substantially in its present form by April, 1819, when he gave the manuscript to Woodhouse. In *Hyperion*, which he composed in imitation of the style of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Keats expressed the neo-Platonic philosophy of beauty. Dissatisfied with the style of Milton, he made a futile attempt in August and September, 1819, to fuse the Wordsworthian and Miltonic versions into a third version, *The Fall of Hyperion*;⁵ but he failed, because he no longer believed in humanitarianism, and because he could not remove the style of Milton from the Miltonic version without destroying the beauty of the verse.

Finney man
1815

⁴ The problem of the dating of *The Fall of Hyperion* is discussed in detail by Miss Amy Lowell (*John Keats*, Cambridge, Mass., 1925) and by Mr. J. M. Murry (*Keats and Shakespeare*, Oxford, 1925). My argument, which is based on internal evidence, supports Miss Lowell's dating of the poem and refutes Mr. Murry's.

⁵ When Keats wrote to Reynolds, 22 September, 1819, that he had "given up Hyperion," because there were "too many Miltonic inversions in it," he referred to *The Fall of Hyperion*. *Hyperion* was completed and the manuscript given to Woodhouse in April, 1819.

The Fall of Hyperion, as a result of this incomplete fusion, has an introduction that is humanitarian in philosophy and subjective in style and a body that is neo-Platonic in philosophy and Miltonic in style.

In the introductory part of *The Fall of Hyperion*, Keats expressed allegorically the philosophy of the progress of the individual intellect as Wordsworth defined it in *Tintern Abbey*. Since Moneta, the priestess in the temple of Saturn, states this progress in abstract or logical terms at the end of the introduction, there can be no doubt as to the meaning of the concrete or poetical symbols of the allegory. In the letter to Reynolds, 3 May, 1818, it will be remembered, Keats translated the stages of this progress of the intellect of man into an allegory of human life as a "Mansion of many apartments," two of which, the "Infant or Thoughtless Chamber" and the "Chamber of Maiden Thought" he could only describe, for he had not entered the other chambers at that time.

Keats cast the materials of *The Fall of Hyperion* into the form of a dream or vision, the idea for which he derived from Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Bailey had induced him to study Dante; and the only books that he took with him on his Scotch excursion were a three volume edition of Cary's translation of *The Divine Comedy*. In the opening verses of *The Fall of Hyperion*, Keats dreamt that he stood in a grove which corresponds to the "Infant or Thoughtless Chamber" of human life. In the grove he saw an arbor in which was spread a feast of all the fruits that nature produces to delight the senses of man. A yearning appetite grew within him and he gorged his senses on the fruits of nature.

And, after not long, thirsted; for thereby
 Stood a cool vessel of transparent juice,
 Sipp'd by the wander'd bee, the which I took,
 And, pledging all the mortals of the world,
 And all the dead whose names are in our lips,
 Drank. That full draught is parent of my theme.

This full draught, which is clearly distinguished from the fruits of nature, or natural beauty, symbolizes probably the beauty of poetry which great poets have refined from their sensuous experience of natural beauty. When he drank this draught of poetry, he fell into a "cloudy swoon," or aesthetic ecstasy, in

which his own intellect was stimulated into activity. When he awoke from this swoon, he was in the second stage of the progress of his intellect, the stage which corresponded to the "Chamber of Maiden Thought" in his allegory of human life. He stood in an old sanctuary,

Built so high, it seem'd that filmed clouds
Might spread beneath, as o'er the stars of heaven.

Upon the marble pavement at his feet lay a store of strange vessels, draperies, robes, golden tongs, etc. After looking eastward, where black gates were shut evermore against the sunrise of his youth, he turned to the West, to which he must travel, and saw

An image, huge of feature as a cloud,
At level of whose feet an altar slept,
To be approach'd on either side by steps,
And marble balustrade, and patient travail
To count with toil the innumerable degrees.

The veiled priestess, who ministered at the altar, informed him that he would rot on the cold pavement unless he ascended the innumerable steps to the altar before the gummed leaves that burned thereon be consumed. This symbolism may be interpreted as follows. The genius of a poet will perish for lack of nutriment unless he leaves his palace of art and acquires a knowledge of humanity, the proper material of poetry. The veiled priestess, as we learn later, is Moneta, the Goddess of Memory, the faculty by which all knowledge is preserved. The altar of humanitarianism at which she ministers can be reached only by a slow and laborious assimilation of knowledge. Keats approached the steps of the altar with prodigious toil. The chill of the pavement numbed his limbs and threatened to stifle his heart; but, when his iced foot touched the lowest step, warmth poured in at the toes, and he mounted up the stairs as angels once ascended a ladder to Heaven.

When he stood before the altar at the foot of the image of Saturn, he was in the third, the humanitarian, stage of the progress of his intellect. In answer to his questions the priestess read him a lecture on the humanitarian philosophy of poetry, in which she defined three types of poets, the sensuous, the visionary, and the humanitarian.

Keats—

Holy Power
What am I that should so be saved from death?

The Priestess—

Thou hast felt
What 'tis to die and live again before
Thy fated hour; that thou hadst power to do so
Is thy own safety; thou hast dated on
Thy doom

None can usurp this height
But those to whom the miseries of the world
Are misery, and will not let them rest.

All else who find a haven in the world,
Where they may thoughtless sleep away their days,
If by chance into this fane they come,
Rot on the pavement where thou rotted'st half.

Keats—

Are there not thousands in the world
Who love their fellows even to the death,
Who feel the giant agony of the world,
And more, like slaves to poor humanity,
Labour for mortal good? I sure should see
Other men here, but I am here alone.

The Priestess—

Those whom thou spak's of are no visionaries,
. they are no dreamers weak;
They seek no wonder but the human face;
No music but a happy-noted voice—
They come not here, they have no thought to come—

And thou art here, for thou are less than they,
What benefit canst thou, or all thy tribe,
To the great world? Thou art a dreaming thing,
A fever of thyself
. . . . the dreamer venoms all his days,
Bearing more woe than all his sins deserve.

Keats—

Majestic shadow, tell me: sure not all
Those melodies sung into the World's ear
Are useless: sure a poet is a sage;
A humanist, physician to all men.

That I am none I feel, as vultures feel,
They are no birds when eagles are abroad.
What am I then: Thou spakest of my tribe?
What tribe?

The Priestess—

. . . . Art thou not of the dreamer tribe?
The poet and the dreamer are distinct,
Diverse, sheer opposite, antipodes.
The one pours out a balm upon the world
The other vexes it.

The Scotch reviewers did not criticize Keats so severely or so unjustly as he criticized himself in this passage. He dismissed with bitter contempt the poetry that he had composed up to this time as either sensuous or visionary. Sensuous poets who express the beauty of life, he said, "thoughtless sleep away their days." If by chance they come into the sanctuary of humanity, they rot for lack of nutriment. Visionary poets are sensitive souls who feel the misery of the world, but, being dreamers, are powerless to alleviate its misery. True, or humanitarian, poets are men of action, courageous reformers, who not only "feel the giant agony of the world" but also, "like slaves to poor humanity, labour for mortal good." In his self-depreciation Keats classed himself as a dreamer. In a letter to Bailey, it will be remembered, he confessed that he could not measure up to the humanitarian standard that Wordsworth set. "He (Wordsworth) is the only Man," he said, "who has philanthropy enough to overcome the disposition to an indolent enjoyment of intellect, who is brave enough to volunteer for uncomfortable hours."

The philosophy of the introductory part of *The Fall of Hyperion* is clearly the humanitarian philosophy of poetry which Keats formulated from his study of Wordsworth in the period from August, 1817, to August, 1818. The body of the poem, however, is an incomplete revision of the unfinished *Hyperion*, which is Miltonic in style and neo-Platonic in philosophy. In *The Fall of Hyperion* and *Hyperion* Keats intended to relate the story of the revolution in the hierarchy of classical religion. As his philosophy of poetry alternated from neo-Platonism to humanitarianism and from humanitarianism to neo-Platonism, his intuition of the story alternated likewise. In his first intuition of the story, Keats sympathy was with the

Olympians; for in the letter to Haydon, 23 January, 1818, he said definitely that Apollo, the Olympian God of the Sun, was the hero. But, when he accepted Wordsworth's humanitarianism in April, 1818, his intuition of the story changed, and he made the Titans, the humanitarian gods, who ruled the golden age of the world, the heroes of the story. In *The Fall of Hyperion* the old sanctuary of humanity, in which Keats entered the humanitarian stage of the progress of his intellect, was the sole temple of Saturn that survived the defeat of the Titans by the Olympians. The altar of humanitarianism, which only those who felt the misery of the world could approach, stood at the feet of a huge image of Saturn. Traces of this humanitarian intuition of the story persisted in the Miltonic and neo-Platonic *Hyperion*, in which the Olympians are the heroic gods of beauty. In *Hyperion* (l. 106 et seq.), for instance, Saturn says:

I am smother'd up
 And buried from all godlike exercise
 Of influence benign on planets pale,
 Of admonitions to the winds and seas,
 Of peaceful sway above man's harvesting,
 And all those acts which Deity supreme
 Doth ease its heart of love in.

The benevolence of Saturn is inconsistent with the character of the Titans as the primeval gods of strength and violence, who were defeated by the Olympians, the gods of beauty.

In *The Fall of Hyperion*, therefore, Keats intended to express the ideals of humanitarianism. The defeat of the Titans by the Olympians would have symbolized probably the fall of man from a state of natural goodness to a state of social ignorance, oppression, and misery. The priestess of the temple of Saturn, who was to conduct Keats through his vision of *The Fall of Hyperion*, was Moneta, the Goddess of Memory, in whose "globed brain" all knowledge is preserved; for Knowledge, Keats thought, is the means by which humanity can be restored to a state of wisdom and happiness.

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GERHART HAUPTMANN'S *DAS BUNTE BUCH*

Before the publication and performance of *Vor Sonnenaufgang* in 1889, Gerhart Hauptmann had published either in book form or in periodicals several of his many youthful efforts. These are the *Promethidenloos*, published by Wilhelm Issleib (Gustav Schuhr), Berlin, in 1885 and soon withdrawn by the author; *Das Bunte Buch* (1888) a volume of lyrics, of which we are told only a few copies were bound up; *Bahnwärter Thiel* and *Fasching*, which appeared in 1888 and 1887 respectively in periodicals, the former in M. G. Conrad's *Gesellschaft* and the latter in the *Siegfried*. Hauptmann was also working on an autobiographical novel in 1888, only a fragment of which found its way into print. Of these works only two are easily accessible today, the *Thiel* which was published in book form in 1892 and has a place in the collected works, and the *Fasching*, 1925. The *Promethidenloos* and *Das Bunte Buch* have never been reprinted and exist today in a few treasured copies only.* Schlenther in the first edition of his book on Hauptmann (1898) quotes quite extensively from both volumes. Several of the poems of *Das Bunte Buch* have appeared since in magazines and anthologies (notably in the Oxford Book of German Verse), and, following Schlenther, in books on Hauptmann.

Das Bunte Buch was published by Meinhard's Verlag, the publisher of the bi-monthly *Siegfried* in which Hauptmann's *Fasching* had appeared, and cheaply bound in pink paper covers. The title on the cover reads: *Das Bunte Buch, Gedichte Sagen und Märchen*, von Gerhart Hauptmann, Meinhard's Verlagshandlung, Leipzig und Stuttgart 1888. The title page differs in that the word *Gedichte* alone is used, and the place of publication is given as Meinhard's Verlag, Beerfelden 1888 (Leipzig, Carl F. Fleischer,—Stuttgart, Paul Neff). The volume is dedicated to "Meinen treuen Eltern," and is divided into two parts; the first, entitled "Lyrische und epische Form," consists of forty-one poems and the second, "Sagen und Märchen," of five. There are 124 pages in all.

* Since writing the above I have learned of the recent issue of a limited edition for private distribution—*Das bunte Buch, Gedichte* (Neudruck für die Mitglieder der Leipziger Bibliophilenabends mit einem Vorwort von G. Hauptmann.)

The poems of the first part are with a few exceptions quite short and personal and truly lyrical. They express the poet's reactions to the impressions of natural phenomena, his observations of nature and men, his brooding consciousness of social injustice, his religious misgivings, poetic aspirations, and sympathy and pity for all who suffer. One may divide them into two general groups, the one consisting of those which deal largely with the poet's inner questioning, seeking, and answering, the other of those which express his reactions to things round about him, the pine forests near Berlin, the ocean at Rügen, memories of Capri, impressions at dawn, at sunset, at night, the falling of the leaves in the autumn, the helplessness of a butterfly soon after the first snowfall, etc. Some of the longer poems recount a story or legend which the author has read or heard and unconsciously remolded to fit in with his own thought.

Many belong with the impressionistic *Stimmungslyrrik* of the late eighties and early nineties—just momentary fleeting pictures and moods full of suggestion and usually in a minor strain, some sweet and sad, even bordering on the sentimental, others echoing with storm and thunder, but all suffused with poetic glow and atmosphere. One beautiful lyric, "Anna," recalls the peasant girl whose story Hauptmann has told for us in the idyllic epic of the same name some thirty-five years later. In another, "Kapellenglöcklein," there are reminiscences of Hohenhaus such as we have later in the *Jungfern vom Bischofsberg* and the poem *Mary*.

Die Glocke klingt, still rauscht die Eiche;
Wer hat das kleine Haus erstiegen,
Vor dem lebend'ge Zauberreiche
In sanfter Pracht entfaltet liegen?

Wem quillt die volle Seele über,
Dass er das helle Glöcklein läutet?
Denn klingt ihr Ton zu uns herüber,
So weiss man, dass es Glück bedeutet.

The "Bernstein und Koralle" and the "Kanephore" recall the poet's trip to Italy and Capri. The "Ahasver" tells of a momentary meeting and sums it up in the words, "Ein Augenblick, das ist das Glück!" In the short brisk musical lines of "Tönende Liebe" is told the story of the gipsy fiddler whose

music at the bride lawakens love in the heart of the unwilling bride. "Die Mondbraut" and "Der Wächter" present studies of the proletariat; the first in the death of Bergliese gives an early treatment of the theme of *Hannele's Himmelfahrt*, and the second is not entirely unrelated to *Bahnwärter Thiel*. The long ballad "Der Tod des Grachus" with its recurring line "Die armen Leute brauchen Brot" is filled with deep sympathy for the poor and sounds a note which grows later into the mighty symphonic dramas *Die Weber* and *Florian Geyer*.

But more truly lyrical are the impressionistic studies of the pine forests near Berlin and the sea at Rügen and Hindensee. Five short poems in this manner are grouped under the title "Gewitter Stimmungen am Meer." Of them several have since been printed. Evening moods, the sunset, the pale glow of the moon, the sounds of the forest, the oppressive loneliness, the early snowfall recur in the impressions of the pine forests.

Licht und Dunkel schlingen
Lautlos Hand in Hand,
Und du scheinst zu dringen
In ein Fabelland.

The impressionistic prose descriptions of the forest in *Thiel* and the magical sea atmosphere of *Gabriel Schilling's Flucht* belong with these poems.

Hauptmann uses various metrical forms. A few of the poems are in an uneven free verse; one, "Abendstimmung," is a sonnet; most of them employ stanza forms well known to readers of German lyric poetry. The influence of the Romantics and of the lyrics of Eichendorff, Heine, Goethe, Novalis, Uhland among others is apparent. The young poet's verses are often quite youthful and immature and in some cases leave much to be desired.

In turning to the poems which reflect more particularly the poet's inner struggles at the time, we find the keynote sounded at once in the first poem of the collection, the oft-quoted "Weltweh und Himmelssehnsucht."

Wie eine Windesharfe
Sei deine Seele,
Dichter!
Der leiseste Hauch
Bewege sie.

Und ewig müssen
 Die Saiten schwingen
 Im Athem des Weltwehs;
 Denn das Weltweh
 Ist die Wurzel
 Der Himmelssehnsucht.

Also steht deiner Lieder
 Wurzel begründet
 Im Weh der Erde;
 Doch ihren Scheitel krönet
 Himmelslicht.

The poet's soul must be keenly sensitive to every fleeting impression. The source of his inspiration may well lie in human suffering, so that the flight of his song may be crowned with heavenly light. He can not well afford to ignore the pressing problems of actual life. This note is taken up again in the poem "Mein Kampf" and more fully in the longer "Im Nachtzug," which has been reprinted several times and is in many ways the most significant poem in the collection. Here the inner artistic conflict of the young Hauptmann is expressed with greater restraint and beauty than in the *Promethidenloos*, the earlier epic of 1885. The poet riding through the night in a train allows his fancy to carry him out into the moonlit meadows and hills where the elves are dancing, the nightingale singing, and the glamor of a romantic colorful fairyland all compounded of German folklore and song and legend holds him enchanted. Yet in his dream he is conscious of the ever present responsibility of society and of the world of realities about him, and hears the wheels below him grinding out the song "So finster und doch so schön, Das Lied von unserm Jahrhundert!" It is the romanticist Hauptmann, the creator of Rautendelein and Pippa and Sidselil, who is carried away by the magic of the night and lulled into dreams of a bygone and happy time,

Wo nächtlich tanzte am Weiher
 Auf Mondscheinstrahlen die Elfenmaid,
 Dazu ihr von minniger Wonne und Leid
 Der Elfe spielte die Leier.

It is the realist on the other hand, the creator of the *Weber*, of *Fuhrmann Henschell* and *Rose Bernd*, who hears the ominous words:

Wir haben euch güldene Häuser gemacht,
 Indessen wie Geier wir nisten,
 Wir schaffen euch Kleider, wir backen euch Brod.
 Ihr schafft uns den grinsenden, winselnden Tod.
 Wir wollen die Ketten zerbrechen.
 Uns dürstet, uns dürstet nach eurem Gut!
 Uns dürstet, uns dürstet nach eurem Blut;
 Wir wollen uns rächen, uns rächen!

This conflict between reality and dream, between life and art, is to be found in most of Hauptmann's early work, as it is in that of his contemporaries. It is in the spiritual struggle of Selin in the *Promethidenloos*, whose romantic poetisings and altruistic dreams are so rudely and heartlessly broken in upon by the stupidities and selfishness of men and by the dens of vice and horror in Malaga and Naples.

But the young Hauptmann is not brought to despair in this poem as are Selin and so many of his other later characters because the actualities of life do not measure up to their ideals. The haunting melodies of his moonlight fancies and the regularly recurring bass of human misery are finally united in an exalted harmony, which is, he says, "sinneberückend" and foretells of "himmlischen Lenzen auf irdischen Höh'n."

Hauptmann in these early poems is often gloomy and feels himself helplessly engulfed in the mysterious "Nacht" or "Nebel," as he calls it, of existence, and resigns himself to it. It is the mood of the closing lines of *Michael Kramer*, of Prospero in *Indipohdi*. "Himmelsehnsucht" and "Lichtverlangen" are words used in these early verses to characterize the eternal spiritual urge or restlessness within us, by which we are impelled amid the experiences of reality through disillusionment and suffering to an acceptance of a life of self-resignation and tolerance. In the Brahmane and the Priester of the two ballads, "Die Asparas" and "Hoch im Bergland von Arkadien," and in the old Meister of the poem "Zur Fahrt" the poet presents characters rich in the wisdom that is born of patience, endurance, and self-mastery, and who are already spiritual kin of his later Prospero, of the Wann of *Und Pippa Tanzt* and the noble Fräulein Laurence of the *Insel der grossen Mutter*.

Men are destined, then, to long for and to seek the light, and when ripe with life to pass on finally into it. We are clothed

in mystery and magic—two words *Mysterium* and *Magie* which are used frequently in the later works. And for all this the sun is the symbol. It is to the sun that Henry the Bell-maker would dedicate his new temple upon the height; Emanuel Quint goes into a transport of religious ecstasy in the light of the rising and the setting sun; old Huhn greets the sun with his half-savage cry "Jumelai"; the noble Laurence feels herself lifted into mystic union with the divine soul of all things as the sun rises over *Isle des Dames*; and the weary Prospero climbs up the volcano on his last journey, into the light of the rising sun. It is interesting to note that much of this is to be found in germ in several of the poems, such as "Sonnenflug," where the poet watches a jay "vom Lichte trunken" fly away into the burning glow of the setting sun, and in the "Blätterfall," where the sun seeking to drive away the early frosts brings death to the leaves.

Sie kommt mit heissen Flammenbächen
So hell, so rot,
Sie will des Winters Siegel brechen
Und bringt den Tod.

Da klingt die alte Wehmutsweise
Durch's weite All,
Und in die Laute raschelt leise
Der Blätterfall.

Sunset and dawn, moments when all nature is aglow with life—the poet uses in one case the word "Abendglutentfacht"—are celebrated in many of the poems, in "Abend," "Aufgang," "Gestorbenes Erz," "Abendstimmung," "Auf der Warte," among others.

In several of the poems there is, as I have said above, a note of doubt and gloom. Though we kindle with life in the sun's light, though we pursue heavenly phantoms in our ideals, what does it avail us here? Do we differ from the helpless butterfly which the poet caught in the hollow of his hand as he strolled one stormy day through the woods and carried home to show his wife and which foolishly flew away to its death as soon as he opened his hand? In two poems entitled "Dämmerlicht des Föhrenwalds" the poet as he passes by a graveyard meditates on the transitoriness of human life and the seeming indifference of nature, and on his own religious doubts and

misgivings. In "Gestorbenes Erz" with its Heine-like verses he deplores the fact that the bell, which seems to be a symbol of Christian faith, has lost its old vital appeal.

Die Menschen, sie lieben und hören
Die Glocke, die Glocke nicht mehr.

Es geht, ein verlassener Armer,
Ihr Ton durch's öde Land:
Er predigt vom grossen Erbarmer,
Den Gott aus dem Himmel gesandt.

Er predigt das Licht und den Frieden,
Den Christus hat gebracht,
Denn wieder gebietet hienieden
Der grausame Krieg und die Nacht.

This poem hints at the theme which is treated so fully later in the novel *Emanuel Quint*. Is not Christianity in need of re-interpretation if it is to have meaning amid the confusing conditions of modern civilization? The poet uses the words *Nacht* and *Nebel* in many of the poems to designate these conditions and to convey his own uncertainty.

Und ich suche vermessen
Durch die Nacht meinen Pfad.

In "Die alte Nacht" he doubts the efficacy of such things as love, knowledge, hope, virtue, and sadly shakes his head, much as his Prospero does when he ponders the meaning of this "Furchtbare Schöpfung."

Die alte Nacht drückt stumm und schwer.
Ich will nicht klagen.
Denn wollt' ich klagen noch so sehr,
Es wird nicht tagen
Denn euer Leben ist allein
Ein kurzes Blinken:
Ein Ringen in der Todespein
Vor dem Ertrinken.

Such poems as

Verloht's der Müh?—Ich bleibe stehn.
Verloht's der Mühe weiter zu gehn?—
Ihr stürmt vorbei, ihr lockt mich nach;
Ich bin der Falk, der nicht flügen mag.

and "Nebel"

Wohin mein Blick durch Nebel sieht,
 Ich weiss es nicht, ich weiss es nicht,
 Wohin mein trüber Wunsch mich zieht:
 In Dunkelheit? ins Sonnenlicht?

well express this mood of apathy and melancholy, as do the lines of "Der Herbstwind heult"

Mein Innres krampft sich jäh zusammen,
 Mein Auge ist von Schleiern schwer,
 Denn jene tiefgenährten Flammen
 Des Herzens leuchten ihm nicht mehr.

These poems express a state of mind which is reflected again and again in the characters of many of Hauptmann's works, for so many of his characters dwell in Fog and Night and look in vain for light and suffer helplessly because of things which lie beyond their powers of comprehension and control. Just as the characters of the later works find in resignation and renunciation a way to rise above reality, so those of the earlier works seek by suicide a means of escape. Selin, Helene Krause, Johannes Vockerath, Arnold Kramer, Gabriel Schilling, Fuhrmann Henschell, all flee from life and its confusions. The young Dominick in *Quint*, a character very dear to his creator and so very much a part of himself, plans and commits suicide with his sweetheart rather than endure life in a world which falls so far short of his ideal. In *Atlantis* the contemplated suicide of one of the characters is called "heroisch," and in *Vor Sonnenaufgang* and *Anna* we read of a young artist, very conscientious and talented, who preferred suicide to a reality which degraded and sullied his art. In several poems in *Das Bunte Buch* Hauptmann's sympathies are clearly with those who have chosen suicide in order to escape the chaotic conditions of the social order. The poet hears in "Die Selbstmörder" the thunderous accusations of those whom the monster Berlin has driven forth to seek death in the Grünewald.

Wir fluchen Dir
 Grau'nvolles Chaos, das uns ausgespie'n,
 Du feile Metze, Schlange, wildes Tier!

In "Kreidebleicher Junimond" he watches the moonlight play upon the body of a suicide as it lies with its dead eyes staring

up into the stars, at last gladly at rest and, as he says, "heilig." But Hauptmann expresses himself most fully in the poem "Am Grabê eines, der durch Selbstmord geendet hatte."

Du warst der Ringer und der Dulder einer,
Die nach dem Lichte ohne Ende streben;
Ein Lichtverlangen war dein ganzes Leben.
Und darum auch, o Freund, verstand Dich keiner.
Du konntest nicht die alte Nacht besiegen,
Drum war Dein Wille: glorreich unterliegen.

Doch ob sie sich bei diesem Worte wenden,
Die Afterrichter dieser armen Erde,
Mit stumpfem Sinne, zürnender Geberde:
Es ist nichts Kleines, so wie Du zu enden.

Es ist nichts Kleines, alles hinzugeben,
Im letzten Gang sich selbst zu überwinden,
Und, ohne sich die Augen zu verbinden,
Vor jener dunklen Pforte nicht zu beben.

Bewundrung fasst mich an und tiefe Trauer,
Mich, der ich hänge an dem Licht der Sonne,
Mich, der ich buhle nach des Lebens Wonne
Und all mein Fühlen wird ein heil'ger Schauer.

In the poem "Das Eine," however, which is one of the most personal and most interesting because it gives answer, vague it is true, to many of the doubts which beset him, we come back to the Sehnsucht motive. No faith in creed or bell, only the restless strivings and longings in man's breast bring peace and deliverance. What Hauptmann calls "die einsame Kerze," "das heisse, wilde Sehnen nach oben," liberates him and impels him to climb the stars in his visions and aspirations and gives him inner harmony and balance. It is this inner urge which is symbolized later in the haunting phantom of beauty and harmony, the Pippa of *Und Pippa Tanzt*, and still later is interpreted as the basic creative life-force which brings order out of chaos and unites all things in love, a force which Hauptmann calls Eros near the close of the *Festspiel* and glorifies in the *Ketzer von Soana*. Only the poet possessing the gift of song, however, truly visions and knows this universal harmony, he says.

Die Nacht webt dichter und dichter
Um mich der Schleier viele,

Ich schaue viele Gesichter
Und fühle tausend Gefühle.

Und fühle mit Eurer Seele
Das Leere, das Oede, das Kleine,
Und trage in eigener Kehle
Das Eine, das Eine, das Eine!

The second part of the collection *Sagen und Märchen* consists of the following poems, "Die Jungfrau im Waschstein," based on a Rügner Sage, "Die schwarze Frau in der Stubbenkammer," "Die sieben bunten Mäuse," "Der Teufelsdamm im Naugarder See," and the longest and most ambitious of all "Das Märchen vom Steinbild." On the whole they deal with the theme of redemption, and for Hauptmann it is sympathy and love that open the way to a better world and thus liberate and save. In "Die Jungfrau im Waschstein" we are told the story of a man whose sympathies fail at the critical moment to rescue from her fate a poor sinful woman who has been condemned to a lonely island and to the endless punishment of washing a garment (her soul?) clean of blood-stains.* In "Die schwarze Frau in der Stubbenkammer" we have perhaps a local version of the magic-fire legend—the virgin exiled to a rocky island who guards a treasure amid a circle of flame, and demands of the adventurer who comes to get the treasure that he choose between it and herself, that is between gold and love. Of course he makes the wrong choice, whereupon he finds the ugly princess transformed into a beautiful woman, his gold become dross, and her love which he now craves lost to him forever.

The "sieben bunten Mäuse" are seven little daughters of a poor woman who scolds them unduly for disobedience and finds them suddenly changed into mice, which pitifully scamper away and are doomed to wait and wait forever for their deliverer, love: "Wir wollen fein erlöset sein, Wir Mäuslein und wir Maide." In the "Teufelsdamm im Naugarder See" we read how a poor shepherd came to repent a pact made with the devil, according to which he was to sacrifice his youngest child in return for a bridge which his herds could use to cross a lake

* cp. Chamisso's poem, "Die Jungfrau von Stubbenkammer." Chamisso's *Wke. Bibl. Inst. Leipzig*. vol. 1. p. 107.

to better pasturage, and how the shepherd's wife outwitted the devil and saved her child. Mother love finds a way.

"Das Märchen vom Steinbild" has a theme similar to that of "Die schwarze Frau in der Stubbenkammer" and points the same moral, that love, not gold, alone brings happiness. A young man inherits among other things a temple which contains the statue of a beautiful woman, to which his love could give the warm blood of life. But he prefers wealth and pleasure and consequently spends years in wretched unrest until at last he awakens to the realization that happiness only accompanies a life of self-resignation and denial and personal humility. Hauptmann emphasizes again the futility of material things and the redeeming virtue of sympathy and love.

Ruhig zog ein alter Waller
 Steinige Strasse, zog gebückten
 Hauptes, aber festen Schrittes.
 Bettlerkittel schützte spärlich
 Ihn vor Sturm und rauhem Froste;
 Aber wer ihm in die Augen
 Sah, der fühlte süßen Frieden
 Drin gelagert; sah den Frieden
 Drunten auch in Wallers Brust . . .
 Sinnend haftete am Boden
 Stets sein Auge, oder hob sich
 Hoffnungsstrahlend in die Sterne.

This volume of lyrics is a valuable record of the state of mind of the young Hauptmann during the formative years before the writing of *Vor Sonnenaufgang* in 1889. There is revealed not only his deep love of nature and his quick reactions to every sense impression, but also his abundant interests in every human aspiration and all human suffering. He is questioning old values in art, religion, and society and feeling out for new ones. The realities of life repel him, yet he knows he must face them, yield though he would gladly to his inherent romanticism and idealism. Those things only are worth while, he feels, which are a benefit to human brotherhood and which light us out of chaos into an inner harmony and peace. There is a genuineness and a seriousness about the poems which for all their immaturity give them character and distinction. In conclusion I quote in part from "Mein Kampf",

which sums up briefly the young poet's idealistic creed as well as his attitude in general.

Dir nur gehorch ich, reiner Trieb der Seele!
 Dass sei mein Zeuge, Geist des Ideales,
 Dass keine Rücksicht eitler Art mich bindet.
 Ich kann nicht singen wie die Philomele,
 Ich bin ein Sänger jenes düstern Thales,
 Wo alles Edle beim Ergreifen schwindet.

Du, aber, Volk der ruhelosen Bürger,
 Du armes Volk, zu dem ich selbst mich zähle,
 Das sei mir ferne, dass ich Deiner fluche!
 Durch Deine Reihen gehen tausend Würger,
 Und dass ich Dich, ein neuer Würger, quäle,
 Verbüt' es Gott, den ich noch immer suche!

Ich darf es Dir mit meiner Hand verbriefen,
 Dass, wenn ich zürne, zürn' ich Deine Leiden,
 Das Gute wollend, Dir zum ew'gen Heile.
 Ihr, die Ihr weilt in Höhen und in Tiefen,
 Ich bin Ihr selbst, Ihr dürft mich nicht beneiden!
 Auf mich zuerst zielt jeder meiner Pfeile.

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FRANZ WERFEL:¹ EINE WÜRDIGUNG

Den Literarhistoriker überkommt oft eine bange Scheu, wenn er sich kritisch Dichtern und Dichtungen seiner Zeit zuwendet. Hemmt ihn die Erkenntnis der Grenzen seines Könnens? Hält ihn die Ehrfurcht vor dem geheimnisvoll werdenden zurück? Und doch bietet die eigene Zeit mühelos und selbstverständlich, was keine vergangene Epoche so leicht zu geben vermag: den Rhythmus, die Atmosphäre. Uns umwehen dieselben Winde, umfließen dieselben Strömungen, von denen die Dichtungen getragen werden. Und wenn auch das Woher und Wohin nicht immer eindeutig ist, so wirkt dennoch geheim ein Gesetz, das Werfel selbst einmal als "Generationsgeheimnis" bezeichnet.² Wir schauen das Werden und erschauern, wir erleben die sich gestaltenden Ideenmächte und entwickeln uns an und mit ihnen; wir leiden und kämpfen in dem tobenden Streit der aufeinanderstossenden Gewalten; und je bewegter und chaotischer die Zeit, desto erregter auch wir und unser Lebensgefühl, desto stärker die Reibung mit der Umwelt und desto febriler die Schwingungen in uns selbst. Wir atmen den Geist der Zeit und bahnen uns so einen Weg zu dem Werk und seinem Schöpfer.

Franz Werfel, der 36-jährige, kommt aus Böhmen, dem zweisprachigen Lande, das vom Mittelalter bis in die jüngste Zeit deutsche Dichtungen³ hervorgebracht hat, den "Ackermann in Böhmen," die innigen mystischen Melodien Rainer

¹ Bibliographie:

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(Dies letzte Buch kam mir erst zu Gesicht, als die Arbeit im Manuskript fertig war.)

² *Verdi*, *Roman der Oper*. 1924. p. 42. "Es muss eines der vielen unerforschten Geheimnisse der Generation sein, dass unsere Sprache, das heisst, die ganze sinnliche, nervöse, gedankliche, übersinnliche Welt, die in unserer Sprache zum Lichte will, nur von denjenigen verstanden wird, die unter dem gleichen Sternengesetz geboren worden sind wie wir."

³ *Rudolf Volken*, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in Böhmen und in der Sudetenländern. Augsburg 1926.

Maria Rilkes und die glutvollen Klänge Max Brods. Wie Rilke ist Werfel ein Einsamer, ein Gottsucher, wie Brod ein Metaphysiker. Als Sinn aller Erziehung bezeichnet er: ⁴ "Den Menschen vor das ewige Warum zu stellen, ihn metaphysisch zu werken." Die böhmische Sprache ist ihm vertraut, denn er überträgt die Gedichte eines zeitgenössischen tschechischen Dichters.⁵ In Prag, der alten Stadt voll Mystik und Mythos, sagen- und geschichtereich, wächst Werfel auf, und diese böhmische Heimat wird für ihn eine Brücke zur slavischen Welt. Nicht weit ist von hier der Weg zu *Tolstoi* und *Dostojewski*, die ihn erschüttern und ergreifen; auch zu Laotse, dem chinesischen Weisen, öffnen sich ihm vor hier aus leicht die Tore. Drei Leitsprüche, die Werfel den drei Teilen seiner dritten Gedichtsammlung *Einander* voransetzt, drücken die Erlebnisse des jungen Dichters aus, die Richtung seiner Gedankenwelt. Laotse: Das Allerweichste auf Erden überwindet das Allerhärteste auf Erden. Dostojewski: "Meine Väter und Lehrer, was ist die Hölle? Ich glaube, sie ist der Schmerz darüber, dass man nicht mehr zu leben vermag." Novalis: "Wo gehen wir denn hin? Immer nach Hause."

Das ist ein Dreiklang aus *Güte, Liebe, Sehnsucht*. Novalis' Traumwelt steigt wieder auf, Schillers ethisches Pathos spricht aus ihm, und Hölderlins Frömmigkeit. Noch in einen anderen Boden senkt Werfel seine Wurzeln, das ist die Religion; für ihn, den im Judentum Geborenen wird die Bibel, das Alte und das Neue Testament, eine Lebensquelle, die den tief Religiösen zu grüblerischen Kämpfen und zu seinen grössten Werken führt.

Slavische Welt—deutscher Idealismus—Musik und Religion sind die Säulen, auf denen ein Lyriker, ein traum- und musikliebender Symboliker sich seine Welt aufbaut.

Der Zwanzigjährige erregt Aufsehen mit seiner ersten Gedichtsammlung *Der Weltfreund* (1911). Der Welt will er ein Freund sein, an die Welt will er sich hingeben, und in den "Kindheit, Rührung" überschriebenen Gedichten sehnt er sich zurück nach der Reinheit der Kindheit, nach der Einheit und Reinheit der Kindesseele, besingt Dinge, die dem Kinde lieb

⁴ Aufsatz: "Die Zukunft der Schule." *Berliner Tageblatt* 27. Oktober 1915. (Eine Entgegnung an Fritz Manthner).

⁵ Oscar Březina: "Winde von Mittag nach Mitternacht."

sind, kleine unscheinbare Dinge und Geschehnisse: Der Kinderanzug—Der Kinderball—Die Schultasche—Der gute Kamerad—der Kinderfreund—der Kinder Sonntagsausflug—Dampferfahrt im Vorfrühling. Zu Traum und Erinnerung gesellt sich das Erlebnis der Musik, besonders der Oper, und die Erschütterung durch den Anblick der Not. Walt Whitmans kosmische Liebe pulst in diesen Versen, und der Ruf "O Bruder, o Mensch" wird stammelnd laut.

Herz frohlocke!
 Eine gute Tat habe ich getan.
 Nun bin ich nicht mehr einsam.
 Ein Mensch lebt,
 dem die Augen sich feuchten,
 Denkt er an mich.
 Herz frohlocke:
 Es lebt ein Mensch!
 Nicht mehr, nein, nicht mehr bin ich einsam,
 Denn ich habe eine gute Tat getan,
 Frohlocke, Herz.
 Nun haben die seufzenden Tage ein Ende.

.
 Tausend gute Taten will ich tun!
 Ich fühle schon,
 Wie mich alles liebt,
 Weil ich alles liebe!
 Hinström' ich voll Erkenntniswonne!
 Du mein letztes, süssestes,
 Klarstes, reinstes, schlichtestes Gefühl!
 Wohwollen!
 Tausend gute Taten will ich tun.

oder

Mein einziger Wunsch ist Dir, o Mensch, verwandt zu sein!

 So gehöre ich Dir und allen!
 Wolle mir, bitte, nicht widerstehen!
 O könnte es einmal geschehen,
 Dass wir uns, Bruder, in die Arme fallen!

Noch mehr lauscht man auf, als zwei Jahre später (1913) die Gedichtsammlung *Wir sind* erscheint. Die im Nachwort ausgesprochene Absicht, alle lyrischen Sammlungen einmal unter dem Titel *Das Paradies* zu vereinigen, zeigt Werfels sehnsüchtige Jenseitseinstellung. Hier ringt ein Einsamer um Gott, um sein Ich, um die Welt. Er ist überzeugt von der

Sendung seiner Verse wie Hölderlin von seiner Berufung. "Sie reden (so heisst es im Nachwort) nur von einem. Von dem permanenten Existenzbewusstsein, das ist Frömmigkeit. . . . Ich glaube, dass alles menschlich Hohe, die Güte, die Freude, der Jubel, der Schmerz, die Einsamkeit, das Ideal, bloss aus diesem ewigen undurchdringlichen gewaltigen Existenzbewusstsein sich erheben können." Neben der Freude und dem Stolz in *Wir sind* klingt tiefstes Mitleid für die Not der Armen, die Hilflosigkeit der Kleinen und Alten. Nicht impressionistisch wird das arme Dienstmädchen, die Damenkapelle, die alte Vorstadtdirne geschildert; ihr Leid bewegt ihn und zwingt ihn zu mitleidsvollem, menschlichem Anruf (an Brod erinnernd).

Stärker wird der religiöse Ton in der dritten Sammlung *Einander*, die jene erwähnte Dreiteilung enthält. Liebe, Menschlichkeit, Tod und Nazareth sind die beherrschenden Themen. Abstrakte Titel zeigen innere Kämpfe: *Die Träne—Der gute Mensch—Das Jenseits—Die Menschheit Gottes Musikantin ist—Hohe Gemeinschaft:*

Nimmer, nimmer vergiss, wenn leicht
Du in vielen Gelächtern weilst,
Wie doch jedes Leben zuletzt
Weh wird, und mühsam ein jeder stirbt.

Mehr als Gemeinschaft von Worten und Werk
Bindet uns alle der brechende Blick,
Bindet uns alle das letzte Bett,
Und die Not, und die Not, wenn das Herz ausgeht.

In *Näher mein Gott!* durchläuft Werfel selbst noch einmal die Welt seiner Dichtung: Einst sang er von Kindheit, vom Kinderball, von der Oper, von der Not und der Arbeit, und dann folgen diese Strophen:

Wie sang ich dieses! Und nun sing ich Schlaf,
Den süssen Stoff, in den noch kein Gedanke fuhr,

.
.

Nein, nicht den Schlaf und Tod! Nun sing ich hinter Schlaf
Die grosse Bundesschaft, die Nachts uns oft auf beide Kniee reisst!
Die Bucht der Treue, unser Jenseits, Vaterland, Kanaan,
Jetzt sing ich dich, mein Vater,
Mein Vater, dich sing ich jetzt!

Das bekannteste dieser Gedichte "Lächeln Atmen Schreiten" enthält die Grundidee von Werfels Weltanschauung: *Die Welt fängt im Menschen an*. So ist das Lächeln ihm mehr als das Licht der Sonne, der nächtliche Atem und das Schreiten der Menschen sind Gotteshauch vergleichbar.

"Mit dem Schreiten der Menschen tritt
Gottes Anmut und Wandel aus allen Herzen und Toren.
Lächeln, Atem und Schritt
Sind mehr als des Lichtes, des Windes, der Sterne Bahn.
Die Welt fängt im Menschen an.
Im Lächeln, im Atem, im Schritt der Geliebten ertrinke!
Weine hin, kniee hin, sinke!"

"Liebe überwindet alles," heisst es in einem Brief "Von der Sendung des Christentums."⁶ Liebe überwindet selbst Ekel, ist der Grundgedanke des Gedichtes "Jesus und der Äserweg," das in Rhythmus und Form an George erinnert. Diese auf Liebe und Menschlichkeit gebaute Welt bricht 1914 zusammen. Die grausame Wirklichkeit packt den jungen, tief und zart empfindenden Dichter, der Leid- und schmerz erfüllt seine Pflicht auf dem Kriegsschauplatz tut. Für ihn giebt es nicht das Erlebnis der Allgemeinheit, die heroische Begeisterung das "Eingefühl," das auch Stephan George durchrauschte. Er schreit auf, wehrt sich qualvoll gegen die Lüge und den Wahnsinn. *Furchtbare Anklagen und Aufrufe* sind die Motive der im August entstandenen Gedichte, die in die Sammlung *Einander* aufgenommen wurden.

Höhnisch, erbarmungslos,
Gnadenlos starren die Wände der Welt!
Und deine Trompeten,
Und trostlosen Trommeln,
Und Wut deiner Märsche,
Und Brut deines Grauens,
Branden kindisch und tonlos
Ans unerbittliche Blau,
Das den Panzer schlägt,
Ehern und leicht sich legt
Um das ewige Herz.⁷

Lüge, Wahnsinn, Gift erscheint ihm alles.

⁶ "Offener Brief an Kurt Hiller." Tätiger Geist. Zweites der *Ziel-Jahrbücher*. 1917-1918.

⁷ "Der Krieg."

Wachsend erkenne das Vermaledeit!
 "Brüllend verbrenne im Wasser und Feuer—Leid!
 Renne renne renne gegen die alte, die elende Zeit!"⁸

Die eigentliche Kriegsslyrik Werfels ist in der Sammlung *Der Gerichtstag* (1916–17) enthalten. Welcher Abstand von dem sich hingebenden *Weltfreund*, dem jubelnden *Wir sind*, dem das Du unarmenden *Einander*. Verzweiflung, Zerrissenheit, Zwiespältigkeit ist da, Entzweiung des Menschen und der Welt! Die düsteren abstrakten Titel sprechen für sich selbst und spiegeln grausam die Qual eines seelisch Bedrängten wieder, der in starkem Gegensatz zu seiner Umwelt steht und trotzig Verachtung auf sich nimmt. *Ballade von Wahn und Tod—Ballade von einer Schuld—Ballade vom Nachtwandel—Ehrgeiz—Eitelkeit—Tod—Faulheit—Zweifel—Schein—Schuld—Tiefes Erwachen—Schauder*. Und doch ist die alte Welt nicht tot, auch in dieser Sammlung brechen die Ideale von ehemед durch, immer noch ist es der stammelnde Sucher nach Gott und Menschlichkeit, der liebende, gütige, demütige Mensch. "Das Geheimnis aber ist: zu lieben das Ärmste." Wieder betet er um Reinheit in biblischer Inbrunst:

Warum hast du mich mit diesem Feind erschaffen, mein Vater,
 Warum mich zu dieser Zwieheit gemacht?

Warum gabst du mir nicht Einheit und Reinheit?
 Reinige, einige mich, o du Gewässer!"⁹

Auf Werfel lastet das Gefühl der Verantwortung des mit einer Sendung Vertrauten. Seine Schreie gegen den Krieg (schon 1914) haben nichts mit politischer Auflehnung zu tun. Dichterische und politische Welten sind konträre Dinge, denen man nicht gleichzeitig angehören kann. So sagt er sich ganz offen los von einer Gruppe von Dichtern um Kurt Hiller, die die die Politik auf ihre Fahne geschrieben haben, den Aktivisten, denen er nur vorübergehend nahe stand. "Des Dichters Zweck scheint mir keinesfalls der zu sein, für die Revolution die Trompete zu blasen. Er stürmt andere Bastillen. Er ist da, das Leben unerträglich und heilig zu machen und dich, o Leser, bis zu den Schatten zu verfolgen."¹⁰ In der kleinen

⁸ "Revolutions-Aufruf."

⁹ "Gebet um Reinheit."

¹⁰ Im "Brief an einen Staatsmann."

Bekennnisschrift *Die Versuchung* (es ist ein Gespräch des Dichters mit dem Erzengel und Luzifer, 1913 an einem Manövertage geschrieben und dem Andenken seines so sehr geliebten und verehrten Verdi gewidmet) weist der Dichter das Angebot Satans von Rausch und Ruhm unter den Menschen zurück, denn er weiss zu viel von Trostlosigkeit und Einsamkeit und empfängt die Botschaft des Erzengels: *Nun weisst du ganz, dass dein Reich von dieser Welt nicht von dieser Welt ist. Das ist, o Dichter, dein Geburtstag. Und in dieser Welt der Gesandte, der Mittler, der Verschmähte zu sein, ist dein Schicksal.*

Jahre, in denen Chaos und Kosmos um die Herrschaft ringen, liegen zwischen dem Gerichtstag und dem letzten Gedichtband *Beschwörungen* (1923) Geklärt und gereift ist der Dichter. Verschwunden ist das Verzerrte und Düstere; durch das Leid des Krieges, durch Sturm und Revolte ist er hindurchgegangen, und die alte Gläubigkeit ist wieder wach. Gewichen ist die ungeheure Ekstase und einfacher, um so inniger vielleicht, äussert sich seine Frömmigkeit. Reich an Bildern und Gleichnissen, tönend von Musik und Rhythmus sind diese *Hymnen, Bilder, Sänge*, in denen Aliteration und Klangmalerei eine grosse Rolle spielen. Man beachte die *a* und *e* Vokale im Tag-Hymnus, das dunkle Ausklingen im Nacht Hymnus: "Dann duck' ich mich Mutter, du dunkle zu Dir." Diese Häufung des klagenden Lauten, wie Werfel in einem Gedicht einmal das *u* nennt! Gefeilter sind die Verse, erlesener die Worte, sprachliche Entgleisungen, die das Ohr verletzen, und wie sie in den ersten Gedichtbänden vorkommen, sind vermieden. Es lebt etwas von Stephan Georges feierlichem Rhythmus, so gegensätzlich auch die innere Einstellung der beiden Dichter sein mag. Goethe, Novalis und George stehen wie Paten hinter diesen Gedichten, und irgendwie spürt man die Ausübung der epischen und dramatischen Schaffenskraft, die der Dichter inzwischen erlebte. Wieder herrscht eine Dreiteilung: das Offenbare und Geheime (Hymnen, Bilder, Sänge)—Mensch und Tier, Balladen und Mythen—das Geheime und Offenbare Eurythmien Sprüche-Lieder. Die Titel und Themen sind weniger abstrakt und bildhafter und gegenständlicher ist der Ausdruck geworden. Die Gleichnisse sind oft der Natur entnommen, nicht aber eigentliches Naturerlebnis. Immer wieder

stellt Werfel die quälenden Fragen: was bin ich? was ist die Seele? Was ist die Welt, und wie finde ich mich in ihr zurecht? Zu den formvollendetsten Gedichten gehören: "Elevation"—"Allelujah"—"Das kleine Trübe bin ich, das du brauchst"—"Friede."

Das Reich von Werfels Lyrik ist ein begrenztes Gebiet; die ihm eigene Form ist der Hymnus, der Sang, nicht aber das schlichte Lied. Sein Rhythmus ist brausend, sein Ton klagend, stammelnd und jubelnd und entbehrt einer gewissen Einfachheit und Volkslied-Beseeltheit. Gedankenstriche zerreißen, Klammern schalten aus und ein, Ausrufezeichen beleben. Seine Ballade ist abstrakt und hat nichts von der Gegenständlichkeit und dem knappen Dialog der Volksballade. Die Landschaft (in der frühen Lyrik überhaupt selten) ist höchstens Hintergrund oder Bild einer Stimmung. Aber die ganze durchaus musikalische Lyrik ist durchglüht von leidenschaftlichem Gefühl, das mitreißt zu tiefstem Mitleiden und Mitfreuen, durchbebt von inbrünstiger Frömmigkeit und grosser Sehnsucht.

Die Probleme des Lyrikers finden sich ebenso stark in der Prosa und in den Dramen. Die novellistische Phantasie *Spielhof* mit dem Wagnerschen Motto "Nur Sehrende kennen den Sinn" ist die Gestaltung von einem Traum-, Musik- und Gotteserlebnis, das stilistisch an die Prosa des Novalis erinnert. Der Traum bedeutet für Werfel "die tiefere Rekonstruktion des persönlichen Lebens."¹¹ Realistischer und schwerer tönt die Sprache in der Novelle *Nicht der Mörder, der Ermordete ist schuldig*, die ganz russisch anmutet. Hier nimmt Werfel ein Motiv seiner Lyrik wieder auf, den Kampf der jungen Generation gegen die alte, das Vater- und Sohn-Problem, und macht es zum Ausgangs- und Zentralpunkt für eine symbolische Darstellung. Es wird *das* Problem des Expressionismus,¹² wie es eines des Sturmes und Dranges und des jungen Hebbel war.

Welch eine Steigerung der epischen Kunst, welche Entfaltung seiner Reife offenbart ein Vergleich dieser literarisch nicht so wertvollen Novelle mit dem ausgezeichneten Roman

¹¹ Im "Argument" zu *Paulus unter der Juden*.

¹² Hasenclever Bronnen, von Unruh.

Verdi, an dem er dreizehn Jahre gearbeitet, und der ein Zeugnis für seine Liebe und sein Verständnis für Musik ist. Nicht ein Buch über Musik, sondern in Musik ist es genannt worden.¹³ Zwei Welten stossen aufeinander, beide liebevoll gezeichnet, der Norden und der Süden, Wagner und Verdi, und beide treffen zusammen in Venedigs zauberhafter Pracht. Kampf zweier Gegner, Gegenüberstellung zweier Weltanschauungen ist hier das Problem wie in dem bald danach reifenden dramatischen Werk *Juarez und Maximilian*; um die Idee Gegnerschaft-Feindschaft kreist schon der Lyriker in dem Gedicht "Der Weise an seine Feinde" in *Einander*; und in "Der Feind" in *Wir sind*. Hier in "Verdi" erklingt die Melodie, die sich durch die dramatische Historie hindurchzieht: *Der Sinn der Feindschaft ist die Versöhnung*. So kämpft Verdi mit sich und seinem grossen Gegner, quält sich, ob nicht die Kunstanschauung Wagners die richtige sei, da die Jugend ihm zujubelt. Die Entstehung seiner Oper *König Lear* wird zu einem tragischen Erlebnis, wie die Geburt jedes Kunstwerkes, weil sie von Qualen des Zweifels begleitet ist, ob die Ideen, für die der Künstler kämpft, nicht schon überholt sind. In der Nacht, in der Verdi sich überwindet und zu Wagner geht, haucht der grosse Gegner seine Seele aus.¹⁴ In die musikalischen Probleme und Erscheinungen bis in die jüngste Gegenwart webt Werfel Motive, die ihn nicht los zu lassen scheinen. Seine Gestalten stehen fragend vor den Rätseln, von denen auch ihr Schöpfer nicht loskommt! Heiligkeit der Mutterschaft—das schöne und das verkrüppelte Kind—Schuld und Vererbung—Sühne und Erlösung durch Liebe. Auch in den Dramen beherrschen diese Ideen des Dichters Werk. Zum Drama drängt von Anfang an die Gestaltungskraft Werfels. Schon vor 1911 entsteht ein einaktiges Schauspiel *Der Besuch aus dem Elysium*, das man ein hohes Lied der Sehnsucht genannt hat,¹⁵ und das Reinhard 1917 aufführte. In den Gedichten findet sich häufig die Form des dramatischen Gesprächs: "Das Opfer"—"Held und Heiliger"—"Abschied"—"Sarastro"—"Zwiegespräch an der Mauer des Paradieses."

¹³ Oskar Bie: *Neue Rundschau*, 1925 (Februar).

¹⁴ Werfel ist auch der Herausgeber von Verdis Briefen in deutscher Sprache und der Bearbeiter von Verdis Operntexten.

¹⁵ Arthur Luther in Schneiders *Bühnenführer*.

Noch vor dem Kriege übersetzt Werfel die *Troerinnen des Euripides*, worin Weh und Entsetzen des Krieges in ungeheurer Sprachgewalt mächtig und gegenwärtig werden. Hier, wo nur die Sprache Werfels Eigentum ist, erweist er sich als sprachschöpferischer Geist, der höchste Tragik und Ekstase, Feierlichkeit und Weihe durch das Wort lebendig macht. Was Griechenland für den Dichter bedeutet, erhellt aus dem bereits zitierten Aufsatz "Die Zukunft der Schule," in dem er das *himmlische Athen* mit dem *himmlischen Jerusalem* als die *wunderbare Heimat Europas* bezeichnet. Im *Gerichtstag* erscheint ein Schauspiel (an anderer Stelle Zauberspiel genannt) *Die Mittagsgöttin*, in der eine Göttin Mara,—deren Name schon auf eine Mischung der Gottesmutter Maria mit einer heidnischen Göttin hinweist,—den Menschen durch Liebe, durch das Kind von Schuld und Sünde erlöst. Es ist eine Vorstufe zu Werfels bedeutendster symbolischer dramatischer Dichtung *Der Spiegelmensch* (1920). Eine magische Trilogie nennt Werfel dieses Faustdrama, dessen Held Thamal an Goethe gereift ist und sprachlich seine Abhängigkeit vielleicht zu stark zeigt. In einem Kloster in einem sagenhaften Hochland (wieder mischen sich indisch-christliche Vorstellungen) sucht der kaum dreissigjährige Thamal, angeekelt vom lügen- und lasterhaften Leben der Stadt, an dem er selbst Teil hatte, Zuflucht, *um Reinheit und Vollkommenheit zu finden*. (Es ist das Motiv des Weltfreundes.) Noch eine Probe muss er in einer Nacht bestehen, ehe er reif wird. Er geht in sich, und sein Weg durch Schuld und Sünde ersteht vor unseren Augen: *Vatermord, Treubruch—Lieblosigkeit, Gotteslästerung*. Die Probleme des Lyrikers und des Novellisten quälen Thamal. Er wird zum Richter seiner Vergangenheit: Vater, Freund, Frau und Geliebte, an denen er gesündigt, kommen als Zeugen und verzeihen ihm. Alles kann gesühnt werden nur nicht die Schuld gegen das kommende Geschlecht. Als das Kind auf Krücken erscheint, mühsam vorwärts kommt und vor ihm niedersinkt, steht Thamal starren Andrucks auf und spricht:

Was ich an der Vergangenheit getan
 "Und an der Gegenwart,—ich wollt es büßen,
 Ich Liebemörder,—auf zerschundenen Füßen
 Beschlossen meine Bahn!
 Doch tiefres Unheil habe ich gestiftet!

Die Menschheits-Zukunft ist durch mich vergiftet!
 O Kind!—O Kind!!—das künftige Lebensbrot
 Trägt diesen Leidenskeim!!—Ah—Ich
 Spreche den Richtspruch über mich!“—
 Tod!

Er trinkt den Giftbecher, sieht sich aber im Kloster wieder erwachen, wo der Mönch ihm die *Schau der Morgen-Wirklichkeit* kündigt.

Im *Gerichtstag* hat Werfel gequält aufgeschrien, im *Spielhof*, in der *Mittagsgöttin*, im *Spiegelmensch* ist Werfel in eine symbolische Welt geflohen. Es ist der typische Weg eines Verzweifelnden aus furchtbarem Realismus, in dem er keine Rettung sieht, in eine ideale Welt. Aber es ist auch der Weg eines Kämpfenden und Suchenden, wie vor Werfel Ibsen Strindberg und Hauptmann ihn gegangen sind. “Was nennt man denn eigentlich Wirklichkeit?¹⁶ hat Werfel einst gefragt, und als Antwort darauf mögen seine eigenen Worte in demselben Aufsatz gelten, “ein Traumbezirk von Realitäten, die leichter Gestalt durcheinander fließen und jene Gefühle nähren, aus denen das Edle, Wohlgebildete und Ungewöhnliche strömt.

Katastrophe und Krisis sind der Boden, auf dem die Tragödien *Bocksgesang* und *Schweiger* entstanden. Zerrissenheit und Chaos herrschen um den Dichter und leben und weben auch in ihm, als er diese Werke formt. Wie können wir von Schuld erlöst werden, kann Liebe und Güte uns die Rettung bringen? Das sind die Seelenkämpfe der dichterischen Gestalten in diesen Tragödien, die vielleicht zu zeitbeschwert sind von der Tragik der Krisenjahre und dadurch die erhabene Grösse verdunkeln. Gespenster der Zeit, wie politischer Fanatismus und Spiritualismus spuken, alle sonst zurückgedrängten Leidenschaften brechen los und zerstören die Harmonie.

Ob nun der Bock im *Bocksgesang* die Bestie im Menschen ist, die während des Krieges triumphierte und angebetet wurde, ob damit Reichtum und Macht, ob die Folgen des Krieges oder der Revolution gemeint sind, ist nicht so wesentlich; um den Erlösergedanken, um den Begriff Schuld und Sühne ist ein reiches buntes Bild serbischen Bauernlebens voll Aberglauben und Frömmigkeit, voll Kleinlichkeit und Laster, voll Verzeihung und Liebe gestaltet. Erfüllt von Symbolismus und

visionärer Kraft ist auch die Tragödie *Schweiger*. Ist mit der Wahnsinnstat des jungen Gelehrten, mit seinem Schuss auf das unschuldige Kind (man beachte wieder das Kindermotiv) Krieg und Mord, die Wahnsinnstat der Völker gemeint? Das einzige, das den unglücklichen Schweiger retten kann ist Liebe und Güte. Die Liebe der Frau, die freilich nicht stark genug ist, der Wirklichkeit ins Auge zu sehen, und ein Kind dieses Mannes zu tragen, ist doch stark genug, den Schuldigen ein zweites Mal zu retten, denn im Augenblick, wo er wieder schießen will, entsinkt ihm die Waffe mit dem Namen der Geliebten auf den Lippen. In den letzten grossen Tragödien fällt aller Symbolismus und alle Phantastik. Einfach und gerade sind die Linien der Handlung und Charakterführung in *Juarez und Maximilian, einer dramatischen Historie in dreizehn Bildern*,¹⁷ in der zwei politische Welten einander gegenüberstehen, die monarchische und die demokratisch-republikanische. Die Tragik liegt in einem idealen Charakter, in einem gütigen, liebenden Menschen, dessen Schicksal allerdings beweist, dass *der Wille zur Güte noch nicht Güte ist*. Maximilians grenzenloses Vertrauen wird missbraucht, die Frage des Kaisertums wird ihm aufgezwungen von Menschen, die gar nicht an Liebe und Güte, sondern an Macht und Herrschaft denken. Sein Untergang ist gewiss. Interessant ist die Anordnung in Bildern, in denen der Träger der demokratischen Idee gar nicht erscheint und doch das Stück beherrscht, ähnlich wie der Bock im Bocksgesang. Die beiden Welten stehen sich bis zum Schluss wie zwei Naturgewalten gegenüber, bis in zwei grossen Rufen: Maximilian!—Juarez! das Stück unter Musik endet, Maximilian, allein von der Prinzessin gerufen, ohne Wiederhall zu finden, Juarez, jubelnd von der ganzen Menge aufgenommen.

Worfels letztes Werk ist *Paulus unter den Juden*, eine *dramatische Legende*, in der nach des Dichters Worten "nicht die Religion dargestellt wird, sondern die Menschen, die sie an sich erleiden." "Um allen Missverständnissen vorzubeugen; es werden nicht Anschauungen, Bekenntnisse, Lehren, Dogmen Glaubensstufen aneinander gemessen, verklärt und verworfen.

¹⁶ *Die Zukunft der Schule*.

¹⁷ *Juarez und Maximilian* erhielt den Grillparzerpreis.

¹⁸ Im "Argument," das Worfel als Nachwort folgen lässt.

Nichts anderes wird hier gezeigt als die grosse tragische Stunde des Judentums.¹⁸ Gamaliels heroische Gestalt in ihrer erhabenen Toleranz erinnert unwillkürlich an Nathan den Weisen, das hohe Lied der Toleranz des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts. Lessing, der Sucher nach Wahrheit, der kritische Logiker, und Werfel, der gläubige Sucher nach Liebe, wählen beide Jerusalem als Schauplatz. Hier bei Werfel ist Jerusalems Luft und Glut die Atmosphäre der heiligen Stätte webt, denn ein persönliches Jerusalem-Erlebnis liegt der Dichtung zu Grunde, und man spürt den heissen Atem des Schöpfers und des Orients. Paulus' Hymnus auf die grosse transzendente Liebe musste Wertel zu diesem Problem führen. Denn scheint es nicht rückblickend, als sei das Werk des 36 jährigen dieses eine grosse Thema der Liebe in vielen Variationen, in die sich sogar die düsteren Kriegserlebnisse einschliessen lassen, weil selbst hier dieser Unterton mitschwingt? Mit Erwartung blicken wir auf den Dichter und fragen mit ihm:

Wer kann unsere Welt verstehen?

“Die grossen Schiffe ziehen weiter, die Schiffe ziehn weiter . . .”¹⁹

Wohin wird Werfels Schiff ihn und uns ziehen?

ANNA JACOBSON

Hunter College

¹⁹ Vier Türen in *Beschwörungen*.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF OLD ENGLISH *æg, ðah*
IN MIDDLE ENGLISH

(continued)

DERBYSHIRE

13th century. *i*-forms (unstressed).

Derby Chart.

OE *l̥ah*: Langelya. Stavely (early Edw. I; 1272-1307²).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *l̥ah*: Fernilig' (1255).

egh-forms (unstressed).

Derby Chart.

OE *l̥ah*: Sudlegh (1251). Truslegh, Trusleh (early 13th c.).

ey-forms (stressed).

Derby Chart.

OE *l̥ah*: *Leys* (1216-72)².

(unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ah*: Mackeleye V (1287)². Scippeleg' III (1216-72).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *l̥ah*: Arewasseleg (1255). de Derleie (1249). de Derleg' (1249). Fernigleg (1255). Staveley (1265). de Walley (1255). de Walleg' (1255). Wyggeleg' (1255).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *l̥ah*: Chirchelongley (1273). Staveley (1275; 1284). Staveleg (1289). Barley, Rysley (1284). Roulesley (1283).

Derby Chart.

OE *l̥ah*: Berleyford (1281). Beghley (1216-1307). Bethley (1216-72). Bethleye (1216-1307)². Bradeley (1272-1307; 1286; early 13th c.). Brad(e)lege (1268-9; 1293). Bradelegbroc (c.1230). Brerleia (early 13th c.). Bromleye (1239). Burlig' (1216-1307)². Collisleye, Collislege (1216-72). Cornleye (1286). Derley (early 13th c.). Der(e)lega (1222-29; 1282). Farnley (1216-72). Gresley (c.1232). Hadeleye (1216-72). Heppeleymoore (1299). Horseley (1272-1307). Kidesleia (c.1200). Langeley (1298; 1272-1307⁴). Langeleye (1216-72). Lang(e)leiker (1207)². Mackeleye (1286). Maperley, Maperleg' (1216-1307). Maperlay, Maperleye (1272-1307). Plesleye (1272-1316; Edw. I²). Plesleye (1272-1307). Plesleya (1280-93)². Plesileg' (late H. III). Plumtrelege (1216-72). Rodesley (1299). Roddisley (1216-72²; 13th c.). Rodesleye (1299²). Rodisleya, Rodeslege, Redisleg (1216-72). Redisleye (1277). Redisley Clyf (1216-1307). Schippeleg'

(1216-72). Stanley (1234; 1245-55; 1250-60; 1272^a; 1272-1307). Stanleýe (1272). Stanleie (before 1231). Stanleg' (1202; 1216-1307). Parco Stanleie (1224). Parco Stanleýe (c.1270). Parco Stanleg (early H. III). Stantonlege (1284). Stantonleýs (1216-72). Stantonleýes (1277). Stauntonleýes (1272-1307). Staveley (1299). Staveleye (1265-70). Stolbilley (late 13th c.). Taddeleye (1286)^a. Taddeleg', Tanesley^a, Tanysley (1272-1307). Tilderesleye (early 13th c.). Thyldreslege (c. 1230). Totinley (late 13th c.). Trusselega (early 13th c.). Wiggelay, Wikeley (early H. III). Wyttelegsiche (c. 1230). Yveleye, Yueley, Yeveleye (1272-1307). Yueleye (1281). Iueleg' (1272). Yueleyrakes, Yldrisleye (1272-1307). Yhildirsley (1216-72). Ylderusleye (1286). Gildreleg' (1212).

e-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *læak*: Burlee (1249).

Derby Chart.

OE *læak*: Bradele (1189-1216; early 13th c.). Kidesle (c. 1200). Morle (1216-1307). Plesele (1285). Rodisle, Roddislee (1216-72). Roddesle (1272-1307). Reddesle, Redisle^a (1216-1307). Smalle (c. 1200). Stanle (1224). Parco Stanle, Stanle Park (1204-35). Stavele (1207). Staule (early H. III). Trussele, Wednesle' (early 13th c.). Wiggelee (1272-1307). Wivelesle (1208). Yvelee (1269). Yldir(i)sle (1272-1307; 1273^a). Gildreale (1189-1216).

14th century. *i*-forms (stressed).

Derby Chart.

OE *læak*: Le Lyes (1377).

(unstressed).

Derby Chart.

OE *læak*: Stavely (1316^a; 1320; 1355). Stauelye (1324). Stavely Woodthorp (1395): Yildirsely (1316).

Eyre Bills.

OE *læak*: de Allerwaslye (1331)^a.

igh-forms (stressed).

Eyre Bills.

OE *læak*: de Lightone (1331). de Lyghtone (1331).

egh-forms (stressed).

Derby Chart.

OE *læak*: Heghebrockhill (1314). Heglhowe (1383).

OE *læak*: Leghes (1384).

(unstressed).

Derby Chart.

OE *læak*: Barleyleghes (1397). Coteleghes (1391). Mostylegh (1386). Pilleslegh (1360; 1376.) Roddislegh (1355). Stantonleahges (1375).

ey-forms (unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ak*: Langley I (1351). Yeveley (1339).

Eyre Bills (1331).

OE *l̥ak*: de Beghley. Bradeley⁹. Bradeleye. (de) Byley⁹. Gradeley. de Longeley. de Longeleye⁴. Kyrkelongeleye. Kyrkelongeleye. de Morley⁹. de Pleseley. Roulesley. de Roulesleye². de Scredley. de Stanley. Wyd-seleycroft. de Wigley. de Wiggeley⁹. de Wiggeleye. de Wyg(e)ley⁴. de Wygleye. de Wyggeley. Yeucley⁴. yeucleye².

Derby Chart.

OE *l̥ak*: Alveley (1357). Becceley (1350). Benteleye (1377; 1382). Fenny-bentileye (1313). Beyleye (1303)⁹. Beyeley (1327-77). Beley (1357⁹; 1376; 1394). Beghley (1316-7⁹). Berleye (1318). Barley (1383). Barleyghes (1397). Bradeley (1338; 1345). Bradeleye (1317; 1337). Bradley (1370). Brerlay (1384). Bradeleg⁷ (1303). Burley (1347-8). Byrlay (1328). Cubley (1341). Derley, Derleye (1346). Gamelesley (1364). Gresley (1322). Hanleye (1355). Hayleye, Hayleyebroke (1339). Hors(e)-ley (1316; 1349; 1360). Horseleye (1376). Horsaley (1349). Kyrkelongley (1371). Kyrkelongeleye (1303⁹; 1304; 1307-27⁹; 1308). Kyrkelonge (1316). Langeley (1375; 1388). Langeleye (1311). Longeylemeygnyl (1307-27). Longelaymeygnyl (1304). Malkeley (1318). Maperley (1331⁹). Morley (1326). Morleyhalleyerd (1331). Piletlege (1308). Pleseley (1359; 1361). Roddealeye (1314). Rod(d)esley (1370⁹; 1371⁹). Roddualey (1309). Ryley (1369). Ryleye (1351; 1354). Ryleghleyes (1338). Ryssaley (1314⁹). Shirleg⁷ (1339). Schirley (1311). Stanley (1326). Stantonleyes, -leyes (1300; 1345). Staley (1383). Staveley (1355, 1356; 1375). Thornleye (1322). Totenley (1350). Trusseley (1303; 1308; 1317). Trusseleye. (1303; 1308⁹; 1376). Trusleye (1383). Trusley (1393). Wednealey (1325). Wiggeley (1272-1327). Wynley (1312). Wippeleye (1351). Yelderealey. (1317).

e-forms (stressed).

Derby Chart.

OE *l̥ak*: La Lee (1303; 1338; 1357; 1392).

(unstressed).

Derby Chart.

OE *l̥ak*: Belee (1392). Bradele (late 14th c.). Cobele (1303⁹). Kyrkelonge (1316). Stanlebroke (1326). Yhilderresle (1317).

Eyre Bills (1331).

OE *l̥ak*: de Grenlee.

15th century. y-forms (stressed).

Derby Chart.

OE *h̥ak*: Hylowe (1419).

egh-forms (stressed).

Derby Chart.

OE *hæh*: Heghlowe (1432).

OE *læh*: Leghe (1445).

(unstressed).

Derby Chart.

OE *læh*: Byrstallegh (1430). Lokkeslegh (1408).

ey-forms (stressed).

Cal. Anc. Dds.

OE *læh*: Wyndeley (1430*).

Derby Chart.

OE *læh*: Ardesley (1432; 1434). Beley (1438*). Bentley (1430). Fynny Benteley (1439). Bradeley (1404; 1410). Byrley (1420)*. Derley (1427*). Horsley (1401*). Kyngley (1439). Kyrkelongley (1442). Chirche Longley (1440). Langley (1408; 1443). Longley (1410). Macley, Makley (1438). Nonneley (1411). Ryleye (1410; 1421*²; 1438; 1445*). Ryley (1400; 1436). Rysley (1409*²; 1450). Shirley (1430). Stanley (1404; 1411). Stranley (1412). Staveley (1412)*. Totenley (1407). Trusseley (1408; 1440-1). Yeldurley (1435*). Yevesley (1407). Walley (1444). Wyneley (1431)*.

e-forms (unstressed).

Derby Chart.

OE *læh*: Fernilee (1434).

DEVONSHIRE

13th century. *egh*-forms (stressed).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *læh*: Legh (1279). Leghe (1280). Legh Briteville (1276).

Feudal Aids I (1284-6)

OE *læh*: Legh². Leghe Chaluna. de Legh⁴. de Leghe.

(unstressed).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *læh*: Buddelegh (1256). Schaplegh (1249).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *læh*: Chulmelegh (1274*). Ferlegh (1279). Godelegh (1280). Lustelegh (1276). Luustealegh (1276). Loustelegh (1277). Leuistelegh (1276). Stockelegh (1280). Warbryghteslegh, Warbryghteslegh (1276). Wynkelegh (1274). Bikelegh (1285). Borealegh (1287). Cadelegh (1284).

Feudal Aids I (1284-6)

OE *læh*: de Asselegh. de Aynalegh. Benelegh. Bikelegh. Buddelegh. Cadelegh. Chalvelegh. Chulmelegh. Conelegh. Eduslegh. Esttodlegh. de Fylelegh. Huttensalegh. Luverlegh. Manalegh. de Manelegh². Merlegh. Morlegh². Northlegh. Inwarlegh. Peddelegh. Romundeslegh. Rouwlegh. Sorlegh.

Sto(c)klegh³. Sudleghe. Throuleghe. Thureleghe. Warekeleghe. War[bl]itislegh. Westodeleghe. Witteleghe. Uiteleghe. de Witeleghe. Wodeleghe. Womberleghe.

ey-forms (stressed).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *l̥eah*: Lega (1263).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *leah*: La Leye (1279).

Feudal Aids I (1284–6).

OE *l̥eah*: de la Leye.

(unstressed).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *l̥eah*: Bikleg, Bykeleg' (1263). Derleie (1249). Geneleye, Langeleg', Leveringleg' (1263). (de) Morleg' (1254²; 1263). Staveley (1247). Suideleg' (1254). Thruleg' (1263). Walley (1255).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *l̥eah*: Derley (1276). Godeleg (1280). Kadeleye (1279). Luuesteleg (1277). Marineleg (1280). Roulesley (1276). Stokeleg (1280). Godelege (1285).

Feudal Aids I (1284–6).

OE *l̥eah*: de Bikaleg. de Fyleleye. Hurtleye. Huttesleg. Lusteleye. Thureleg.

e-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *l̥eah*: Bykele (1263). Crowele (1264).

Feudal Aids I (1284–6).

OE *l̥eah*: Boterle. Bradle². Cottele. Hatherle. Thuresle.

14th century. *egh*-forms (stressed).

Brantyngham Reg.

OE *l̥eah*: Leghe². Leghe Peverel. Leghpeverelle.

Feudal Aids I (1303–46).

OE *h̥eah*: Heghanton.

OE *l̥eah*: Legh²⁸. de Legh⁴. Legh Boty.

(unstressed).

Brantyngham Reg.

OE *l̥eah*: Boneleghe⁴. Boterleghe. Brightleghe. Buddeleghe². Bykeleghe². Calwodeleghe. Chalveleghe². Chalvaleghe². Chanounsleghe. Canonleghe. Chuddeleghe¹⁷. Chulmeleghe¹². Cotteleghe². Doddyscombeleghe. Estodleghe². Filleghe. Fylleghe. Godeleghe. Gyddeleghe. Hadeleghe. Hatherleghe². Hittonsleghe. Horsleghe. Inwardeleghe. Inwordeleghe. Inwortheleghe. Marneleghe. Monkeleghe. Saterleghe. Stodleghe².

Stodeleghe. Stok(k)elegh⁴. Throuleghe². Throughleghe. Warleleghe². Warleghe. Wellesleghe. Westleghe². Westodleghe. Wodeleghe². Wynkeleghe². Yeddesleghe.

Feudal Aids I (1303-46). *

OE *ġah*: Allelegh. Alelegh. Asshleggh. Ayslegh. Ayschlegh. de Ashlegh⁴. de Asshleggh². de Ayschlegh. de Ayschlegh. de Ayschlegh. Benlegh. de Benlegh. Bonlegh. Borslegh. Boterlegh. Botyeslegh. Bradelegh⁴. de Bradelegh². (de) Braylegh². Buddelegh⁴. Bykelegh. de Bikelegh. Bynelegh. de Bynelegh². Cadelegh⁴. Calwodelegh. Canonlegh. Chalvelegh². Chuddelegh. de Chuddelegh. Cuhlmelegh. Cockyslegh. Colelegh². Cottelegh². Crewelegh. Ebberlegh. Estbradelegh. de Estbradelegh. Estlegh. Estodlegh. Estwytelegh. Ferlegh. de Ferlegh. Fernlegh. Fillegh. Fyllegh. de Filelegh². de Fillelegh². Frelegh. Fyshlegh. Fyslegh. Godelegh². Hurthlegh. de Godelegh². Hatherlegh². Hutteneslegh². Iduslegh. Indwarlegh. Inwarlegh. (de) Kalwodelegh². Lang(g)elegh². Leverlegh. Lurelegh. Lustelegh². Manelegh². Manyslegh. Manalegh. Marynlegh. Merlegh². Morlegh². Northlegh⁴. Nottlegh. de Nottlegh. Poghlegh. Pouetteslegh. Rappelegh². Ridmorlegh. de Ridmorlegh. Romandislegh. Romyndyslegh. Rou(we)legh². Saterlegh. Schaplegh². Snyddelegh². Sneddelegh. Snyndelegh. Sourlegh. (de) Southlegh⁴. South Legh. (de) Sneddelegh. Snyndelegh. Sourlegh. (de) Southlegh⁴. South Legh. (de) Stock(e)legh⁴. Stok(k)elegh⁴. Stoklegh. (de) Tap(p)elegh². (de) Thor(i)slegh⁴. Thurslegh². Throulegh². de Thwangelegh. Twangeslegh. Waghelegh. Wanyslegh. de Wanceslegh. Wangislegh. de Wangeslegh. Warbrightslegh. Warbryzteslegh. Warburghislegh. Wark(e)legh². Warlegh. Westlegh². West Stodlegh. Westodlegh. Wyt(t)elegh⁴. Wyteslegh. de Whitelegh. de Wytelegh. de Wyteslegh. Wodelegh². Wolvelegh.² Womberlegh. Worthlegh. Wynk(e)legh². Yedislegh. Yn(n)elegh². Ystlegh. Yudeslegh.

ey-forms (stressed).

Brantyngham Reg.

OE *ġah*: Leye².

Feudal Aids I.

OE *ġah*: Lege (1316). Legham (1303).

(unstressed).

Pub. Works (1388).

OE *ġah*: De Brenchesley.

Brantyngham Reg.

OE *ġah*: Hittonsleye. Inwardeleye. Saterleye. Warkley. Whiteleye. Wynkelay.

Feudal Aids I. (1346).

OE *ġah*: Cotteleye. de Whyteleye.

e-forms (stressed).

Brantyngham Reg.

OE *lāh*: Lee².

(unstressed).

Pub. Works.

OE *lāh*: de Brencheale (1388).

Brantyngham Reg.

OE *lāh*: Cottele.

Feudal Aids I (1303-46).

OE *lāh*: Buddele². Chochele. Warkele. (de) Wytele². Worthle.

igh-forms (unstressed).

Brantyngham Reg.

OE *lāh*: Romondialeighe.

15th century. *egh*-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids I (1428).

OE *lāh*: Legh². Leghbote. Legham.

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids I (1428).

OE *lāh*: Allelegh. Aashelegh. Aysshlegh. Benelegh². Bikelegh. Bykelegh². Bod(de)legh². Boterlegh. Bourlegh. Brad(e)legh¹. Braylegh². Buddelegh. Buddelegh^e. Bynelegh. Cannolegh. Cannalegh. Chud(de)legh². Chadlegh. Cokkelegh. Colegh. Corlegh. Couelegh. Crewelegh. Ebberlegh. Estodlegh. Estlegh. Fyllegh. de Fyllegh. Fysshlegh. Godelegh. de Hanlegh. Hawlegh². Huttenelegh. Kellegh². Kylllegh². Langelegh². Lovelegh. Lustlegh. Lostlegh. Manyslegh. Marinelegh. Marlegh. Morlegh². Oterlegh. Pogyslegh. Pyddelegh². Raschelegh. Romandeslegh. Rowlegh. Rydmorlegh. Ryppelegh. Saterlegh. Shaplegh. Snedlegh. Sowthlegh. Spytlegh. Stokelegh. Strechlegh. Taplegh. Thorulegh. Wantislegh. Warlegh. Warbrightealegh. Westlegh. Westwodlegh. Whettonalegh. Whitelegh. Whitlegh. Whittelegh⁴. Wytelegh. Wodelegh. Wolvelegh. Worthlegh. Wynklegh⁴. Wythelegh². Yeddeslegh. Ynnelegh.

ey-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids I. (1428).

OE *lāh*: Cotteleye. Monechleye.

igh-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids I (1428).

OE *lāh*: Leigh².

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids I. (1428).

OE *lāh*: Calwodleigh².

DORSETSHIRE

13th century. *egh*-forms (stressed).*Feudal Aids* II (1285).OE *l̥ah*: de Legh.

(unstressed).

Cal. Inq. II (1273-4).OE *l̥ah*: Herteleghe. Hertleghe. Hertlegh.*Feudal Aids* II (1285).OE *l̥ah*: Finelegh. de Finelegh.*ey*-forms (stressed).*Cal. Inq.* II.OE *l̥ah*: Leyforlang (1288)*Feudal Aids* II (1285).OE *l̥ah*: Leye. Leya.

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids II (1285).OE *l̥ah*: de Aldeleye. Bernardesleye, -leya². Bradeleye². Bradeley². Cotteleye².
de Tidelega. de Wakerleya. de Wyrleya.*e*-forms (unstressed).*Feudal Aids* II (1285).OE *l̥ah*: Bradele. Eslee.14th century. *i*-forms (unstressed).*Feudal Aids* II.OE *l̥ah*: Henly (1303).*egh*-forms (stressed).*Cerne Cart.*OE *l̥ah*: Leghe².*Feudal Aids* II.OE *l̥ah*: Legh (1316). de Legh (1346).

(unstressed).

*Cerne Cart.*OE *l̥ah*: Heortleghe. Pinperleghe².*Feudal Aids* II (1303-46).OE *l̥ah*: Bradelegh. (de) Cottelegh². (de) Henlegh². Henlegh. de Hertlegh.
Perlegh. de Promeslegh. de Stanlegh.*ey*-forms (stressed).*Feudal Aids* II.OE *l̥ah*: Lailond (1346). Layelond (1303).

(unstressed).

*Cerne Cart.*OE *l̥ah*: fineleya².*Feudal Aids II.*OE *l̥ah*: Perley (1303).*e*-forms (unstressed).*Feudal Aids II.*OE *l̥ah*: Bradelee (1303).*eigh*-forms (unstressed).*Feudal Aids II.*OE *l̥ah*: Henleigh (1316).15th century. *egh*-forms (unstressed).*Feudal Aids II* (1428–31).OE *l̥ah*: (de) Cottelegh². Henlegh. de Henlegh. Perlegh.*ey*-forms (stressed).OE *l̥ah*: Laylond (1428).

(unstressed).

OE *l̥ah*: Bradeley. Tyderley².*e*-forms (unstressed).OE *l̥ah*: Henle⁴. Perlee.*eigh*-forms (stressed).OE *l̥ah*: Leygh⁴.

(unstressed).

OE *l̥ah*: Bremleygh². Bromyleygh. Hartleygh. Perleygh.

ESSEX

13th century. *egh*-forms (stressed).*Cal. Inq. II.*OE *l̥ah*: Legh (1278).

(unstressed).

*Ca. Inq. I.*OE *l̥ah*: Bromelegh (1259). Radleh' (1247). Releghe (1249).*ey*-forms (unstressed).*Cal. Inq. I.*OE *l̥ah*: Ardleg' (1261). Bileg' (1253). Byleye (1264). Byleg' (1253). Hageleye (1260). Hardleye (1259). Horkeleg' (1261). Langeleg' (1247). Releg' (1260). Reyleye (1260).*Cal. Inq. II.*OE *l̥ah*: Reyleye (1274; 1279; 1281). Releye (1276). Reyleya, Releg' (1280).

e-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *læh*: Acle, Borle, Hagele, Purle (1260). Purle (1252).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *læh*: Reylee (1274). Schelflee (1278).

igh-form (stressed).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *læh*: Leygh (1278).

14th century. *egh*-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids II.

OE *læh*: Legh (1303)^a. Leghes (1303).

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids II.

OE *læh*: Wyleghe (1303).

ey-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids II.

OE *læh*: Leg^a, Leyes (1303). Lega (1346). Leyton (1303, 1346).

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids II (1303–46).

OE *læh*: Ardleye. Ardeleye. Bentleye. Ben(e)tle^a. Byntleye. Bromleye^a.
Brumleye. Brumleg^a. de Dikeleye. Horkisleye. (de) Horkesleye^a. de
Horkesley. de Lacheleye. Mysteleye, de Misteleg. de Rekeleye. Reyleye^a.
Reigleye. de Selverleye. (de) Takeleye^a. Wyleye.
Publ. Works.

OE *læh*: Alvydeleye (1364).

e-forms (unstressed).

Publ. Works.

OE *læh*: Alvythele^a. Okle^a.

Feudal Aids II (1303–46).

OE *læh*: Acle^a. Ackle. Borle^a. Bromle. Hailesle. Hayleslee^a. Haileslee.
Hockele. Hokkele. de Horkesle. Mistele. Nottleee. Nottle^a. Alba Notele.
Okele^a. Purle^a. (de la) Rokelee^a. (de) Thunderle^a. Thundirle^a. Thundrele.
Warle^a.

15th century. *i*-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids II (1428).

OE *læh*: Schelly.

egh-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids II. (1428).

OE *leah*: Legh^a.

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids II (1428).OE *l̥ak*: Ardelegh. Bentelegh². Bromlegh². Hadlegh. Horkealegh. Horkyslegh. Mistelegh. Reyplegh². Selverleghes. Wylegh.*ey*-forms (stressed).*Feudal Aids* II (1428).OE *l̥ak*: Lega². Leydon. Leyton.OE *h̥ak*: Heyden.

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids II (1428).OE *l̥ak*: Hokley. Horkesley. Horkealeye. de Horkealey. Langeley². Okeley. Shelley. Takeley. Thunderley².*e*-forms (unstressed).*Feudal Aids* II (1428).OE *l̥ak*: Bentele². Borlee. Borle. Bromle². Hokele. Mistele. Not(t)ele². Okele. Purle². Rippeslees. Rokelee. Takele. Thunderle². Uggele². Warle². Warlee.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

13th century. *egh*-forms (unstressed).*Glos. Cart.*OE *l̥ak*: de Suthleghe.*Cat. Anc. Dds.*OE *l̥ak*: Byslegh IV (1279^a). Culegh' III (1255).*ey*-forms (stressed).*Feudal Aids* II (1284-5).OE *l̥ak*: de Leye².*Glos. Cart.*OE *l̥ak*: la Leya. de Leye. de Leygrave. de la Leygrave. de Leihampton. Leyeplek.OE *h̥ak*: Heyruggedelonde.

(unstressed).

*Cat. Anc. Dds.*OE *l̥ak*: Bisleye I (1298). de Chalcleia III (1241). Couley III (1241). Maddeleye II (1216-72). Stanelei (1298).*Cal. Inq.*OE *l̥ak*: Barndesley II (1286). Berkeleg II (1281). Cobberleye II (1273). Couley II (1281). Dersleye II (1273). Durseley II (1275). Flexleie II (1284). Redleg' II (1274). Stanleye, Stanleg', de Suthleg' I (1246). Sughtley II (1280). Sudleye I (1256).

Feudal Aids II (1284-5).

OE *l̥ak*: Berk(e)leye². de Berkeleye. Codbricleye. Coucley. Couleye. Durseleye. Iweleye. Suleye.

Glos. Cart.

OE *l̥ak*: de Bardesleye. Berdesleye. (de) Berkeleya³. de Berkeley². de Berkeleye². de Berkelay. Benewoldesleye. Berleyesfelde. Betteleyestille. Birchlega. Birecleia. Bovelege. Bulley. Bulleye. Bulleya². Bullega(m)². de Bulleya. Chelwoldesleye. Clotleya. de Codeleye. de Comeleye². (de) Coveleye². Cowley. de Culey. Crocleye. Cub(h)erleye². (de) Coberleya⁷. Cuthberleya. Cuthbrithleya². Dunhaperleye². Dunhatherleye. Dunleye. de Durseleye. de Durseleya. Edbolleya⁴. Edbulleyam. Edmondseleye. Edmundesleye. Esseleia. de Falleye. Flaxleya. Far(e)nleya⁴. Farnaleye². Farenleye. (de) Fareleye¹⁰. (de) Fareleya. Farleya². Fareleie. Haseleye². de Hatherleya. de Haperleya. de Hatherleye. de Haperlege. de Hetherleye. Holt(he)leyam. Longeleya. Langeleya². Langleia. Lappeleye(s)brugge⁴. Lut(h)lega⁴. Moneleye². de Panteleye. Pirlege. Pottleye⁴. de Putteleye. Quedesley. Quedesleya(m)⁴. de Quedesleye². Rodleye. de Rodleye. Stanley². Stanleye². Stanleya¹¹. de Staveleye. de Suthlega. de Suthleia. Tatteleyestille. Trenleyeshulle. Tuffeleye². Tuffeleyam. Tuffeleia. Tuffeleya². Uppethirleye. Huphetherleye. Wap-
peleiam. Wod(e)leya⁴. Wodeleyestile⁴. Wykeleya. (de) Yweleye. de Iweleye.

e-forms (stressed).

Glos. Cart.

OE *l̥ak*: Lee².

(unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ak*: Bysele IV (1279). Sudlee II (13th c.).

Cal. Inq.

OE *l̥ak*: Berkele (1256). Claydesle (1262). Dereale (1287). Hatherle (1275). Hetherle (1254). Wrangle (1280).

Feudal Aids II (1284-5).

OE *l̥ak*: Bardesle. (de) Berkele⁴. Bradele. (de) Langele².

Glos. Cart.

OE *l̥ak*: (de) Aclē¹⁷. (de) Berkele⁴. de Berkelee. (de) Covele⁴. de Haddelē². de Heperle². Langele. (de) Ocle². Rodlee. Rodele². Rudele². Stan(l)le². Tuffele².

14th century. *i*-form (unstressed).

Publ. Works.

OE *l̥ak*: de Berkelye (1387).

egh-forms (unstressed).

Publ. Works.

OE *l̥ak*: Byselegh' (1368).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ah*: Kalvelegh IV (1310); I (1326).

Feudal Aids II.

OE *l̥ah*: Baradeslegh (1346). Coberlegh (1346). Durslegh, (de) Sudelegh², Alrelegh (1303). Stanlegh² (1346).

ey-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids II.

OE *l̥ah*: Ley (1316).

(unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ah*: Crinteleye III (1301). Estleye III (1384). Raggeleye II (1371). Trynley I (1397).

Publ. Works.

OE *l̥ah*: Berkeleye (1363). de Berkeley² (1388). Biseleye (1377-99). Byseley (1368). de Burleye², de Burley (1363). Flaxleye, Rodeley (1388). de Sudeleye (1363). Tonleye (1379). Tonley (1377-99).

Feudal Aids II. (1303-46).

OE *l̥ah*: Alreley. Alreleye. Ardeley. de Awdeley. Bardesley². Berk(e)ley². de Berk(e)ley¹¹. de Berkeleye². Berkeleyeshurnes. Bisley. (de) Byseley². Byseleye⁴. Brad(e)ley². Bradeleye. Brandsley. Coberley². Coberleye. Copeley. Coppeleye. Couley. Dursley². Dursleye. de Hadeley. Horseley. Hunt(e)ley². Hunteleye. Kemp(e)ley². Kempeleye. Lang(e)ley⁴. de Lang(e)ley⁴. de Langeleye². de Monesley. Panteley. Pauntley. Paunteleye. Rodleye. Stanley². Stanley Leonardi. Stanley Regis. (de) Sudeley². Suthleye². de Sudeley. Tonley. Tonleye. Trynley.

e-forms (stressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ah*: La Lee I (1326).

(unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ah*: Calvelesfeld IV (1310). de Oclee III (1345).

Publ. Works.

OE *l̥ah*: Appurle (1379). Berkele (1363²; 1379). de Berkele (1379²; 1387). Bisele (1379). de Burle (1363). Couele (1363).

Feudal Aids II

OE *l̥ah*: Atherle (1303). (de) Berkele (1303²; 1346²). Bysele (1303). Durnlee (1346). Rodele (1316). Stanle Leonardi, Stanle Regis (1303).

*ei*gh-forms (stressed).

Publ. Works.

OE *l̥ah*: Leygh (1388).

Feudal Aids II.

OE *læak*: Heyghamstede (1316).

15th century. *ey*-forms (unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *læak*: Wytheley III (1414).

Feudal Aids II (1402).

OE *leak*: Berkeleye⁷. Berkeleyhurnes. Coberleye. Durseleye. Kempeleye. Stanley. Syudeley.

HAMPSHIRE

13th century. *i*-forms (stressed).

Cal. Inq.

OE *læak*: Ly I (1236).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *læak*: Estlye (1244). (de) Everealy⁸, de Mattingely (1251). Tederlig⁷ (1254).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *læak*: Westederlye II (1261).

igh-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *læak*: Bremlygh (1277).

egh-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *læak*: Adderlegh, BayInclislegh (1263). Esselegh (1254). Hertlegh (1257).

ey-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *læak*: de Everleg (1251). Reweleye (1261). Rifley (1245).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *læak*: Estlye (1287). Herteleg (1283). Iardesleye (1287). Tadeleye (1286). Thorley (1284).

e-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *læak*: Digerle, Finkle⁸, Stiukele (1259). Essele, Langele, Soppele (1263).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *læak*: Bradele (1277). Soppele (1276). Westiderle (1273).

14th century. *i*-forms (stressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds. II.

OE *læak*: Hygestret (1337).

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids II. (1316).OE *l̥ak*: Asahely. Bernardsiye. Bottelye. Bunetly. Chytely. Estiye. Farly. farelye. Ibbealye. Rouklye. de Rouclye. Thorlye. Westuderly.*egh*-forms (stressed).*Feudal Aids* II.OE *h̥ak*: Heghfelde (1316; 1346).

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids II.OE *l̥ak*: Bromlegh, Farlegh, Haukeleghe, Hurtlegh, Hurseleghe, Roppeleghe, Nutlegh (1316). Hertlegh (1316²; 1346). Widelegh (1346).*ey*-forms (unstressed).*Feudal Aids* II.OE *l̥ak*: Badesleye, Barkeley, Bradeley, Bradeleye, Brokeleye, Estuderley, Haucley, Pyleleye, Tadeleye, Wyggeley (1316). Moseleye (1346).*e*-forms (stressed).*Feudal Aids* II.OE *l̥ak*: Lee (1316).

(unstressed).

*Publ. Works.*OE *l̥ak*: Bottele (1338²; 1364²). Estele (1338²; 1364²). Nettele (1391). Shirle (1338², 1364²). de Wourmele (1350).*Feudal Aids* II. (1316-46).OE *l̥ak*: Asshele². Badesle. Batramesle. Bottele. Bourle. Bradele². Burkle. Bynle. Chutle. Craule. Chiltele. de Chiltele². Estasshele. Estle. Estperle. Falele². Farle². Gorle. Gratele². Hardele². Henle. Ippelle. Kyngesle. (de) Langele². Lockerle. Northasshele. Osmondesle. Querle. Roucle². Schirle. Soppele. Tadele. Tangele. Westuderle. Wydele.*eigh*-forms (unstressed).*Feudal Aids* II.OE *l̥ak*: Esteleyghe (1316).-

15th century.

Feudal Aids II (1428-31). *i*-forms (unstressed).OE *l̥ak*: Northlye. Westyderly.*egh*-forms (unstressed).OE *l̥ak*: Botlegh. Bradlegh. Farlegh. Haldlegh. Hertlegh. Hurtelegh.*ey*-forms (unstressed).OE *l̥ak*: Baggesley. Farley. Herteley². Rokeley. Rokley.

e-forms (unstressed).

OE *l̥ak*: Ass(h)le². Brad(e)le². Chutele. Estasshle. Estle. Estperle². Est Tuderle. Fairle. Farle². Fonte. Gratele². Hardle. Henle². Ibbeale². Molleale. Nuttele. Roucle. Sopele. Tadele. Tangle. Thorle. Wydele².

HEREFORDSHIRE

13th century. *i*-form (unstressed).

Cantilupe Reg.

OE *l̥ak*: Magna Marciya.

agh-forms (stressed).

Cantilupe Reg.

OE *h̥ak*: Hegham.

OE *l̥ak*: de la Leghe.

(unstressed).

Cantilupe Reg.

OE *l̥ak*: Erleghe². de Erleghe.

ey-forms (stressed)

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *l̥ak*: Leg' (1281).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *h̥ak*: Heycheleye II (c. 1276²).

Cantilupe Reg.

OE *h̥ak*: (de) Heytone². de Heywode.

OE *l̥ak*: de Leie. de Leye. de la Leye.

(unstressed).

Cal. Inq. I. (1247).

OE *l̥ak*: Amberleye. Smith(e)leye.² Mynesleye.

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *l̥ak*: Catteley (1280). Markeleye (1275). Moldcleye (1287).

Cal. Anc. Dds. II.

OE *l̥ak*: Alwineleye, Lameleye² (1276). de Kynardealeg' (1264).

Cantilupe Reg.

OE *l̥ak*: de Alealeye. (de) Arleye²⁷. Arleie. Arnleye. Abbedeleye. de Asteleye. Billingeleye. de Bokkeleye. Borewaldesleye². de Bradeleye. Brumleye². (de) Buterleye²⁸. Classeleye. de Claverleye. Cloppeleye². de Coberleye². Cornleye. Cornlege. de Cuysele. (de) Eriège². Gatleye. Glasleye. de Havek(e)leye². de Haukeleye. de Herleye. Huntelege. de Kynardealeye. Kynardealege. (de) Kyneburleye². Kyngesaleya. de Linleye. (de) Marcleye². Marcleya². Markleya. Magna Marcleya². de Markeleye. Pikealeia. Pikealeya. Rodeleya. de Sheldesleye². Tasselege. Willarlege². Wytilleye². Wormeleye². Wormeleya. Wormelege.

e-forms (stressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥eah*: de la Lee II (1216–72).

14th century. *i*-forms (unstressed).

Orieleton Reg.

OE *l̥eah*: Almelye. Webbelye. Wilelye.

ey-forms (stressed).

Orieleton Reg.

OE *l̥eah*. le Leye.

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *h̥eah*. le Heywey I (1322).

OE *l̥eah*. Leye IV (1371; 1395; 1398²); V (1346²). de Leye V (1352).

(unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥eah*. Checkeley I (1351). (de) Bradeleye IV (1352²). de Bureleye IV (1331). de Byseleye III (1355). de Couleye III. Credeleye III (1346). de Lonteleye IV (1355). le Oldeleye III (1307–27). Webbeley IV (1385²; 1388²; 1398²). Webbeleye III (1389²); IV (1317²; 1323; 1329; 1350²; 1346; 1371⁴; 1376²; 1384²; 1389²; 1395²). Wobbeley IV (1323).

Orieleton Reg.

OE *l̥eah*. Ardesleye. de Astleye⁴. de Bonleye. de Bradeleye². de Couleye². de Harleye⁷. de Henley. de Henleye². de Hen(n)eleye². de Horseleye. de Huntleye. de Hurtesleye². Kempeleye. de Knyghtleye. Kynard(e)sleye². de Kynleye. de Lutteleya. Mad(d)eleye¹⁰. de Marceleye. Monesleye. Monseleye. de Nubbeleye⁴. Paunteleye. Tyttleye². Webbeleye². Webbleye. de Webbeleye². (de) Williley⁴. Wileleye². Wormeleye⁴. Wormeley². Worm(e)sleye².

e-forms (unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥eah*. Webbele IV (1364⁴). de Wormesle IV (1353).

15th century. *i*-form (unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥eah*. Almaly IV (1418).

ey-forms (stressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥eah*: la Ley III (1424).

(unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥eah*: Putteley III (1410). Webbeley III (1424); IV (1404²; 1418; 1432²; 1436²; 1438²; 1440²). Webley IV (1407). Webleye IV (1418). Webeleye IV (1429).

HERTFORDSHIRE

13th century. *i*-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *lǣak*: de Gravelie (1275^a). de Homlie (1275).

ey-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *lǣak*: Wylemundeleg' (1247).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *lǣak*: Offeleye (1278). Schenleye (1289^a).

e-forms (unstressed).

Merton Rec.

OE *lǣak*: Crokeslee (c. 1290).

14th century. *ey*-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids II.

OE *lǣak*: de la Leye, Le Leyebery (1303).

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids II.

OE *lǣak*: Borleye (1346). Burleye, Burnleye (1303). Langeleye (1303^a; 1346^a).
Langeleye, Lynleye, Thorleye, Wakeleye^a (1303). Offeleye (1303^a;
1346^a).

Merton Rec.

OE *lǣak*: Langeley (1385). Langley (1398–9). Langeleye (1349; 1352; 1385;
1385–6^a). Abbot's Langeleye (1355).

e-forms (unstressed).

Merton Rec.

OE *lǣak*: Lang(g)ele (1343; 1385; 1385–6; 1399).

Feudal Aids II.

OE *lǣak*: Berlee (1303^a; 1346^a). de Berlee^a, Crokesle^a, Crokkeslee (1303).
Dyn(n)eele (1303^a; 1346). Gravelle (1303^a; 1346). (de) Gravellee (1346^a)
Halverlee, Holverlee, Langele, Langelle^a, Shenlee, Senle^a (1303).

15th century. *egh*-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids II (1428).

OE *lǣak*: La Legh.

ey-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids II (1408–28).

OE *lǣak*: Berley^a, Childerlangeley, Erdeleya, Langeley^a, Lynleye, Lynley,
Offeley^a, Offeleye, Shenley, Thorley^a, Wakeley, Walkley, Walkeleye.

e-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids II (1428).

OE *l̥eah*: att Lee.

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids II (1402-28).

OE *l̥eah*: Berlee². Berie. Burlee. Childerlangelee. Crokeale. Crokealee. Dynesalee. Gravele⁴. Langelee². Langele⁴. Schenlee. Wilmundle. Wylmondele.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE

13th century. *e*-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq.

OE *l̥eah*: Wareale II (1273). Wolvele (1262).

Feudal Aids II.

OE *l̥eah*: Wolvele (1285⁹).

14th century. *i*-forms (stressed).

Ramsey Cart.

OE *h̥eah*: Hyemedē.

egh-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids II.

OE *l̥eah*: Iakeleghe (1316).

ey-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids II.

OE *l̥eah*: Leytonestone (1303⁹). Leythonestone (1316).

Ramsey Cart.

OE *h̥eah*: Heycroft².

OE *l̥eah*: La Leye.

(unstressed).

Ramsey Cart.

OE *l̥eah*: Alboldesleye². Alwynesleye. Burleya. Crauley². Crauleia. Craweleya. Crauleiam. Rouleye. Stivecleya². Stivealeia. Tygeleyefryth. Wolgoresleyge.

e-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids II.

OE *l̥eah*: Abbodesle, Styvecle, Wallingle, Weresale (1303). Abbottealee, Wereslee (1316).

Ramsey Cart.

OE *l̥eah*: Alboldesle². Ayboldelle. Aspille. Craule². Horle². Langele. Occle. Ravele Magna². Stivecle². Styvecle. Weresale². Wymundesle.

eigh-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids II.

OE *l̥eah*: Leighton (1316).

15th century. *ey*-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids II (1428).

OE *læak*: Stucley.

e-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids II (1428).

OE *læak*: Abboteale^a. Iakeale^a. Stuecle^a. Wassingle. Wassyngle. Weresale.

eigh-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids II (1428).

OE *læak*: Leychtonestan.

KENT

13th century. *egh*-forms (stressed).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *hæak*: Heghelande (1251).

Feudal Aids III (1284-6).

OE *læak*: Leghe.

(unstressed).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *læak*: Farlegh (1258).

Feudal Aids III (1284-5).

OE *læak*: Trulegh^a.

ey-forms (stressed)

Feudal Aids III (1284-5).

OE *læak*: Leyburn^a.

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids III (1284-5).

OE *læak*: Hertlegh^a.

e-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq.

OE *læak*: Bozele I (1258). Elmele II (1276; 1278).

Feudal Aids III (1284-5).

OE *læak*: Acle^a. (de) Henle^a.

14th century. *egh*-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids III.

OE *hæak*: de Hegham (1346^a). Hegham (1316^a; 1346^a). Heghardres (1346).

OE *læak*: Leghe (1316).

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids III.

OE *læak*: Bardekeleghe (1316). Bromleghe (1316^a; 1346^a). Farleghe, Thruleghe (1316; 1346). Hastyngleghe (1316). Redeleghe, Thurlegh (1346).

ey-forms (stressed).

Publ. Works.

OE *l̥eah*: Leybourn (1340^o).

Feudal Aids III.

OE *l̥eah*: Leyburne (1316; 1346). Leysdone (1316).
(unstressed).

Feudal Aids III.

OE *l̥eah*: Hertley (1316).
e-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids III.

OE *l̥eah*: Bekele (1346). Bixle, Boxle (1316). Brencheale (1316^o; 1346^o).
Elmele, Littelee (1316). Langele^a, Okele^a, Plukle (1346). Rokesle (1316^o;
1346^o). de Rokesle (1316). Rypple (1346).

eigh-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids III.

OE *l̥eah*: La Leyghe (1346).
(unstressed).

Feudal Aids III.

OE *l̥eah*: Farleighe (1316).
iegh-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids III (1346).

OE *l̥eah*: Lyege.
(unstressed).

Feudal Aids III.

OE *l̥eah*: Bromliegh. Hastynlieghe.
15th century. *egh*-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids III (1431).

OE *h̥eah*: Hegham, Hegh Hardres.
OE *l̥eah*: Legh.
(unstressed).

Feudal Aids III (1431).

OE *l̥eah*: Hastyngleghe^a. Sowthleghe.
e-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids III (1431).

OE *l̥eah*: Balverle. Plukele.
eigh-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids III (1431).

OE *l̥eah*: Leyhys.

LANCASHIRE

13th century. *egh*-forms (stressed).

Chrsnd. Cart.

OE *l̥eah*: le Heghefeld.
OE *l̥eah*: Lehe^a.

(unstressed).

Chrsnd. Cart.

OE *l̥ah*: Asteleghe². Bindeleghe. Scrapleghe. Suverthelehe. Westeleghe. Wlvelehebroc. Morleghe. Morilehe.

ey-forms (unstressed).*Cal. Inq.*

OE *l̥ah*: Blakeley II (1282). Bronley, Dunkedeley, Queteley, Thorndeley I (1258). Chorley, Moudesley II (1288).

Chrsnd. Cart.

OE *l̥ah*: Astelege. Asseleieford. Appeleye. Appeleie. Balleleie. Ballislege. Beysleye. Birchineley⁴. Birchenlege. Birkenlege. Birkedelege². Bircheleiebroc. Blakeleie². Blakeleiebroc. Bradeleiebroc². Bradeleiebroc². Bradelegebroc. Bradeleiesik. Cliveley. Cliueleie. Cnusleie. Foxelegehurst. Hailege². Heylege. Kersleie. Linleibroc². Longeleie. Longelege. Moriteleie. Morileie. Osberneleie. Ridelegebroc². Rosmeleie. Shakerleie. Shakerlege. Shakerlegebroc. Siuerdeslege. Sivirdeleie². Stocleye. Stockeleie. Sunnebodeslege. Tildeslege². Tildesleia. Waleleicloch. Waltonelega. Westeleie². Wimmerleie². Wymerley. Wunemerleye. Witakarlege. Wlueleie. Wlveleyebro. Wrkedeleie.

e-forms (stressed).*Cal. Inq. II.*

OE *l̥ah*: Lee (1289).

Chrsnd. Cart.

OE *l̥ah*: Lee². Lee Francia.

(unstressed).

Chrsnd. Cart.

OE *l̥ah*: Croneberilee. fletcherotelee. Hindele²⁰. Moritelee. Wimmerlee. Winstaneslee. Winstanisle. Winstanislee. Winstanesle. Winstanlee. Wrkedelee².

14th century. *egh*-forms (unstressed).*Whalley Cou Bk.*

OE *l̥ah*: Baylegh². Brodeleghbrok. Cocschutelegh. Kokshutelegh. Dynkedeleghbroc². ffernylegh². Helegh. Longeleg². Mosylegh. Mosilegh. Rouleghclogh². Rouleghclough. Stonlegh². le Stonilegh. Workede(e)-legh²⁰. Wytelegh.

ey-forms (stressed).*Whalley Cou. Bk.*

OE *l̥ah*: La Leye.

(unstressed).

Whalley Cou. Bk.

OE *l̥ah*: Aggelay². Brunley². Brunlay¹². Ferneleye. Goderiche(s)leyclogh². Goderichleieiclogh. Grymesley. Grymesleyker². Heleye¹⁷. Heleya²⁰. Helay. Heleyden. Heleyahalewes. Heleyhalghes. Heleyhalges. Hul(!)ileye¹². Hulliley². Hullilaye. Ineleye. Longeley. Longeleybrok. Lauedilleye.

Laudedileyclogh. Lauedyley(e)clogh². Lebbelay. Merlaya². Mosileye².
 Mosyleye. Mosiley². Segeleyclogh. Stanwordley. Stokeley. Waer-
 fordleye. Whalleyes². Whalley²². Whalleya²². Wordeleywall. Wyteleye².
 Wyteleie.

LEICESTERSHIRE

13th century. *i*-forms (unstressed).

Leics. Rec.

OE *lāah*: de Brakelia (1271).

egh-forms (unstressed).

Leics. Rec.

OE *lāah*: de Estlegh (1255).

Merton Rec.

OE *lāah*: de Rokelegh (1273).

ey-forms (stressed).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *lāah*: Leyfeld (1288).

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids III. (1284-5).

OE *lāah*: Hinkeleye.

Cat. Anc. Dds. I.

OE *lāah*: *Langdey* (1216-72²; 1245; 1248; 1276; 1287). *Langley* (1216-72²;
 1252). *Longeley* (1244). *le Wyteleyes II* (13th c.).

Leics. Rec.

OE *lāah*: de Bromeleya (1273). de Estleya (c. 1254; 13th c.). *Hinkeley* (1274).
 de Hinkeleia (1271²). de Roleya (1251²). *Wisselay* (1236).

e-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *lāah*: Gormundele (1283).

Feudal Aids III (1284-5).

OE *lāah*: Lynle. de Lynle.

Cat. Anc. Dds. I.

OE *lāah*. Holmlee (1216-72).

Leics. Rec.

OE *lāah*: de Brackele (1278). *Hinkele* (1254; 1265; 1281; 13th c.). de *Hynkele*
 (1286²). de *Rothlea* (1271). de *Wakirle* (1281). de *Wiuelisle* (1271).

14th century. *i*-forms (stressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds. II.

OE *lāah*: *Lyputtis* (1394).

Leics. Rec.

OE *læak*: de Hyham (1313-14).

(unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds. I.

OE *læak*: de Somerdely (1322).

ægh-forms (unstressed).

Leics. Rec. (1336).

OE *læak*: de Baddealegh, de Bentelegh, de Griselegh, de Mauselegh.

ey-forms (unstressed).

Merton Rec.

OE *læak*: Gurmundeleye(e) (1336^o).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *læak*: Baxterleye I (1350). Langeley I (1322; 1324; 1334; 1336; 1356); II (1336^o). Langley I (1330; 1343; 1351; 1375). Longlay II (1377).

Leics. Rec.

OE *læak*: de Greseleye (1314-15; 1354). de Mauseley (1311). de Pirleye (1323^o). de Walkerleye (1311-12).

e-forms (unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds. I.

OE *læak*: Blacolvesle (1342).

Leics. Rec.

OE *læak*: de Baddeale (1326-7^o). de Fylomlee (1311-12). de Herle (1307). Hinkle (1311; 1312). de Hunkele (1297). Nousele (1308). de Okele (1354). de Rippele (1336). de Ryppele (1327-77). de Roule (1322^o).

15th century. *i*-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids III (1428).

OE *læak*: Higham.

ey-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids III (1428).

OE *læak*: Akeley, de Asteley, Gormondeley, Gomondley, Hynkeley, Langeley, Mauseley, Nousesley^o, Rotheley, Wytherley.

e-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids III (1428).

OE *læak*: Wyderdele.

LINCOLNSHIRE

13th century. *ey*-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *læak*: Bradeleg' (1251).

e-forms (unstressed).

Cat. Inq. I.

OE *l̥ah*: Bradele (1259).

14th century. *ey*-forms (stressed).

Publ. Works.

OE *h̥ah*: Heybrigg' (1376^a).

(unstressed).

Publ. Works.

OE *l̥ah*: Rokley (1375).

Feudal Aids III. (1303-46).

OE *l̥ah*: Appeley. de Kattelay^a. de Hauley^a. de Roppeley. Tettelay.

e-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids III (1303-16).

OE *l̥ah*: Lee^a.

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids III (1303-46).

OE *l̥ah*: Bradelee, Briggesele. Briggesele^a. Brynggele. Cattle^a. Roppele. Roppesle.

15th century. *i*-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids III.

OE *l̥ah*: de Lawly (1401-2).

ey-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids III (1401-31).

OE *l̥ah*: Appeley. Appelay^a. Bradley^a. Briggeseley. (de) Bryggesley^a. de Brygeseley. Brokesley. Cattle^a. de Coutheley. de Grengley. Hauley^a. Hawley^a. Quixley^a.

e-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids III.

OE *l̥ah*: (de) Lee (1428^a; 1431^a).

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids III (1428-31).

OE *l̥ah*: Bradlee. Bradle^a. Brig(g)esle^a. Briggele. Manlee^a.

MIDDLESEX

13th century. *egh*-forms (stressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds. II.

OE *l̥ah*: Leghe (1216-72).

OE *h̥ah*: Heghefeld (1216-72^a; 1250^a). Heghesfeld (1250).

ey-forms (unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds. II.

OE *l̥ah*: de Bodeleye (1272). Brembelley (1282^a). Hodleg' (1258).

e-forms (unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds. II.

OE *l̥eah*: de Benethle (1246). Bixle (1272; 1275). Byxle (1291). de Budelee, de Buddele (1272). Buttele (1216-72). de Foxle (1274). de Rokeslee (1294²). de Rokesle (1277).

14th century. *egh*-forms (stressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds. II.

OE *l̥eah*: Legh (1368).

(unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds. II.

OE *l̥eah*: de Thonderlegh, de Thondlegh (1306).

Publ. Works II (1344).

OE *l̥eah*: Brambelegh. Bremvelegh. Brambelegh'. Bremlegh'.

ey-forms (stressed).

Liber Cust.

OE *l̥eah*: de Leiburne.

ey-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids III.

OE *l̥eah*: Dalley (1316; 1353). de Runley (1353).

Cat. Anc. Dds. II.

OE *l̥eah*: Brambeley (1376²).

Liber Cust.

OE *l̥eah*: de Chalkeleye². de Rokesleye.

e-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids III.

OE *l̥eah*: Couele (1316). Fynchesle (1316; 1353).

Cat. Anc. Dds. II.

OE *l̥eah*: Aldeslee (1376). de Bodelee (1316). de Bodele (1317²). de Bryncheslee (1346). de Grunelee (1309). de Knyghtelee (1362). de Nottle (1347). de Thunderle (1306). Welpelee (1374). Wrytele (1356).

Liber Cust. I.

OE *l̥eah*: de Bixle. de Bodele. Brakele. de Brittele. de Herle. Hockele. de Rokesle². de Thunderle².

15th century. *ey*-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids III (1428).

OE *l̥eah*: Fynchley. Hadley.

Liber Albus.

OE *l̥eah*: Blecchyngley.

e-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids III (1428).

OE *lāh*: Cowle.

Liber Albus.

OE *lāh*: Beverle.

NORFOLK

13th century. *ey*-forms (stressed).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *hāh*: Heydon (1253).

(unstressed).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *lāh*: Caunteleye (1290). Sloleye (1283).

e-forms (stressed).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *lāh*: Lee (1280^a).

(unstressed).

Cal. Inq.

OE *lāh*: Babbinge I (1249). Babbinge II (1272). Bathele II (1282).
Foxle II (1280; 1282). Gatele I (1252). Morlee II (1283). Morle II (1376).

14th century. *egh*-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids III.

OE *hāh*: Hegham (1316).

ey-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids III.

OE *hāh*: Heydon (1302).

ey-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids III (1302-46).

OE *lāh*: Calveleye^a. Langeleye. Laungeleye. Sloley. Sloleye. Morley.

e-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids III (1302-46).

OE *lāh*: Acle. Babbyngle. Betele. Biskele^a. Byskele^a. Brisselee. Brisele.
Cantele^a. Cauntele. Foxele^a. Fysshete. Fyssele^a. Gatelee. Haghelee.
Haggele. Hauete. Haulee. Hardele^a. Harpele^a. Kymburle. Kymberlee.
Langele^a. Morle. Ocle^a. (de)Pateslee^a. (de)Patisle^a. Sniterle. Snyterlee.
Sneterlee.

15th century. *i*-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids III (1428).

OE *lāh*: Worly.

ey-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids III (1428).

OE *lāh*: Sloley.

e-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids III (1428).

OE *læak*: Babyngle. Brisle. Bryslee. Byskele². Cantelee². Foxlee. Fyshlee. Fysshle. Hardelee². Harple. Kymberle. Morle. Pateslee. Snyterlee².

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

13th century. *i*-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq.

OE *læak*: de Andely I (1242). Hengandelyes I (1265). Seuardelia II (13th c.).

ey-forms (unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *læak*: Sewardesley I (1282); II 13th c.²). Sewardesleye II (13th c.).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *læak*: Appeltreley, Blakedeley (1263). Falwesleye (1256). Hengandelley (1262). Kaluley², de Kaluley, Caluweley (1261). Merchingley, Slauley, Waskerley (1263).

e-forms (unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds. II.

OE *læak*: Hockle. Sewardisle.

Cal. Inq.

OE *læak*: Pictesle I (1249²). Waskerle I (1261). Blacolvesle II (1274²). Brakkele II (1290). Pitesle II (1276). Pokesle II (1278²). Wakerle, Wykele II (1280). Wycle II (1276).

Feudal Aids IV (1284–5).

OE *læak*: Acle². Blacolvesle². Brakele². Cleyle. Cranesale². Esstle. Evenle². Malesle. Pistesle². Wakerle. Wakyrle. Wicle². Wymersle.

14th century. *i*-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids IV (1316).

OE *læak*: de la Lye.

egh-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids IV (1316).

OE *hæak*: Hegham².

ey-forms (stressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *læak*: Lega I (1326).

(unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds. II.

OE *læak*: Sewardesleye (1329; 1337; 1351; 1354).

e-forms (unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *læak*: Brackele I (1310). Hokelee I (1325). Sewardesle II (1305; 1344²). Sywardysle II (1378). Sywardeslee II (1382).

Feudal Aids IV (1316).

OE *l̥eah*: Ashele. Blacolveslee. Brackele². Cleyle. Cranesle. Dyngele. Evenle.
Falewesle². Maleale. Ockele². Pyghtesle. Wakerle. Wicle. Wymersle.
Yerdele. Jerdele.

15th century. *igh*-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids IV (1428).

OE *h̥eah*: Higham⁴.

egh-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids IV (1428).

OE *h̥eah*: Hegham².

ey-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids IV (1428).

OE *l̥eah*: Cleilley. Cranesley. Dyngeley. Pokesley. Wymersley. Zerdeley.

e-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids IV (1428).

OE *l̥eah*: Asshele². Blacolveale. Brackele. Brakle. Burle. Dyngle. Evenle².
Fallesle. Pappelle. Pyghtele. Wakerle. Wykele.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

13th century. *i*-forms (stressed).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *l̥eah*: Lye (1274).

(unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds. I.

OE *l̥eah*: Horlye (1272–1377).

egh-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *l̥eah*: Wetleghe (1250).

ey-forms (stressed).

Notts. Rec.

OE *l̥eah*: Leg' (Edw. I).

(unstressed).

Cal. Inq.

OE *l̥eah*: de Andedeleg' I (1242). Brunisley II (1279). Elkesley I (1246).
Grenlay II (1278). Lameleye II (1291²). Risley, Rescleye I (1264).
Strelleye II (1284).

Notts. Rec.

OE *l̥eah*: de Morleye I (Edw. I).

e-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *l̥eah*: Bathele (1264).

14th century. *i*-forms (unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *læak*: Gringelye I (1301).

ey-forms (stressed).

Notts. Rec.

OE *læak*: Leylonglandes (1331).

(unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds. II.

OE *læak*: Gresseleye (14th c.). Kymmerley (1311).

Notts. Rec. I.

OE *læak*: de Annesleye (1348; 1352; 1383; 1385). Audeley (1393; 1396). de Audeleye (1397). de Batheley (1315-16; 1316; 1317; 1321; 1328). de Cobleye (1330). de Cobeley (1364). de Emley (1390; 1397). Gresseley (1309). Gresseley (1396). Griseley (1382^a). de Hamstirley (1328). Lamley (1393). de Lamley (1382; 1393; 1397). de Lameleye (1362; 1330). de Lammeley (1396). Lameleigate (1335). Lameleygate (1336). de Hinkeleye 1330^a. Mapp(o)urley (1336; 1395). de Mappurley (1395; 1396). de Merdeleye (1383). de Morley (1336-7). de Morleye (1309-10; 1336). Okkeley (1395). de Okeley (1301; 1304^a; 1325-6). de Rippeley (1340^a; 1358). de Rotheleye (1340-1). de Smalleley (1348). (de) Stanleye (1348^a; 1379). de Stanneley (1396). de Strelley (1397). de Strelleye (1315-16; 1379; 1383). Strenneley (1395). de Tannesleye (1379). de Tannesley (1394^a; 1395; 1395-6; 1396). de Tannysley (1386). de Whitley (1393). Qwetteley, de Qweteley (1396).

e-forms (unstressed).

Notts. Rec. I.

OE *læak*: de Herle (1330).

15th century. *ey*-forms (unstressed).

Notts. Rec. II.

OE *læak*: de Em(e)ley (1402; 1406^a). Gresley (1411). Lamleygate (1416). (de) Maperley (1405; 1408^a). Mapurley (1416). (de) Okley (1407; 1407-8). Okeley (1408). (de) Ookley (1407-8^a). Roley (1401; 1406; 1408). (de) Stanley (1405^a; 1408). Styley (1406). (de) Tannesley (1410^a; 1411; 1413-14^a). Whetley (1408). de Quayxley (1416).

OXFORDSHIRE

13th century. *i*-forms (stressed).

Eynsham Cart. I.

OE *hæak*: Hyantone.

OE *læak*: de Lye.

ey-forms (stressed).

Eynsham Cart. I.

OE *hæak*: Heycroft.

OE *læak*: Leye. de Lega. de Leya^a. de la Leye. de Legton^a.

(unstressed).

Cal. Inq. II.OE *l̥āh*: Ardolveseye (1275).*Eynsham Cart.* I.OE *l̥āh*: Blokeley. Doddeleye. de Farleye. Horsleye. Horcleye. de Langeleya³. de Northleye. de Norhtleye². Stodleye. Wytteleya.*e*-forms (unstressed).*Cal. Inq.* II.OE *l̥āh*: Tackele (1275).*Eynsham Cart.* I.OE *l̥āh*: Beckele. Brackele². Brakkele. de Dichlee. Estle. (de) Langele². Mosele. Tackele. de Takele. Tilgar(e)sle⁴. Wolfeyesle.14th century. *i*-forms (unstressed).*Eynsham Cart.*OE *l̥āh*: Stanselythorne II.*Eynsham Cart.*OE *h̥āh*: Hyewode, Hiwode II.*egh*-forms (unstressed).*Eynsham Cart.*OE *l̥āh*: Hasteleghefurlonge II. de Northleghe I. Oldlegh', Tylgarslegh' II.*ey*-forms (stressed).*Eynsham Cart.*OE *h̥āh*: Heyewode².OE *l̥āh*: de Leies. Leyecrofte. Leyham. Leyhambroke.

(unstressed).

*Eynsham Cart.*OE *l̥āh*: Acheley², Benecleye, Brondleygate, Grundesweleye, Horsseley², Hundeley, Langeley II. Langleye, de Langeleya I. de Langeley, Madeleye-welle, Northleye, Poumerleye, Snellesleye, Stedleye, Stockeley, Tilgaresley², Tilgarsleye, Tilgersleye², Tilsgarsley, Tylgarsleye¹², Tylgaresleye².*e*-forms (stressed).*Eynsham Cart.*OE *l̥āh*: de la Lee I, II².

(unstressed).

*Eynsham Cart.*OE *l̥āh*: Beckele II². Beckelestyb II. Brackele I². Chalfe II². de Cranle I. Dychele II². de Foxle². Henle II². de Langele I². Madelebroke, Mosele, Roule II. Tackele I⁴; II. Takkele I². Tylgarsle I¹². Tilgar(e)sle². Tilgerdesle, Tylgarslee, Tylgareslee II. Wolfayesle², Wolfeyesle², Wolfeynesle II.

igh-forms (stressed).*Eynsham Cart. I.*OE *l̥eah*: Leygh. de Leyghe. de Leigh.15th century. *i*-forms (stressed).*Eynsham Cart. II.*OE *h̥eah*: Hywode, Hyewode (1449).

(unstressed).

*Eynsham Cart.*OE *l̥eah*: Northlye II (1449^o).*Oxford Cart.*OE *l̥eah*: Bekkely. Thubely.*egh*-forms (stressed).*Oxford Cart.*OE *l̥eah*: de Legh². de Leghe².*ey*-forms (stressed).*Oxford Cart.*OE *h̥eah*: Heyford.

(unstressed).

Oxford Cart.

OE *l̥eah*: Acleya². Acleia^{2o}. Acleya⁴. Accleya. Achleia². Alcleia². Beckeley². Bekkeley. de Bekeley. de Biseleg¹. Beuerleg¹. Be(u)elegam. de Brakleye². Butteleye. de Botteleya. Coburley. Coueleia. Coueleya². Cuueleia. de Hanleye. Langeleiam. de Langeley. de Lordleye. Nutteleia. Okeley². Saundeley. Sideleycroft. de Stanley. de Stanleya. Stodleye. Stodleya². Stodeleye. Stodeleya². de Stodleye. de Stodeley. Templecoueleya². Thumeleya². Thumeleia². Thomeley. (de) Thomeleya². Thomeleia. Tumeleia. Tomeleia. de Wyteleya. de Zesteley. de Zisteley.

e-forms (stressed).*Oxford Cart.*OE *l̥eah*: Leaforlang¹. Leaweyle.

(unstressed).

Oxford Cart.

OE *l̥eah*: Aclee². Akle². de Acl². (de) Beckele². Bekle². de Beckle. Berkele. de Burkele. de Coberle. Couele². Coule. de Couele². Gerdeslee. Hed-d(e)le². Hedele. Langele. de Langelee. Okele². de Stanle. (de) Stodele². Stodle. Takele. Templecouele. Thumele². (de) Thomele^{2o}. (de) Tomele². de Wattle. Wysteley. de Zestele².

SHROPSHIRE

13th century. *i*-forms (stressed).*Cal. Inq. I.*OE *l̥eah*: La Lye (1249).

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids IV (1284-5).OE *l̥ak*: Howelye. Yvelye².*egh*-forms (stressed).*Cal. Inq.* II.OE *l̥ak*: Legh (1290).*Eyre Bills* (1292).OE *l̥ak*: de leghttone.

(unstressed).

Cal. Inq. II (1290).OE *l̥ak*: Polilegh. Tilvelegh.*ey*-forms (stressed).*Cal. Inq.* I.OE *l̥ak*: Lege Cumbrey, Lege Cumbrei² (1249).*Cal. Inq.* II.OE *l̥ak*: Leye (1285; 1290).*Eyre Bills* (1292).OE *l̥ak*: de Leyton.*Feudal Aids* IV (1284-5).OE *h̥ak*: Heyehacton².OE *l̥ak*: Leyes. Leye subtus Brochurst². Leye Cumbray².

(unstressed).

Cal. Inq. I.OE *l̥ak*: Billingsley (1263). Hugheleye (1247). Kacheleg' (1249)². Langeleg (1264). Polileg' (1249). Wylileg' (1259).*Cal. Inq.* II.OE *l̥ak*: Aldeleg' (1274). Bardeleg' (1278; 1291). Estleye (1275²). Hanleg, Harleye (1274). Kynardeley, Marchunley (1283). Marchemeleg (1278). Merchumleg' (1276²). Munsterleg' (1274). Nortleye (1275²). Rommesleye (1287). Strichleg' (1280).*Cat. Anc. Dds.* II.OE *l̥ak*: Hingoresleye (1292).*Eyre Bills* (1292).OE *l̥ak*: Astlege. de Blok(e)leye². de Buterleye. de Cobbeleye. de Illeleye. de Illeye. de Longleye. Lynleye. Marchumley. de Paunteleye². de Pauntelei. Walseley. Waresley. Werleye. Wernleye². de Wynesleye.*Feudal Aids* IV (1284-5).OE *l̥ak*: Adredleye². Aldeleye. Appeleg². Astleye². Bardeleye². Blecheleye. Buterleye². Dalleye. Glasseleye². Haudeleye². Haddeleye². Henneleg².

Lauleye². Malinleye. Medeuleye². Northleye². Okeleye². Pykesleye. Styrchleye². Tasseleye².

e-forms (stressed).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *l̥ak*: La Lee (1277).

(unstressed).

Cal. Inq.

OE *l̥ak*: Bardele I (1259). Billingesle, Burwardele I (1261). Webbele II (1274).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ak*: Huggele (1292).

Eyre Bills (1292).

OE *l̥ak*: de Harnlec. Marchumlee.

Feudal Aids IV (1284–5).

OE *l̥ak*: Espele². Harle. Romesle².

eygh-forms (stressed).

Eyre Bills (1292).

OE *l̥ak*: de Leyghtone.

14th century. *eygh*-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids IV.

OE *l̥ak*: Leghton (1316; 1346).

Cat. Anc. Dds. IV.

OE *h̥ak*: le Hehstret (1341).

(unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ak*: Helegh III (1396).-

Feudal Aids IV (1316).

OE *l̥ak*: Alvedelegh. Astelegh juxta Bruge. Asterlegh. Bardelegh. Claverlegh. Kenlegh. Munsterlegh. Northlegh. Shippelegh. Tasselegh.

ey-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids IV. (1316).

OE *l̥ak*: Leye². Leye Mumbray. Leye subtus Brochurst.

(unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ak*: Appeley IV (1390); V (1387²). Appeleye IV (1347; 1348); V (1330; 1337). Buturley IV (1327); V (1327). Espeley VI (1395). Lauley VI (1395; 1396). Onileg VI (1323). Wulveley IV (1376).

e-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids IV. (1316).

OE *l̥ak*: Bagardesle. Burwardesle. Hab[er]le.

15th century. *egh*-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids IV.

OE *l̥eah*: Leghton (1428).

ey-forms (unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds. II.

OE *l̥eah*: Pulleley, Tassheley (1417).

Cat. Anc. Dds. IV.

OE *l̥eah*: Appeley (1406²; 1436²). Sponley (1437).

Cat. Anc. Dds. VI.

OE *l̥eah*: Onyley (1411²).

ey-forms (stressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds. VI.

OE *l̥eah*: Leyemedewe (1417).

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids IV (1428–31).

OE *l̥eah*: Alveley. Appeley. Bitturley. Buterley. Buterleye. Cackesleye. Corley. Corleye. Dallyley. Dalyley. Frodesleye. Froddesley². Haburley. Harley. Harleye. Henley. Henleye. Henneley. Hugeley. Kattesleye. Kenley². Longleye. Longeley². Malleye. Malley. Marchomleye. Marchumley. Tasseleye. Tasseley. Wilderdeleye. Wyllyley.

eigh-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids IV (1431).

OE *l̥eah*: Leyghton².

SOMERSET

13th century. *egh*-forms (stressed).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *l̥eah*: Legh (1285). Leghe (1280).

Feudal Aids IV (1284–5).

OE *l̥eah*: (de) Legh².

(unstressed).

Cal. Inq.

OE *l̥eah*: Burdeslegh II (1280). Fernlegh II (1275). Horchardeslegh I (1255). Styueleghe II (1279).

Feudal Aids IV (1284–5).

OE *l̥eah*: de Apperlegh². Bradelegh. Buddeclegh. de Erlegh. de Modeslegh. Prestelegh. Stanlegh. de Westlegh. Whitelegh². de Yonlegh².

ey-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq.

OE *l̥eah*: Orchardleye I (1265). Wateleye², Wateleg' II (1273). (de) Wellesleg' 'I (1253²; 1254). Welisleg' I (1254²).

Feudal Aids IV (1284–5).

OE *l̥āh*: Brocleye. Cameleye. Ferleye. Orchardleye. Ubbeleye. Wateleye.

e-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq.

OE *l̥āh*: Ferle I (1262). Orchardlee I (1256). Stapele II (1276).

Feudal Aids IV (1284–5).

OE *l̥āh*: Okele. Wythele.

14th century. *egh*-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids IV (1303–46).

OE *l̥āh*: Legh. de Legh². Leghton. Leghtone.

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids IV (1303–46).

OE *l̥āh*: Berkelegh². Bodeclegh. Bradelegh. Brockeleggh². Brocleggh. Cam(m)elegh². Durlegh. de Erlegh². Farlegh². Farelegh. Illegh². de Huntelegh. Linlegh. Muddeslegh². Oblegh. Orchardlegh². Stanlegh. Uppelegh². Wellyslegh. W(h)atelegh². Whit(e)legh².

ey-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids IV (1303–46).

OE *l̥āh*: Farley. Hilleye. Hunteleysmersh. Presteleg. Wellesleye. Wulleye, Wolleye.

e-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids IV (1303–46).

OE *l̥āh*: Acle. Fairle. Prestele². Whatele. Worle².

15th century. *egh*-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids IV (1428).

OE *l̥āh*: Legh. Leghton.

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids IV (1428).

OE *l̥āh*: de Audelegh⁴. Berkelegh. Brokelegh. Bodeclegh. Camelegh. de Erlegh². Farlegh². Fernlegh. Faulegh. Hillegh². Maddeslegh. de Maddeslegh. Orchard(e)legh². Orchardyslegh. Orchardislegh. Prestlegh. Stanlegh. Uppelegh. Wellialegh. de Welleslegh. de Welyslegh. Whatelegh. Watelegh. Whitlegh². Whytlegh.

ey-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids IV (1428–31).

OE *l̥āh*: de Audeley. Cammeley. Obley. Ozeley. Prestley. Stodley². Stodeley. Wellesley, de Wellesley.

e-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids IV (1428–31).

OE *l̥āh*: Buddecle². Bykele. Farlee². Prestele. Stodele. Whatelee.

igh-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids IV (1428-31).

OE *l̥āh*: Berkeleygh. Bradleigh. Farleygh. Stanleygh. Whateleygh. Erleigh.

STAFFORDSHIRE

13th century. *igh*-forms (stressed).

Staffs. Plea Rolls.

OE *h̥āh*: de Hyghetorp (1260).

ie-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *l̥āh*: Rowelye (1292).

Staffs. Plea Rolls.

OE *l̥āh*: de Luttelie (1266).

Staffs. For. Pleas.

OE *l̥āh*: Ogglelye (1286).

egh-forms (unstressed).

Staffs. For. Pleas. (1271).

OE *l̥āh*: Arnlegh. Bromelegh. Chiselegh. Hulmelegh. Horselegh. Luttelegh². Teddeslegh². Wolvardlegh. Bentlegh².

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *l̥āh*: Tasselegh (1247).

Eyre Bills (1293).

OE *l̥āh*: de Bromlegh. de Bramlegh. de Ehorcelegh. Madeleghe. Wurlegh.

ey-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids V (1284-5).

OE *l̥āh*: Leyton².

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *l̥āh*: de Lega (1254).

Eyre Bills (1293).

OE *h̥āh*: de Heywode.

OE *l̥āh*: de la Leye.

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1284-5).

OE *l̥āh*: Asseleg². Bissopst[o]ffeleg². Bradeleg². Bromley². Bromleg². Bromleye Abbatis². Charteleg². Cunteleg². Hosyleye². Maddeleye². Rowleg². Seggeleye². Sellesleg². Wirley². Wolteleg². Wrottesleg².

Staffs. For. Pleas.

OE *l̥āh*: Bentley (1262; 1271; 1286). Benetley, Benetleye², Benetleg (1286). Bromley (1271²). Bromleye (1286). Bromleg (1262). Charteleye, Doddeley

(1271. Fodreslega, Fodereslega (1262). Fradsley (1271). Gauleye (1286). Gauleye (1296^a). Humelega (1262). Kyngeleye, Lutteley^a (1286). Luttelega^a, Liutelega (1262). Mollesley^a, Oggeleye (1286). Oxley (1271; 1286). Oxeleye (1286). Oxeleg (1262). Rugeleye^a, Segesleye (1286). Teddesley (1271^a). Teddesleye (1271^a; 1286^a). Wirley (1271; 1286). Wirleg, Werleg (1262). Wyrley (1271). Wyrleye, Wrottesleye (1286). Wulwardeslega, Wulwardelega (1262).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *l̥ah*: Ascheleye (1259). Bromleg' (1247). de Borewardleg' (1243). Espleg (1253). Maddeleg' (1258).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *l̥ah*: Aldedeleye (1274). Audedeleg' (1276). Asseleye (1273). Asscheleye (1290). Baltredeleg (1278). Beneleg (1276). Benetleg (1276; 1278; 1279). Betteley (1283). Betteleg' (1276). Bettileg (1278). Bradeley (1290). Bradeleye (1288; 1292). Bredleye (1274). Bromleyge (1273). Certeleye (1275^a). Cherteleg' (1280^a). Farleye (1274). Humeleye (1292). Kyngealeye (1274). Lotteleye (1292). Offileg' (1283). Oxeleye, Roweleye, Roweleg (1292). Seggesley (1273). Qylderdeleg (1278).

Cal. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ah*: Aldeley III (1258). Claverley II (13th c.). Claverleie II. Humeleg III. Wrottesley I (13th c.).

Eyre Bills (1293).

OE *l̥ah*: de Bentleye^a. (de) Bromleye^a. bromleye^a. Bromleye Abbat. Bromleye. Duddleleye. Madeleye^a. Madeley. Rugeleye^a. Rugelege. de Seuerleye. de Tyrreley. Wirleye. Wyrleye^a. de Wyrley.

e-forms (stressed).

Eyre Bills (1293).

OE *l̥ah*: de la Lee^a.

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1284-5).

OE *l̥ah*: Ocle^a.

Staffs. For. Pleas.

OE *l̥ah*: Bentle (1271). Benetle (1286). Bromle^a, Molesle^a, Oggele^a (1271). Segesle (1262). Teddesle^a, Trymple (1271). Wyrle (1286^a). Wolwardele (1262).

Cal. Inq.

OE *l̥ah*: Asshele I (1263). Asselle I (1258). Essele I (1243). (de) Bromle I (1259^a). Burewardesle I (1243). Certelee II (1275). Lappele I (1263). Maddele II (1276).

Eyre Bills (1293).

OE *l̥ah*: de Horcele^a. de horcele. de Oclee. Ruycele. de Tyrle^a.

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ak*: de Wroteslee I (13th c.).

14th century. *i*-forms (unstressed).

Staffs. For. Pleas.

OE *l̥ak*: Gaunelye (1300).

Ronton Cart.

OE *l̥ak*: Offelie.

egh-forms (unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ak*: de Bromlegh I (1359^a).

ey-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids V (1316).

OE *l̥ak*: Leye.

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1316).

OE *l̥ak*: Arnleye. Assheleye. Audeleye. Balterdeleye. Betteley. Bradeleye. Bromleye Abbatis. Bromleye Bagot. Bromleye Regis. Charteleye. Humeleleye. Knyghteleye. Lappeleye. Lutteleye. Maddeleye. Madeleye Alphon. Alta Offyleye. Rouweleye. Seggesleye. Wrotesleye.

Staffs. For. Pleas. (1300).

OE *l̥ak*: Arleye^a. Bent(e)leye^a. Blakeleye^a. Bromleye. Duddeleye^a. Duddeleye^a. Everleye. Faresleye. Gauneleye^a. Haggeleye. Humeleleye. Kyngesleye. Kyngesbromleye^a. Lutteleye. Mollesleye. Occumesleye. Oggeleye. Oxleye. Rommesleye. Rug(g)eleye^a. Stonemonnesleye. Teddesleye^a. Wyrleye. Wirleysty. Wolvardesley. Wolvardesleye.

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ak*: Audley I (1333). Audleyg' III (1338). Betley I (1387; 1388; 1397). Betteley I (1336). Betteleye I (1349). Bettiley I (1387; 1396); II (1376). (de) Bettiley I (1347); II (1347); III (1330; 1346); V (1348^a). Bettiley II (1318). Bettileg' III (1322; 1338). Bettileyg' III (1322). Bettileyg' II (1318). de Bettyleye III (1310). de Bettileyg' III (1318). Bradeleye III (1362). Chalkeleye II (1314). Holeyge I (1333). de Knyghteleye V (1344). Lappeleye I (1338). Madeley II (1347^a); IV (1316^a; 1318^a). Madeleye III (1334; 1346); IV (1336^a; 1353^a). Madeleg' II (1318). Oniley IV (1318). Oniley III (1358). Onyley IV (1318). Onyleye III (1346). Honiley III (1334). Onleg' II (1318). Seggesleye II (1365).

e-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1316).

OE *l̥ak*: Ruggelle.

Staffs. For. Pleas. (1300).

OE *l̥ak*: Chaddesle.

15th century. *egh*-forms (stressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ah*: de Legh V (1419).

(unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ah*: Bettelegh I (1429). Bentlegh, de Bentilegh² V (1430).

ey-forms (unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ah*: Betteley, Betley I (1425). Bettiley I (1435). de Chaturley V (1400).

Feudal Aids V (1401-28).

OE *l̥ah*: Arley. Areleye. Assheley². Benteley. Brom(e)ley². Bromley Regis. Madley. Mollesley. Rouley. Rugeley.

e-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1428).

OE *l̥ah*: Madlee. Molleslee.

SUFFOLK

13th century. *i*-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *l̥ah*: Chippelye (1264).

egh-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *l̥ah*: Gayslegh (1262).

ey-forms (stressed).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *l̥ah*: Leyham (1290).

(unstressed).

Cal. Inq. I.

OE *l̥ah*: Geysleye (1262).

e-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq.

OE *l̥ah*: Buttele II (1273). Haghele I (1245). Hagele I (1261). Shelle II (1273).

14th century. *egh*-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids V. (1302-46).

OE *h̥ah*: Hegham⁴. Hegham.

OE *l̥ah*: (de) Leghes². le Legh.

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1302-46).

OE *l̥ah*: de Badelegh. Brockeleghe. de Brokkelegh. Chippelegh. Hadlegh². Hadleghe. de Horkislegh. Illegh². de Illegh. de Brockeleghe. Brokkelegh.

ey-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids V (1302-46).

OE *l̥ah*: de Leys. de Leyes. (de) Leyham[?]. (de) Leiston[?]. (de) Leyston^{1a}.

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1302-46).

OE *l̥ah*: Ben(e)theye[?]. Bentley. Bradeleye[?]. Bradley. Brockley. Chippeleye. Cukkeley. de Hadleye. Henley. (de) Henleye[?]. de Horkisley. de Horkesleye. Illey[?]. (de) Illeye[?]. Kokeleye. de Langeleye. Otteley. Oteleye[?]. Oteleie. Sarley. Shelley. Shelleye. Tremeleye[?].

e-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids V (1302-46).

OE *l̥ah*: de la Lee[?].

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1302-46).

OE *l̥ah*: Aspelee. (de) Badelee[?]. de Badele[?]. de Biskele[?]. Buttele. Cranle. Fordele. (de) Gayslee[?]. Haughele. Holesle. de Horkesle[?]. Jakele[?]. Lauesle. Oc(c)le[?]. Ringesle[?]. de la Rokele[?]. (de) Soterle[?]. de Sotirle[?]. West(e)lee[?].

eih-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1346).

OE *l̥ah*: Shelleyghe.

15th century. *egh*-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1401-2).

OE *l̥ah*: Illegh.

ey-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1401-2).

OE *l̥ah*: Hadleye. Otteleye.

e-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1401-2).

OE *l̥ah*: Haghle. de Langele.

eih-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids V (1401-2).

OE *l̥ah*: Leyghes.

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1401-2).

OE *l̥ah*: Benteleygh.

SURREY

15th century. *i*-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *l̥ah*: Wiszly (1276).

Chertsey Cart.

OE *l̥ah*: Hertlye[?].

egh-forms (stressed).

Cal. Inq.

OE *hæh*: Heghstede II (1273).

(unstressed).

Cal. Inq.

OE *læh*: Brumleghe I (1261). Bisselegh II (1284).

ey-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq.

OE *læh*: Bletchingeye I (1262). Brumelay I (1250). Busseley, Busseleye² II (1284). Wyshelleg' I (1247).

e-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq.

OE *læh*: Bletchingey I (1262). Bromle I (1250); II (1287²). Bussele II (1284).

14th century. *egh*-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids V (1316).

OE *læh*: Legham.

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1316).

OE *læh*: Farlegh. Horselegh. Waverleghe.

ey-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1316).

OE *læh*: Bromeley.

e-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1316).

OE *læh*: Bussele. Godele. Horle. Witle.

eigh-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1316).

OE *læh*: Blechingleigh. Horseleygh.

15th century.

Feudal Aids V (1428). *i*-forms (stressed).

OE *læh*: atte Lye.

egh-forms (stressed).

OE *læh*: Legh.

(unstressed).

OE *læh*: Bromelegh. Cranlegh. Farlegh. Hethelegh. de Hethlegh. Horslegh². Okelegh. de Shullegh.

ey-forms (unstressed).

OE *læh*: Blechyngley². Wyssheley.

e-forms (stressed).

OE *læh*: atte Lee.

(unstressed).

OE *l̥āh*: Godele. Herewaldesle. Hornele. Horselee. Losle. Okkele. Witlee.

SUSSEX

13th century. *i*-forms (stressed).*Cal. Inq.* II.OE *l̥āh*: de Lygh (1296).

(unstressed).

Cal. Inq. II.OE *l̥āh*: de Chaggely (1296). Wodelye (1284).OE *t̥āg*: Brembeltye, Levertye. (1285).*egh*-forms (unstressed).*Cal. Inq.* II.OE *l̥āh*: Chitingelegh (1285). Hodleg (1290).*Feudal Aids* V (1284-5).OE *l̥āh*: Chagelegh. Hochleg^h.*ey*-forms (unstressed).*Cal. Inq.* II.OE *l̥āh*: Buggeleye (1274).14th century. *i*-forms (unstressed).*Feudal Aids* V (1316).OE *t̥āg*: Brambelty.*egh*-forms (stressed).*Feudal Aids* V (1302-25).OE *h̥āh*: Heghelond. Heghton^h.OE *l̥āh*: Leghton.

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1302-25).OE *l̥āh*: Beggelegh. Chiting(e)leg^h. Chitynglegh. Hellinglegh. de Hodleghe. Ingleghe. de Passeleg^h.*ey*-forms (unstressed).*Feudal Aids* V (1316).OE *l̥āh*: Crawley. Epesey.*e*-forms (unstressed).*Feudal Aids* V (1302-16).OE *l̥āh*: Buxle^h. Chityngele. Notle. Thrule.*eigh*-forms (unstressed).*Feudal Aids* V (1316).OE *l̥āh*: Farleighe. Hodleigh.

15th century.

Feudal Aids V (1428). *i*-forms (stressed).

OE *hæah*: Hylegh.

OE *tæg*: atte Tye².

(unstressed).

OE *læh*: Passelye.

OE *tæg*: Larketye. Lavertie.

egh-forms (stressed).

OE *hæah*: Heghton². Heghtone.

OE *læh*: Legh. Leghe.

(unstressed).

OE *læh*: Chedynglegh. Chytynglegh. Corynglegh. Erlegh. Hellynglegh².
de Hothlegh. Kenteslegh.

ey-forms (stressed).

OE *læh*: atte Laye.

(unstressed).

OE *læh*: Buggesley. Farnley. Shulley. Wareley.

e-forms (stressed).

OE *læh*: atte Lee².

(unstressed).

OE *læh*: Bowle. Brenchesle. Daggele. (de) Ernele². Ernele. Ferle. Go(o)tle².
Sheple. Passhele. Somerle.

WARWICKSHIRE

13th century. *i*-forms (stressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *læh*: de la Lye II (1275).

egh-forms (unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *læh*: Lockeslegh II (1272-1307).

ey-forms (stressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *læh*: la Leye II (1249).

(unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *læh*: Arleye I (1283). Brouneye IV (1299). Burley I (1249). Burleye I (1280²). Buruglei II (1231-58). Estleye I (1282). Esteleye I (1223). Hulisleye I (13th c.). Langeleye II (13th c.). Langaleg II (1216-72). Listerleye V (1252). Osmer(es)leg' II (13th c.²). Schreueleye IV (1286²). Stanley II (1272-1307); III (1222). Uppealeg' II (13th c.).

Cat. Inq.

OE *l̥ak*: Astleye (1255). Baddesleg I (1259). Ippesleye II (1276). Yppesley II (1274). Keresleye II (1275). Overesleye II (1284). Stodleya I (1255). Stodleye II (1284). Wadberleye II (1275). Whiteley II (1284).

e-forms (stressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ak*: Lee I (13th c.). *la Lee* I, II^a (1216-72). *la Le* I (1293); II (1272-1307). Leefurlong II (1283).

(unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ak*: Langale II (1260); III (1262). Schreuele IV (1299). Thunderle III (1260).

Cat. Inq.

OE *l̥ak*: Doddele II (1282). Honile, Hulverle II (1276). Ippesle II (1290^a). Poulee I (1259).

14th century. *i*-forms (stressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *h̥ak*: le Hiebrigge II (1323).

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1316).

OE *l̥ak*: Honylie.

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ak*: Shryueslye IV (1366). Stonely III (1387). Rouwelie I (1345).

egh-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1316).

OE *l̥ak*: Wilmeleghton.

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ak*: Beolegh IV (1344).

ey-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1316).

OE *l̥ak*: Aspeleye. Bentleye. Billesleye. Schreweleye. Whittleye. Witeleye. Whitlayforde. Stodleye.

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ak*: Allesleye IV (1344). Arleye I (1363); II (1340; 1349); VI (1340). Aspeley III (1395). Aspeleye III (1331^a; 1349-55^a; 1376). Astleye III (1395). Asteleye I (1395^a). Austleye III (1329^a). Beoleye IV (1376). Bureleye III (1370). Buterleye III (1338). Corley I (1338). Corleye IV (1396). Dyddesley III (1360). Elmeleye I (1312). Fylongleye I (1384); II (1386). Fylungleye^a, Filungleye IV (1367). Haseley V (1309). Henley III (1321); (1376^a); IV (1321^a; 1338; 1363; 1370). Henleye II (1346); III (1342; 1354; 1370; 1374; 1376; 1391; 1399); IV (1321; 1324^a; 1333^a;

1337^a; 1340^a; 1359; 1363^a; 1364; 1366; 1371; 1373^a; 1378^a; 1379^a). Hengleye IV (1325)^a. Hinkleleye V (1319^a). le Horleye I (1300). Katteslega II (14th c.). Kerusleye III (1369). Longeylelone VI (1323). Lysterleye V (1374). Lysterleyefeld V (1306). Overesleye IV (1366). Pynleye V (1372). Pinneleye V (1319). Rotteley, Rotteleye III (1375). Rotteley IV (1375). Rouleie I (1342). Rugeleye IV (1321). Salteley III (1377). Schorteleye III (1309). Schreueleye IV (1309; 1310^a; 1312^a; 1313^a; 1315; 1316^a; 1317^a; 1318; 1322); V (1309; 1310^a). Schreueley IV (1312^a; 1318). Shreueleye IV (1318). S(c)helleye I (1347); II (1340; 1370). Shir(e)leye I (1370; 1372); VI (1341; 1370). Schirleye II (1344^a); III (1340). Schirreleie IV (1307-27). Sherleye II (1368^a). Shirleyestret VI (1330). Schirlestret III (1323). Slauteleye V (1394). Sloleye II (1349). Stodleye III (1336; 1399); IV (13th c.; 1373^a; 1382). Stodley IV (13th c.^a). Stonleye I (1392); III (1346; 1355; 1375; 1387^a). Wahweleye V (1377). Wabburleye IV (1314^a; 1318; 1319; 1335). Wabberley IV (1318). W(h)atburleye I (1316); III (1316; 1342); IV (1316^a); V (1317). Whaberleye IV (1344^a). Whatburley III (1342). Whatburleyefeld III (1316). Whaveleye III (1344). Whiteleye IV (1363); V (1340). W(h)yteleye III (1376); IV (1321^a; 1350). Wulveleye V (1362). Yardley I (1316). Yerdeley I (1312). Yerdeleye I (1313); II (1382^a).

e-forms (stressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *læah*: le Lee I (1323); III (1317). la Lee I (1342); II (1363). le Leewode II (1367); VI (1368). Leewodeheth II (1367).

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1316).

OE *læah*: Allesle. Anstle. Astele. Baddesle. Baxsterle. Burle Episcopi. Hasele. Henle. Ippesle. Longele. Overesle. Raggele. Stonle.

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *læah*: Allislee I (1392^a). Arlee III (1329). Langele V (1315^a). Scheule IV (1304^a). Schreuele IV (1304; 1308^a); V (1398). Screuele IV (14th c.^a). Screule IV (14th c.). Schriuele IV (1377). Stonlee V (1310). Wabberle IV (1314). Wabburle IV (1317; 1319). Whadburle III (1314). Whaburle III (1314). Wodelee III (1329).

15th century. *egh*-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1428).

OE *læah*: Alleslegh. Haselegh.

ey-forms (stressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *læah*: Leyefeld IV (1408).

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1428).

OE *læah*: Asteley. Baddesley. Bagley. Billesley. Burley. Felongley. Fresley. Haseley. Horley. Ippesley. Langley. Lokkesley. Overlesley. Pynley. Rotteley. Slanteley. Stodley. Whatley. Whytley.

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ah*: Allesley I (1404; 1408^a; 1412). Allesley I (1408). Ansteley IV (1408). Arley I (1433); IV (1407; 1408); V (1413). Arley IV (1407; 1408). Bent(e)ley IV (1408); V (1413). Benteley IV (1407^a). Bentley Heth V (1425). Calvesley IV (1427). Fellengley I (1433). Haseley VI (1419). Henley III (1408^a; 1419^a; 1427; 1431^a; 1436; 1447^a; 1439); IV (1414^a; 1419^a; 1427^a; 1436). Henley III (1407); IV (1407; 1408). Heneley V (1425^a). Langeley II (1436). Saluteley III (1438; 1440). Stodley III (1436; 1437); IV (1436). Stodley III (1407); IV (1407; 1408). Stodeley III (1419; 1431; 1436). Stodeley III (1408). Schyreley VI (1416). Sloley IV (1408). Stonley I (1400). Sudeley II (1443^a). Suydeley I (1436). Ulley III (1436). Westbradeley III (1444). Wetley IV (1419). Yerdeley III (1410; VI (1416). Zerdeley III (1410).

e-forms (stressed).

Feudal Aids V (1428).

OE *l̥ah*: La Lee^a.

(unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ah*: Aspele IV (1422). Aspelee IV (1400). Langle II (1436). Astele III (1407).

eih-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1428).

OE *l̥ah*: Wilmelleyghton.

WILTSHIRE

13th century. *i*-forms (stressed)

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ah*: Lye II (1285).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *l̥ah*: de Lye (1277^a).

(unstressed).

Cal. Inq. II.

OE *l̥ah*: Corslighe (1285).

egh-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq.

OE *l̥ah*: Fernlegh I (1256). Corslegh II (1285). Maydenebradelegh II (1281).

ey-forms (stressed).

Cal. Inq.

OE *h̥ah*: Heydune I (1265).

(unstressed).

OE *l̥ah*: Groveley II (1284).

e-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq.

OE *l̥ah*: Bradele II (1284; 1290). Farnle II (1288). Langle I (1259).

eigh-forms (unstressed).*Cal. Inq.* II.OE *læah*: Corsleyghe (1285). Kyveleygh (1284).14th century. *i*-forms (stressed).*Feudal Aids* V (1316-24).OE *hæah*: Hyweye. de Hywey.OE *læah*: Lye². de Lya.*Malmesbury Reg.*OE *hæah*: Hyweye². Hyweie⁴. Hyweia.

(unstressed).

*Malmesbury Reg.*OE *læah*: Clotlye. de Coulye. de Hurdlye. de Stodlye².*egh*-forms (unstressed).*Feudal Aids* V (1316-24).OE *læah*: Corslegh. Corseleghe. de Farlegh. Semeleghe. Stodlegh. Stodleghe.*Malmesbury Reg.*OE *læah*: de Aslegh. Farlegh. Farlegh². Farnlegh². Farnlegh².*ey*-forms (stressed).*Malmesbury Reg.*OE *hæah*: Heystrete. Heywey². Heyweye². Heyweie. Heiweye. Heiwei.
Heiweiam. Heiweyam.

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1316-24).OE *læah*: de Borleye. Bradley². Brad(d)ley². Farley⁴. Langley. de Morteleye.
Stanley. Wellpley. Wynesley.*Malmesbury Reg.*OE *læah*: Asseleye. Asselege². Aisseleye. de Ashleya. de Asseleye². de Asselege².
Borelege. Bradeleye. Clotley². Clotlege². Colesleye. Eshleye. de Esse-
leye. Ehsleye². Ehsseleye. de Erleya. Farnleye². Farnleie. Hasselleye.
de Hurleya². de Hurdleye². Medleye². Medlege. de Morlege. Prantesleya.
Stanlege. Trindlege. Urdleye. Wabbeleye².*e*-forms (stressed).*Malmesbury Reg.*OE *læah*: la Lee⁴. de la Lee².

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1316-24).OE *læah*: Bradele². Lan²ele. Roucle. Selkele. Sterkele. Wytele.*Malmesbury Reg.*OE *læah*: Foxle⁴. (de) Morlee². de Morle². le Morle. Ocle². Putteslee². de
Sterkele². de Sterkelee.

15th century.

Feudal Aids V (1402-28). *i*-forms (stressed).OE *hēak*: Hyweye. Hyworth⁴.OE *lāak*: Lye²⁹. Lygh.*egh*-forms (stressed).OE *lāak*: Legh.

(unstressed).

OE *lāak*: Brad(d)elegh⁴. Corslegh. Farlegh⁴. Grovelegh. Lynlegh. de Penlegh. Sekelegh⁴. de Stondelegh.*ey*-forms (stressed).OE *hēak*: Heydon². Heyworth².OE *lāak*: de Leyham.

(unstressed).

OE *lāak*: Bradeley²⁸. Badeley. (de) Berley⁴. Chalkeley. Erneley. Ernesley. Everley². Everleye². Langeley². Pogheley. Selkeley². Stanleye.*e*-forms (stressed).OE *lāak*: de Lee.

(unstressed).

OE *lāak*: Asshele². Ashele. Bradele. Corsle². Everle. Farle². Foxele². Langle. Morle. Rokele. Whytele.

WORCESTERSHIRE

13th century. *egh*-forms (unstressed).*Cat. Anc. Dds.*OE *lāak*: Benetlegh (1216-72⁴).*Cal. Inq. II.*OE *lāak*: Doddelegh, Wornelegh (1292).*ey*-forms (stressed).*Cat. Anc. Dds.*OE *lāak*: Lega II (1204-34⁴).*Cal. Inq. II.*OE *lāak*: Leye, Lega² (1279).

(unstressed).

*Cal. Inq. I.*OE *lāak*: Busseleye I (1262).*Cal. Inq. II.*OE *lāak*: Chadesley (1290; 1291). Cradeleie (1291). Cradeley (1273). Doddeleye, Doddeleie⁴ (1291). Duddleleg (1273). Frankeleye (1292). Haggeleye (1292²). Marthley (1275). Ruleye (1273). Sc(h)eldesleye (1274; 1286; 1287). Selleye (1292). Woleye (1273).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥eah*: Ambresleg¹ I (1257). Bentleye II (1204–34²). Borsdeleya I (1296). Bordesley II (13th c.³; 1216–72; 1275); III (1253). Hanleg⁴ III (1216–72⁵). Maydenebradeleg⁶ II (13th c.). Ombresleye II (13th c.⁷). Syleye III (1253; 1263). Yerdeley I (13th c.).

Worcs. Reg.

OE *l̥eah*: Berkeley. Boxleg⁸. Bykeleg. Eseleg⁹. Grimeleg⁴. Grimeley. Grimeleg⁸. Grimenleg⁹. Havecleg. Horsleg. Horseleg⁹. Lin(e)leg⁸. Moseleg. Overesleg⁹. Pechesleye. Rudmerleg. Thaveleg. Witleg⁹. Wlvardeleg⁸. Wlvardeleg⁷. Wlvardeleg⁹.

e-forms (unstressed).

Cal. Inq.

OE *l̥eah*: Croule II (1287). Hanele I (1262).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥eah*: Benetle III (1263; 1267).

Worcs. Reg.

OE *l̥eah*: Croule⁸. Werle⁸.

14th century. *i*-forms (stressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥eah*: Lyghe I (1385).

(unstressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥eah*: Castellyghe I (1385).

egh-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1346).

OE *l̥eah*: Abbodelegh. Beelegh. Benetelegh. Blokkelegh. Chaddeslegh. Chadeslegh. Cradelegh. Cyntelegh. Frankelegh. Haggelegh. Martelegh. Shrauelegh. Sukelegh. Wernelegh.

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥eah*: Beolegh IV (1344). Mayghdenebradelegh II (1383).

ey-forms (stressed).

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *h̥eah*: Heye Clif III (1335). le Heyetres III (1371).

(unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1346).

OE *l̥eah*: Bissheley. Blokeleye. Bradeleye. Chaddesleye. Codeleye. Elmeleye. Beauchamp. Hanley. Sheldesleye. Waleys. Spechesley. Rudmarleye. Dabitot. Warsleye.

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ak*: Ambresley I (1357). Bannesley III (1359). Bordesley I (1377). Bradeley III (1377). Bradeley III (1377). Chaddesley I (1304). Elmeley IV (1371). Elmeley III (1345); IV (1327-77). Haggeley III (1394²). Hanley IV (1376). Harley I (1391). L(o)ulleley III (1334; 1344). Marteleie III (1306). Marteleig' III (1308). Ombresley II (1349²; 1358²) Sheldesleg'. III (1308). Weyley III (1359). Yardeley I (1395). Yardley I (1335). Yerdeley I (1317²; 1318).

15th century. *egh*-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1428-31).

OE *l̥ak*: Abboteslegh. Bentelegh. Bulegh. Chaddeslegh. Chaddeslegh Corbet. Cradelegh. Cyntlegh. Franklegh. Haggelegh. Martelegh. Shrauelegh. Suckelegh. Wernelegh.

ey-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1428-31).

OE *l̥ak*: Abbedeley. Abbodeley. Arley. Asteley. Esteley. Benteley. Beoley². Blok(ke)ley². Block(e)ley². Bradeley. Byss(h)eley². Chad(d)esley². Dudley². Duddeley. Elmeley². Awmeley Lovet. Frankeley². Hanley². Haggeley². Marteley². Ombresley. Ambresley. Rudmarley Dabitot. Rydmar(e)ley². Schraueley. Shrawley. Shellesley². Sheldesley². Sheldesley Beauchamp. Sheldesleye Waleys. Spechesley². Soucteley. Suckeley². Waresley. Wrasleye. Wolvardeley. Wytteley. Yardeley².

Cat. Anc. Dds.

OE *l̥ak*: Benteley, Ippesley I (1407). Strecchesbenteley III (1400). Woluardley III (1409).

e-forms (unstressed).

Feudal Aids V (1428-31).

OE *l̥ak*: Crowle. Croule. Crowele.

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REVIEWS

THE GOTHIC VERSION OF THE GOSPELS, a Study in Style and Textual History, by G. W. S. Friedrichsen. Oxford University Press, London, 1926.

Through the perplexing tangle of the textual history of the Gospels Friedrichsen traces the fortunes of the Gothic text. This text deviates in many passages from any and all Greek types; many of these deviations it shares with some of the Latin texts; one of the latter, the Brixianus, seems certainly to have been influenced by the Gothic (Streitberg, *Die gotische Bibel*,² p. XLIV). Friedrichsen is a difficult leader on these at best troublesome paths. The plan of his study is: I, A, normal translation-technique; B, deviations from it; II, their explanation. But the complexity of the subject leads him to anticipate and to resume in confusing ways; thus, the question of stylistic variation, p. 69 ff., is anticipated at p. 28 ff.; some verb translations are discussed, by anticipation in the chapter on nouns, p. 35 ff.; over-literal renderings at p. 17 and at p. 154. The subdivisions are too many; there is no systematic reference from Part II to Part I, B. The author restricts his treatment to nouns, adjectives, and verbs, but is, after all, compelled at times to consider pronouns or particles. In view of all this, a summary may be helpful, for the content of the book is of unusual value and interest.

PART I. (A, I, 1) Wulfila's translation normally follows the Greek model word for word; exceptions are only the use of the article and the placing of certain particles (*uh þan, unte*) where the Gothic language allowed no choice. This principle forced Wulfila sometimes to violate the Gothic idiom, e. g., L17, 17 *oi de ennea pou: ip þai niun hwar?* Cf. Latin *et novem ubi sunt*, OE. *hwær synt þa nigone?*

The inflection of the Gothic words, however, needed not parallel that of the Greek; here Wulfila followed his idiom, e. g. M5, 46 *tina misthon ekhete: hvo mizdono habaiþ?*

(2) Wulfila to a large extent uniformly renders the same Greek word by the same Gothic, as *legein* in 504 instances out of 508 by *qipan*. For 76 per cent of the Greek verbs, nouns, and adjectives in the Gospels there is only one Gothic rendering. (3) The Goth does not in general vary his rendering of a Greek word for stylistic reasons. (4) This is the earliest technique of Gospel translation; it appears also in the old Latin version known as the *Africana*.

(II, 1) Only 28 Greek (or Hebrew) words are adopted by the Goth, e. g. *aromata, raka*; contrast 64 in the Latin Vulgate, e. g. *mysterium*, but G. *runa*. Translation-compounds are hard to

detect, cf. perhaps *olokautōma*: *alabrunsts*, and the like. (2) Wulfila intelligently uses two G. words for one Gk. where his language has a distinction, as *gunē*: *qens* 'wife', *qina* 'woman'. (III, IV) Thus, where aspect or other distinctions of the G. demand it, the Goth uses several verbs for one Gk.: *erkhesthai*: *qiman*, *gaggan*, *atgaggan*; *gignōskein*: *witan*, *kunnan*, *ufkunnan*; *erōtan*: *fraihnan*, *bidjan*.

(B, V) Supposed stylistic factors are mostly illusory. Repetition of a G. word where the Gk. varies is enforced by the language, e. g. for *theasasthai*, *idein*, *blepein* the G. had no choice but *saihwan*, *gasaihwan*. Variation of the G. for a uniform Gk. word, to avoid monotony, occurs to a very limited extent where the language plainly afforded more than one equivalent, as, *akolouthein*: *laistjan afar*, *laistjan* with acc., *gaggan afar*.

(VI) Where such stylistic variation is not involved, 72 Gk. words are rendered by two G. synonyms, e. g. *kleptein*: *stilan* (2), *hlifan* (3). In some of these cases one G. word is commoner than the other, as, *oikia*: *gards* (21), *razn* (11); where this happens, the commoner word is used on the average, 5 out of 6 times in M, 6 out of 7 times in J, but only 2 out of 3 times in L and Mk.

(VII) Where in isolated cases a Gk. word is rendered by an unusual G. word, our text may be faulty, as at L15, 24 *eu-phrainesthai*: *wisan*, where the word *waila* has probably dropped out. In some cases the exceptional word may be due to a scribe to whom it was more familiar, e. g. M6, 6 *thura*: *haurds* instead of *daur*; J18, 20 *ieron*: *gudhus* instead of *alhs*; J14, 30 *lalein*: *maþljan* instead of *rodjan*. Given an equal amount of text, the number of such cases in L compared with that in the other Gospels is as 8 to 5.¹

(VIII, IX, X) Other deviations from the normal technique may be due to tampering with the text. For L1, 5 *eks ephēmerias Abia*: *us afar Abijins* (cf. L1, 8 *iēs ephēmerias autou*: *kunjis seinis*), F. suggests that Wulfila wrote *us kunja*, that a scribe who thought the rendering too vague added *afar*, meaning to emend to *us *afarkunja*, and that a later copyist, taking *afar* to be a substitutive correction, copied *us afar*. Occasionally Wulfila misunderstood the Gk., as J13, 29 *ē tois ptōkhois ina ti dōi*: *aipþau þaim unledam ei hva gibau*, with first person for third and present subjunctive for past. Some deviations may have been enforced by G. idiom, as M6, 12 *ta opeilēmata emōn*: *þatei skulans sijaima*. On the other hand, the translation is in a few places inexact through over-literality, as, L16, 20 *os ebeblēto*: *sah atwaurþans was*, instead of a form of *ligan*.

PART II. (XI) The survey of variant renderings shows most uniformity in M; next comes J, then Mk; L has by far the greatest variation. M is nearest the original text of Wulfila;

¹ If I rightly interpret "60 per cent. greater," p. 119.

L and, to a less extent, Mk have a more complex "paleographic and revisional past" than M and J; they represent a revised version.

(XII) F. shows why Latin-Gothic bilinguals were needed, such as are represented in our Giessen and Wolfenbüttel fragments and evidenced in the Gothic-influenced wording of the Old Latin Brixianus.

(XIII), (1) The word *arkhiereus*, beside the renderings *auhumists gudja* (28), *maists gudja* (3), *reikists gudja* (J18, 22), *auhumists weiha* (J18, 13), and *ufargudja* (Mk10, 33), is rendered 12 times by the inaccurate *gudja*. This can be explained only as due to the Latin of the Africana, represented in the Bobbiensis and Palatinus: these use *sacerdos* beside the accurate *princeps sacerdotum* and *pontifex*. In the translation of *doksazein* the seven instances of *mikiljan* correspond to Old Latin *magnificare*. (2) In other cases, too, the G. and the Old Latin are parallel, as in the poor translation of L16, 20 *os ebeblēto: sah atwaurþans was*; Palatinus *projectus erat*. The general influence of the Old Latin on G. is of course recognized (Streitberg, p. XL). (3) There is a striking excess of such parallelism between our text of L and the Palatinus. *Our text of L once formed part of a Gothic-Latin bilingual whose Latin text was a near relative of the Codex Palatinus: the "Palatinian Bilingual."* The G. and the Latin influenced each other. Thus for L1, 9 *elakhen tou thumiasai*, the G. follows the African reading of Palatinus (and Monacensis): *sors exivit ut incensum poneret: hlauts imma urran du saljan*; and then the *imma*, necessary in G., gave rise to a superfluous *illi* in the Palatinus.

(XIV) Our MSS. of the Old Latin were written in northern Italy where the Goths were strongest. Of these, the two which represent the African text, Bobbiensis and Palatinus, were evidently written by scribes ignorant of Latin. F. conjectures that they were written in the fifth century by Gothic copyists. Also the Greek-Latin Codex Bezae, which agrees, chiefly in L, with Palatinus, belongs to this group. The Goths, either through Visigothic Spain or directly from Vandal Africa, brought the African text to Europe and preserved it for us.

The Gothic text has even influenced at least one of our Gk. MSS. The Gk. text P of the Carolinus, which contains also one of our Latin-Gothic fragments, reads at L9, 28 *egenonto de . . . ősei őmerai oktd*, instead of *egeneto . . .*; Streitberg should not have adopted this reading into his text, for it is due to G. *waurþun*.

(XV, 1) The relationship of the G. and Latin Gospel texts shows three stages: first, the Old Latin (in no case the Vulgate) sporadically influenced the G., least in M and J; second, there was a stage of more intense influence of the Old Latin on the G., especially on our texts of L and Mk, but most of all on L, for

which our G. text comes from the Palatinian Bilingual; third, the G., now fairly fixed, influenced the Latin of the Brixian Bilingual, of which Latin the Brixianus is a copy. For this last point F. gives a few new supporting passages.

(2) The *Praefatio* bound with the Brixianus, while not clear, is to be taken (against Kauffmann and Streitberg) as a justification of a relatively free method of translation; the *wulthres* were to show that apparent divergences were due merely to the idiomatic requirements of the different languages. Thus the *wulthres* were retranslations, e. g. for M27, 48 *epotizen auton: draggkida ina: dabat ei bibere*, we may imagine a *wulhrs* to show that the G. does not really differ in sense from the Latin: "*gaf imma drigkan*," with a "*la*." placed over it. The tendency of the *Praefatio* is therefore opposite to that of the (much earlier) questionings of Sunnia and Fretela.

(XVI, 1) The conflation at L9, 43 got into the G. from the Old Latin, probably by way of the Palatinian Bilingual; it was present in the Brixian Bilingual, for the *ad ille dixit* of the Brixianus is due to a misreading of the G. *ip̄ Iesus qab*, the abbreviation *IS* being taken for the G. pronoun *is*.

(2) After the Brixian Bilingual, the G. text suffered some revision. Thus, at M27, 53 *innatgaggandans* is homeoteleutic error for *innatiddjedun*, as is shown by the position of *jah*; the earlier rendering is shown by the Brixianus' *introierunt*, where the other Latin MSS. have *venerunt in* (Gk. *eisēlthon*).

(3) The 15 marginal glosses in CA, four of which may well have been *wulthres*, suggest one way in which changes crept into the text; thus the superfluous *baurg* Mk11, 2, which F. will not attribute to the Old Latin *castellum*, *municipium* (probably because lacking in Brixianus), is paralleled by late Gk. MSS., *polin vel kōmēn*.

(4) Not all the Western (*I) readings in Wulfila's general Koine (*K) text are to be attributed to his original. The Brixianus shows some readings of CA to be quite recent. Thus, at M27, 52 *tōn kekoimēmenōn agiōn: pize ligandane weihaize* the Brixianus has the correct *qui dormierant*; the error of the G. (mistaking the Gk. for *keimenōn*) came into the CA text after the time of the Brixian Bilingual.

(XVII) Influence of parallel passages appears in some places in the G. where the Gk. and Latin texts do not have it. (1) Influence of remote passages, as M9, 12 *oi iskhuontes: hailai*, where the Latin has *valentibus*, only Brixianus *sani*, following the G.; the G. rendering is due to L5, 31 *ugiainontes: hailai*; cf. the normal translation of *iskhuontes: swinpai* at Mk2, 17. (2) Influence of immediate context, as, L1, 10 *proseukhomenon: beidandans*, for *bidjandans*, Latin *orans* (even Brixianus *adorans*), after verse 21 *prosdokōn: beidandans* (cf. Streitberg, p. 486). (3) Even where the Gk. of two passages is identical,

there is sometimes evidence for secondary leveling out of the G.: in the parallel passages M9, 16; L5, 36; Mk2, 21 *imation* is translated by *snaga*, everywhere else (25 times) by *wasti*; in the next words both M and Mk show the same misunderstanding of the Gk.

(XVIII) Paleographically the CA and the Brixianus are products of the same school. For M and J we have a text close to that of Wulfila; L and Mk have gone through some revision; our text of L figured in the Palatinian Bilingual. Perhaps M-J is an Ostrogothic text, L-Mk a Visigothic, which went through a century of western civilization. The 14 marginal glosses to L and Mk in CA may be due to a reader who knew these texts in the simpler Ostrogothic form.

In an Appendix F. speaks with the highest praise of Streitberg's restoration of Wulfila's Gk. model. He dissents, however, in a number of instances where Streitberg attributes Wulfila's deviation from the Koine wording to Western forms in the model; in these cases the Western forms had better be ascribed to later revision of the Gothic. Thus 'to men of good will' L2, 14 *in mannam godis wiljins* is attributable to the Latin *bonae voluntatis* rather than to Wulfila's model, since the Koine and Chrysostomus have *eudokia* and only a few MSS have *eudokias*; the G. translation of words with *eu-* is normally *waila-*.

A summary cannot do justice to the completeness of Friedrichsen's discussion or to the ingenuity and scrupulous care for detail with which he treats his material. I am not competent to judge of the questions of textual history and criticism with which he deals; it is probably ignorance which leads me to dissent when F. (pp. 19, 150) treats as a normal, if free, rendering L1, 21 *ethaumazon en tōi khronizein auton: sildaleikidedun hwa latidedi ina* (Latin *quod tardaret*), cf. Streitberg, p. 486 (who uses intonation, of which I cannot judge); the Sievers-Streitberg reading resembles the Latin even more than does the actual text; or to seek, in vain, a mention of M9, 15 etc. *oi uioi tou numphōnos: sunjus brupfadis* (Latin *filiī sponsi*), cf. Streitberg's note on the passage. Indeed, perhaps because Streitberg gives little of Latin readings, it is only Friedrichsen who has opened my eyes to the complex Latin background of the CA; his "Palatinian Bilingual" for L seems especially illuminating.

If one may judge by the linguistic phase, the book is highly commendable; the author lets nothing escape him and shows a fine sensitiveness to the values of old Germanic. I disagree only with his subdivision (p. 47) of the "perfective" into three sub-categories; these seem to me to be rather matters of word-meaning; indeed, I am not convinced, though Streitberg's famous study taught us the value of *ga-*, that this value is in any old Germanic dialect categoric, in the sense that the verbal aspects of present-day English or of Slavic are matters of yes-or-

no grammatical category. But this does not affect the author's main argument, in which the linguist, at any rate, will find few, if any, flaws.

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MITTELENGLISCHE ORIGINALURKUNDEN (1405-30).

Von Hermann M. Flasdieck. Heidelberg (Carl Winter) 1926. 110 pages.

To the *Alt- und mittelenglische Texte* of Morsbach and Holt-hausen is now added a further volume of original documents covering the quarter century beginning in 1405. The author is following Morsbach in the latter's *Mittelenglische Originalurkunden von der Chaucerzeit bis zur Mitte des XV Jahrhunderts* (1923), but, as he points out, he is covering the latter period more fully, Morsbach having given only four documents for this quarter century. He also proposes to follow this little volume with one covering the following thirty years.

The booklet consists of an *Introduction* (pp. 9-27), the documents themselves with copious notes and brief introductory descriptions (pp. 28-105), two valuable *Indexes*, first of Personal Names (pp. 106-7) and second of Place-names (pp. 108-9), and brief *Nachträge* (p. 110). The *Introduction*, after a brief general discussion (sections 1-6), takes up the district in which the material originated: the contents, as depositions of witnesses, contracts, wills, etc.; their importance for social history, for the study of certain elements in style and syntax, for some examples of folk speech as distinct from standard forms of the period, for the valuable name material; and finally the characteristics of the texts in written form, as punctuation, abbreviations, capitalization.

As might be expected the documents are arranged in chronological order, except that the last, which has been missed hitherto, belongs to October, 1371. No. XIII has special interest as relating in part to Thomas Chaucer, whom Ruud now thinks he has proved to be a son of the great poet (*Univ. of Minn. Studies*). No. XIV is a letter of Lord Willoughby to William Paston of the well-known Paston family of Norfolk. Not often in such serious records do we find even a bit of humor, but John Shimming of Walden had that saving characteristic. He seriously deposes (No. VII) that he remembered the occasion of his and his fellows taking "seysyn" of William Clopton "by the token"—I modernize the spelling—"that the said William, son of Edmond, sent to the Ale-house for ale, and there was none; and then I said it was the dryest 'seysyn' that ever I was at." It is some evidence that the medieval common man was not always grave

and dejected. Besides, the use of *dryest* in exclusive relation to alcoholic drink sounds extremely modern, and by the dictionaries is assumed to be wholly late American. Shall we claim John Shimming as an early compatriot?

There is every evidence of thoroughness in the editing. Each document is carefully described, is printed with what seems to be meticulous care, and is followed with copious expository notes. These notes call attention to peculiar forms of words, and define words having special meanings, with numerous references to the *NED*. Some of the words scarcely needed defining for an English reader, but in general the notes are well conceived and enlightening. Although not so noted by Fladieck, *ablement* (XII, 16), *OF. ablement*, is not in the *NED*. or other dictionary so far as I have found. *Rereryd* 'levied' (XI, 11) may probably be best explained as a dittograph of *re*, since *re*-compounds are in general late; see Fladieck's note. Although again not noted by the editor, *with owte tyme of myende* 'time out of mind' (IV, 8, 1416) is more than a half century earlier than the first example of the same phrase quoted by the *NED*. (1473-6).

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THOMAS CHAUCER. Martin B. Ruud, Research Publications of the University of Minnesota, Studies in Language and Literature, Number 9, Minneapolis, 1926.

Professor Ruud's excellent monograph on "Thomas Chaucer" has a twofold value. To the student of social life and political activity in medieval England it presents a full-length portrait of a wealthy country-gentleman, a magnate both of provincial and national prestige, dominant not only on his own wide manors, but in the seats of the mighty through his great riches, his powerful connections, his high reputation and finally through the personal force and geniality to which poetry paid effusive tribute. To the student of literature the pamphlet offers a discussion so clear, cogent and convincing as to seem solution of the moot question of Thomas Chaucer's relationship to the great poet of his name.

No pains have been spared to realize Thomas Chaucer for us as far as the probing of documents, unaided by word-painting, may serve that end. Professor Ruud has been as intelligently active among the parchments of the Public Record Office as among the printed pages of libraries, and he sustains his every statement with the sovereign authority of rolls and reports and receipts and registers. From the dimness of cobwebby corners the story of his man of substance thus emerges into the light of common day. Born in the middle or late sixties of the four-

teenth century, Thomas was taken in 1389 into the service of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the lover and later the husband of the youth's kinswoman, Katharine Swynford (born Roet). With the children of John and Katharine, the high-placed Beauforts, who, in letters and gifts, recognized Chaucer as cousin, he maintained a connection potent in its influence on life and conduct. While still in his twenties he made the marriage that made him with the daughter of a great family, Maude Burghersh, heiress of vast estates in the Midland and Southern counties. Ten years later Fortunatus was created sheriff of both Oxfordshire and Berks. Other honors crowded upon him thick and fast. He held the post of Chief Butler to the three monarchs of the House of Lancaster. In addition to his own large holdings at Ewelme, Donnington and elsewhere, he received, from the hands of Queen Joan in 1411, the grant of several manors, among these that of Woodstock. He sat as member for Oxfordshire in fourteen parliaments and was twice speaker of the House of Commons. He served on many royal commissions. He made expeditions across the seas, now on some secret journey to the Low Countries, now on active service in France. He lent great sums not only to the government but to private persons. He attained even to the distinction of possessing a private chaplain and narrowly missed the burdensome honor of Knighthood. Upon his death in 1434 he was honored with a richly blazoned tomb in his home church at Ewelme, and with heraldic windows at Woodstock. His only daughter rose far above her father in a climactic series of marriages—with Sir John Philipp, with the Earl of Salisbury, and with the Duke of Suffolk. Here then is the country gentleman, prosperous in his place and in his posterity.

But the concern of the literary student is neither with the life nor with the death of the wealthy Thomas, but with his descent—his derivation from Geoffrey Chaucer. And Professor Ruud's luminous commentary makes sun-clear even to the casual reader that present-day hesitation in linking these two as father and son is due solely to the perverse scrupulousness—or rather scrupulous perversity—of scholarship in the face of evidence. This counsel-darkening caution ever opposes to the authority of witnesses contemporary with person or event the meticulous doubts and objections of the skeptic. Thomas Gascoigne, Chancellor of Oxford in 1434, the very year when the younger Chaucer, man of mark in the shire, died a few miles away at Ewelme, tells us plainly in the *Theological Dictionary* that he was the son of the poet Geoffrey. As little chance of Gascoigne's erring here as the Master of Trinity in speaking of the paternity of Hallam Tennyson! But what avails the direct testimony of a thoroughly credible witness on this point against the doubt awakened by Lydgate's failure to allude to the long-

dead father in his complimentary verses to the son? Of course, such argument from silence would bereave Hartley Coleridge, too, of a famous parent, since Wordsworth, in his lines to the child, says nothing of his brother author even in a lyrical context far more provocative of reference to the father's poetic calling than a mere journey to France. But even if Lydgate had been constrained by a prophetic regard for exacting biographers to mention so obvious a relationship, the modern doubter would still mutter his "haud credo"; indeed he does in a like instance. When the same Monk of Bury, in the wake of Chaucer himself, explicitly designates as the poet's son, "little Lewis" of *The Astrolabe*, high scholarship snaps its fingers at this confirmation of the family tie. Omission and commission alike breed negation. Our boyhood's hero, "Japhet, in search of a father," fared far better in the brutal old world of Marryat than Geoffrey's two sons in the lethal atmosphere of our skepticism.

Gascoigne's attestation of Thomas's sonship would even if unsupported carry conviction. His personal testimony is, however, supported, as Professor Ruud shows, by the threefold evidence of heraldry, tradition, and coincidence. The Roet arms occur repeatedly on the Chaucer tombs in Ewelme Church and with these the arms of Katharine Swynford's son, Cardinal Beaufort, who was wont to call Thomas Chaucer, kinsman. "We can therefore be reasonably certain that the mother of Thomas was a Roet, and that she was the sister of Katharine Swynford." And there are equally strong heraldic indications that his father was Geoffrey Chaucer. A sixteenth-century herald, Richard Lee, remarks in a very old painted window of Woodstock Church "the bend counter-changed" of Geoffrey Chaucer's arms impaling Burghersh. What can this mean but that the son of Geoffrey married a Burghersh, hence was identified with Thomas? Moreover, Thomas Chaucer used on more than one occasion Geoffrey Chaucer's seal. The devil's advocate has as usual tried to resist the inevitable conclusion by misreading the lettering of the name; but the unhappy attempt defeats itself, as all but the first letter of (G)HOFRAI CHAUCIER are "as clear and legible to-day as they were on the day when the seal was struck." What better evidence that Thomas was Geoffrey's heir?

That this was current belief within a generation of the younger Chaucer's death is demonstrated by Professor Ruud's reference to a roll of arms compiled between 1456 and 1471. In this collection the Oxfordshire home and lion coat of Thomas are mistakenly ascribed to Geoffrey, as they would not be, were the men not deemed father and son. Tradition thus seconds the testimony of heraldry.

There are traces, too, of coincidences in the lives of the two Chaucers, which find their readiest explanation in the theory of

a blood tie. The flexible birth-date of Thomas accords well with the supposed time of the marriage of Geoffrey and Philippa. In 1402 Thomas was appointed to the office of Forester of North Petherton, which had been held by Geoffrey shortly before his death in 1400—indeed no appointment is recorded in the interval. From 1413 to 1434 Thomas paid the rent of the house in Westminster which Geoffrey was occupying at the time of his death. All this may not be proof positive of sonship, but it is at any rate strong cumulative evidence of relationship between the two men.

We are grateful to Professor Ruud for resuscitating Dame Truth after her long asphyxiation. The conclusion of the monograph has the finality of a Q. E. D.:—"There is not a single good reason for not accepting the testimony of tradition, of coincidence, of heraldry, and of a contemporary that Thomas Chaucer was the son of Geoffrey."

FREDERICK TUPPER

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A REGISTER OF BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE. By Clark Sutherland Northup, with contributions by Joseph Quincy Adams and Andrew Keogh. Cornell Studies in English, Vol. 9. New Haven, 1925. Pp. xi, 507.

Ten years ago Professor Northup rendered a distinct and special service to literary scholarship in publishing his excellent *Bibliography of Thomas Gray*, numbered as the first volume of *Cornell Studies in English*, and a model of its kind that won approval from experts both in this country and abroad. Now he has put the whole body of scholars in English under obligation to him by a general service of well-nigh the greatest value and extent. He has rightly—and generously—acknowledged a debt to his collaborators, Messrs. Adams and Keogh; nevertheless it is but justice to credit Mr. Northup with the present achievement. His long training, unwearied diligence, and extreme precision have given us the net result.

He says (p. ix): "Professor Adams has been particularly concerned with the drama and with Elizabethan authors. . . . Professor Keogh has contributed the Introduction, and his full bibliographical knowledge has enriched nearly every part of the work." Perhaps something should be said of Mr. Northup's own long apprenticeship to the late James Morgan Hart, from whose collections of a lifetime for a bibliography of Old and Middle English, which probably never will see the light, this newer, somewhat different enterprise has in some sense arisen.

Mr. Keogh's useful Introduction of 7 pages, on the general sources of bibliographical knowledge, from which the specialist in English of course has much to draw, precedes the main lists. These latter occupy 440 pages, or nearly 880 solid columns, on the whole attractively printed. First come 25 pages of Bibliographies, General (for the student of the English language and literature, of course); there follow, as the main body of the work, nearly 400 pages (pp. 34-417) of titles under Individual Authors and Topics. Pp. 419-21 contain Additions and Corrections, General; and pp. 422-49, additions and corrections under Individual Authors and Topics. In all, there must be well over 10,000 main entries; to which must be added innumerable reviews that are cited under the books they refer to. Lastly there is an Index of 57 pages. The indefatigable compiler has not spared himself; and he will have the gratitude of every serious student of the humanities in our time, and for generations to come.

This indispensable book has already had an excellent sale. It should find its way to every library, into the hands of every scholar in the field of English studies, and indeed into the hands of many who are working in contiguous fields. As all mature students will instantly take note of it, one may particularly recommend it to graduate students and recent doctors of philosophy. If it is not rigorously selective enough to be called a work of the highest merit, it is one of universal importance; as such, whatever its comparative degree of excellence, it will take its place with works like Gross' *Sources*, or Wells' *Manual*, or even with the Oxford Dictionary, as an essential tool of scholarship in English.

It is hard to review in the ordinary way a volume for which the only real test is long use. Such a work runs the inescapable risk of mistakes in detail and of omissions. My tests thus far lead me to think the book singularly free from inexactness of record and errors of printing. The date "1913" given on page 6 for the second edition of Gross (really 1915, as given on page 119) is less probably an oversight in printing than a misreading by Mr. Northup of Mr. Keogh's manuscript.

The omissions are more numerous; some have been pointed out by an able reviewer in the *London Times Literary Supplement* for Jan. 14, 1926. I shall not try to add systematically to the list, having prepared for my review at a distance from libraries. I note the absence of titles like Anders' *Shakespeare's Books*, Droop's *Die Belesenheit Percy Bysshe Shelley's*, and a number of others that concern the use of books by English poets; there is a list in the Bibliography appended to my volume, *The Greek Genius and its Influence*—almost the only one of my slight bibliographical efforts, I think, that has not been caught by the *Register*. This small neglect will indicate that the overlappings

of the English with other languages and literatures have received from Mr. Northup less than their due share of attention; though naturally his work could not represent at length the bibliography of Germanic, Romance, and classical philology. He duly enters Paul's *Grundriss*, Gröber's *Grundriss*, and Boeckh's *Encyklopädie* (this last as an afterthought); but why give Klussmann's lists of school-programmata, and not Engelmann's two volumes (1880, 1882) of Greek and Latin bibliography, and Klussmann's four volumes in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 146 (1909), 151 (1911), 156 (1912), 165 (1913)? These six volumes are not known as they should be to students of English. Again, for individual scholars, we find the *Bibliography of Charles Knapp*, but miss the bibliographies of the writings of Albert S. Cook and Gaston Paris. That of Thomas Frederick Crane (1924) doubtless appeared too late to be entered? "The record has been brought down to October 1, 1924; a few items of later date have also been added."

We need not complain too much of omissions, partly because no one could avoid a certain number, but above all because Mr. Northup intends, as opportunity may offer, to bring out supplements to his admirable *Register*. In time, from this good beginning, we may hope to see a division of a labor that will be too great for any one workman, and a development of the bibliography of English comparable to that which now exists for the study of the classics.

One might rather complain of some indiscriminate inclusion. In spite of the statement in the Preface that "the compilers have deliberately rejected some thousands of references," while they have "sought to include all items of real importance," there is not a little obvious chaff among the wheat. That fault it is now too late to repair. Further condensation might have been secured without loss. Is there an actual gain in repeated references, under the several authors, to bibliographical items in the *Dictionary of National Biography*?

That repetition may be defended. And in truth the *Register* is too great a boon to complain of. Mr. Northup and his collaborators have our hearty thanks. So has the Heckscher Foundation, at Cornell University, which made it possible to print this book in these times. While American money is lavished upon the external side of education, and upon the apparatus of applied science, it is refreshing to note, here and there, an example of insight like this into the needs of humane scholarship.

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A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE, Vol. I, The Middle Ages and the Renaissance (650-1660), by Emile Legouis, Translated from the French by Helen Douglas Irvine. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1926. Pp. xii+387. \$3.75.

The work under review is a translation of the first volume of Messrs. Legouis and Cazamian's *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* (Paris, 1924). In his introduction Mr. Legouis remarks that "the publication of a new book is justified only if it make a new contribution to knowledge," and proceeds to explain that he intends his history as a "useful complement" to the histories of Taine and Jusserand. Here the author is entirely too modest. His work is certainly complementary to Taine and Jusserand, but it is much more ambitious than such a description of it would indicate. Although written as a manual for university students (p. v), it is emphatically a book with a thesis. The author begins by limiting the term "English" to the period after the Conquest. He tells us that the literature before the Conquest "cannot be an integral part of English literature. It has rightly no other relation to English literature than the life of his father or mother has to the life of the hero of a biography. It is the prologue rather than the first chapter of the book." To this prologue Mr. Legouis devotes 34 pages, and then takes up his subject proper. Here his first concern is to overthrow Taine's well known dictum that English poetry is of essentially native growth, whereas English prose derives from French. This dictum he reverses, deriving English poetry from French, and regarding English prose as a native growth (though modeled on Latin). He devotes himself primarily to the derivation of English poetry from French, however. Thus, of Chaucer he says: "His debt to France goes beyond the many imitations which can be discovered in his work He is no mere recipient of her largess. She has bequeathed to him a whole heritage, not isolated possessions but his very nature. His mind is as French as his name He is a lineal descendant of the French *trouvères*, one of them in all but language" (p. 85).

It is obvious that we have here, not objective philological criticism but mere impressionism. Or perhaps we may call it propaganda. The French university student no doubt takes a much livelier interest in Chaucer, the English poet who was really French, than he would take in a mere Chaucer, the English poet. Mr. Legouis's method wins his French audience at once. His students, far from being frightened off by the foreignness of the subject-matter, approach their study sympathetically. They expect to feel at home. And, besides, their national vanity has been flattered. One of England's greatest is French at heart. The method thus has obvious pedagogical advantages. Nor do I doubt Mr. Legouis's sincerity. He has

looked for the French element in Chaucer, properly enough, and he has ended by being able to see nothing else (a development natural enough, and frequent enough, though hardly proper). But nobody outside of France will take his conclusion seriously. A few Germans have taken the same tack, with the difference that they aimed even higher. But when these Germans speak of "our German Shakspeare" they simply make themselves ridiculous, and Mr. Legouis will find it hard to avoid the same fate if he persists in speaking of "our French Chaucer."

This nationalistic taint pervades the medieval section of Mr. Legouis's book and makes it a failure, if we judge it by scientific standards, which call for objectivity and strict philological method. For philology means the *scientific* study of literature, and such study involves more than a presentation sympathetic to a given audience. The exclusion of King Alfred and the *Beowulf* poet from English literature is perhaps the most striking example of the author's bias. English poetry could hardly be derived from French if in fact its beginnings were earlier than the beginnings of French poetry. Mr. Legouis therefore cuts off the whole Old-English period, and makes English start at some indeterminate point after the Conquest. The reasons which he gives for doing this are instructive. First of all, he argues that he is only reverting to the older view of the matter. The antiquaries who knew something of the pre-Conquest literature had, until fifty or sixty years ago, "no thought of identifying it with English literature, properly so called, and it was known as Saxon or Anglo-Saxon, words which marked it as separate and distinct." Mr. Legouis would have difficulty in establishing this point. William Godwin, the biographer of Chaucer, tells us that Chaucer "is the father of our language, the idiom of which was by the Norman conquest banished from courts and civilized life, and which Chaucer was the first to restore to literature, and the muses" (*Life of Chaucer* I iv). Similarly, Wiclif in the Prologue to his translation of the Bible refers to Bede, who "expounide myche in Saxon, that was English." These are identifications. The English of the Saxon period is not looked upon as the parent speech, but as an earlier stage of the *same* speech, in spite of the widespread use of the terms *Saxon* and *Anglo-Saxon*. Here Mr. Legouis's French blood tells! On logical grounds he objects (and quite rightly) to calling the same language by different names at different periods. But such inconsistencies mean little to the English, who are more notable for muddle-headedness than for logic. To this day many English scholars say *Anglo-Saxon* and follow it up with *Middle English*, quite oblivious of the incongruity, and certainly with no thought of excluding pre-Conquest literature from English. The peculiarity may be analyzed as an esthetic blind-spot, a lack of appreciation for symmetry, balance, unity. Even

Sweet, though he had a positive hatred for the term *Anglo-Saxon*, continued to use it in the title of his *Reader*, his *Primer* and his *Dictionary*! If then an Englishman of any period calls the speech of Alfred *Saxon* or *Anglo-Saxon*, we must not conclude that he is denying to Alfred his English nationality or speech. He is simply using muddle-headed terms in his usual muddle-headed way! Mr. Legouis draws a conclusion which is perfectly logical but is nevertheless profoundly incorrect. Not that I have any desire to defend the usage! It is obviously unfortunate and misleading—did it not mislead Mr. Legouis? I am merely trying to explain it. And when I say *Englishmen* I mean Americans as well! Another example of muddle-headedness, which Mr. Legouis and his fellow Frenchmen may gloat over all they like!

But the author has much more to say. He goes on to discuss the matter from another angle. He looks upon the inclusion of *Beowulf* in English literature as a piece of German propaganda! He says, "It was at the very moment at which defeated France was submitting to the Treaty of Frankfort that German and English philologists began to suspect the legitimacy of the word Anglo-Saxon, and extended the word English to cover all the language spoken and all the literature written in Great Britain from the time of the Germanic invasion" (p. 2). Comment on this point is surely superfluous.

Mr. Legouis next takes up linguistics. He notes that the grammarians "placed beyond dispute the essentially German [*sic*] character of the English language," and found nowhere a break in the continuity of its development. But, he argues, changes in language, "however gradual, have finally such a cumulative effect that they render one age incomprehensible to another, although the two be undeniably connected by a progressive linguistic evolution." This is true enough, so far as the spoken language is concerned. Thus, had Dryden and Chaucer ever met, they would have found themselves unable to understand each other—the difference in pronunciation and vocabulary would render them mutually incomprehensible. But this difference did not prevent Dryden from *reading* Chaucer, and, by dint of hard study, understanding him after a fashion. Dryden would have found *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knyght* a much harder nut to crack, and, on Mr. Legouis's principle, he would have been amply justified in denying it a place in English literature. Naturally the same applies to Lagamon. But Mr. Legouis, needless to say, does not follow his own principle, in practice. He puts both Lagamon and the author of *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knyght* in the list of English writers. The truth is, Mr. Legouis's principle is specious rather than sound, as the pragmatic test proves. No sane man would deny that our 13th century literature (so far as we have any) is English, and no sane

man would deny that it is closer to Alfred than to Dryden, both in language and in content.

It is easy to see how Mr. Legouis was led to his paradoxical conclusions. On the one hand, he was a victim of terminological logic. On the other hand, he reflects the nationalistic fervor so characteristic of our times. This fervor led him to exaggerate enormously the influence of the Conquest. French influence in England, whether linguistic or literary, was not due primarily to the Conquest. It would have been an extremely powerful force had there been no Conquest. We know this, because we know the influence which the French language and French literature exerted throughout Western Europe during the later Middle Ages. Scandinavia, Germany, Italy, Spain and Portugal were not conquered by French armies, but they were overrun by French civilization. It is preposterous to suppose that England would have stood out against so powerful and all-pervading an influence. Mr. Legouis puts entirely too much stress on brute force, and neglects (though naturally he does not ignore) an aspect of the matter which does infinitely more credit to that nation of which he is so distinguished a representative.

The history of early English literature is by no means so abnormal as Mr. Legouis would have us think. In Old-English times we begin with heroic poetry in the grand style; then comes a period of decline, when little poetry is written, although the poems of the earlier period are copied and read. But eventually the literary fashion changes: romances become popular. This development is parallel to the development in Germany and Scandinavia. And throughout Germania it was the French who introduced and made popular the new romantic themes and methods of treatment. The overthrow of the old Germanic literary traditions is not at all peculiar to England. The great literary movements have always been international, and it is unsound to seize upon a change in taste so widespread and make of it a device for splitting up English literature into two separate literatures. If a split we must have, a better date would be found somewhere in the 15th century, say 1490. The break between medievalism and Renaissance was certainly far deeper than that between the earlier and the later Middle Ages, and the linguistic changes in the 15th century were more nearly revolutionary than anything which the 11th and 12th together have to offer. The English medieval period, like the French, is a unit. Not by accident are Old and Middle English regularly taught by the same men in our universities. Any Anglicist who is also a medievalist will tell you that they belong together, as opposed to the English of the Renaissance and later. This holds good for both the language and the literature. Where, then, is the justification for splitting up medieval English literature into two literatures, and tacking one of these to mod-

ern English literature? The procedure is obviously not based on scientific but rather on sentimental considerations. The author's fervent French patriotism does him credit, in its proper sphere, but he misapplies it when he extends it to English philology.

In this connection it is instructive to compare the history of *Beowulf* with the history of Chaucer's works. *Beowulf* was written at some time in the eighth century. For two or three hundred years it was read more or less, and then sank into obscurity. Chaucer wrote in the fourteenth century. For a little over two hundred years thereafter he was read more or less, and then sank into obscurity. Both *Beowulf* and Chaucer were rescued, at about the same time, by the philologists, that is to say, by men who took a scientific interest in our older literary monuments. Since then the philologists have been constantly at work, studying, comparing, analyzing, finding out all they could about the authors, the times in which they lived, etc., etc. And thanks to these activities we can now read *Beowulf* and the works of Chaucer with understanding and appreciation. The general reading public knows about *Beowulf* and Chaucer. The two make up English medieval literature, to the average so-called educated man. A few have also read *Gawain and the Green Knight* (in translation, of course). Practically nobody, except for the philologists, gets any further. And even Chaucer is known almost entirely by the Prologue, Knight's Tale and Nun's Priest's Tale of his *Canterbury Tales*, for these are the things printed in the usual books of "selections" (if indeed they print so much as that). One may say, then, that *Beowulf* and Chaucer are still active forces in English literature. All educated people have heard of them; many read them in part, usually in translation or with "modernized" spelling; a few are influenced by them (I might mention William Morris and our own William Ellery Leonard). But now Mr. Legouis would have us delete *Beowulf*. He will find few supporters in this enterprise, except among those who, like Mr. Henry Ford, reject the past altogether.

Mr. Legouis's book is marred by irritating errors of an elementary kind, usually errors of detail, it is true. I will list a few of these, including sins both of omission and of commission:

p. 4: "Tacitus tells of . . . their cult of Ertha" (he means Nerthus).

p. 8: "Anglo-Saxon literature has been subject to the influence of Latin, and to no other foreign influence."

p. 8 footnote: "Green and Wilkes" (for Grein and Wülker).

p. 14 (on *Beowulf*): "some critics have been impelled to see in it the influence of classical antiquity" (as if there were any doubt of the reality of that influence).

p. 28: *Saint Helen* (for Cynewulf's *Elene*).

p. 33: *Blicking's Homilies*.

p. 45: "The romance of *Beowulf* opens with a prologue on the mysterious origin of the hero."

p. 46: "Exploration of the Celtic literatures has yielded nothing except what is later than Geoffrey [of Monmouth] and imitated from him."

p. 61: "[In Lawrence Minot's poems] we see the English at Bannockburn avenging themselves on the Scots."

p. 64: "[Chaucer's] Parson's Tale is in part translated from the famous French sermon of Friar Lawrence" (he ignores Miss Petersen's generally accepted theory that the tale comes from Pennaforte and Peraldus).

p. 68: Mr. Legouis seems unacquainted with Mr. Kittridge's volume on Gawain and the Green Knight.

pp. 82 f.: Mr. Legouis follows Skeat's mythical life of Chaucer, with its romantic but unproved ups and downs.

p. 84: According to Mr. Legouis, Chaucer was hindered by "a language as yet unformed."

p. 87: Mr. Legouis tells us that Chaucer's *Boke of the Duchesse* is the first poem in English "to contain fully artistic passages."

p. 90: We are told that Chaucer "probably knew Petrarch personally," although no evidence for this is presented (since none exists).

p. 117: "In England, although all the plays of the period are generally called miracle-plays, there are hardly any traces of what the French call *miracles*" (two statements and two errors).

p. 117 note: "E. Smith and Le Toulmin" (i. e., L. Toulmin Smith).

p. 126: "The humanist movement . . . without abandoning French, writers were about to add to it the direct study of Latin or even Greek."

p. 128: "The Anglican religion."

pp. 128 f.: "Some young Englishmen were attracted to Italy by the desire to learn Greek, knowledge of which had been carried thither by refugees after the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1493."

p. 221: In Nashe's *Jacke Wilton*, Mr. Legouis makes Cutwolfe cut Esdras's throat with a dagger (instead of shooting him in the mouth with a pistol). My friend Mr. M. L. Hanley called my attention to this blunder.

p. 372: Mr. Legouis ignores, or is ignorant of, recent research on the chronology of Milton's sonnets.

A great deal of what the author has to say about poetical effects leaves the reader not merely unconvinced but actually amazed at the audacity of the man. Thus, we read this description of OE consonants (p. 10): "these consonants form the vital part of syllables. They are explosive, not quiescent [*sic*],

and their noise drowns the neighboring vowels." However it may be in France, no American philologist would venture to print such observations in a serious work, and in spite of the evidence I find it hard to believe that so eminent a philologist as Mr. Legouis wrote the passage (unless with tongue in cheek). Unfortunately the evidence is overwhelming. Similarly fantastic is the long disquisition on French vowels at the beginning of cap. II. As to Mr. Legouis's ideas about the history of the English language, they are sufficiently indicated by the following quotation (p. 47): "Most often they [i. e., native words in Middle English times] were contracted: unprotected by any culture and assailed by deforming foreign attempts to pronounce them, they tended to keep only their essential, that is their accentuated, syllable. . . . Degradation overtook, in particular, the terminations. . . . The Norman Conquest affected them in two ways: first it suppressed or weakened many of them. . . . ; secondly, certain particular inflections were chosen for survival. . . . While endings of words were indeterminate and at rivalry, the language of the conquerors sometimes had the additional weight which made it the arbiter of victory among them. This is the best explanation of the extension to all declensions of the plural in *es* or *s*." One reads, and can hardly believe one's eyes.

In general, Mr. Legouis is apt to be unsound when he discusses any matter involving historical grammar; in particular, he is weak in phonology, and therefore in prosody. His esthetic judgements are often interesting, but here too he lacks objectivity. He knows what he likes, and what he does not like, but his reasons for the feeling that is in him are rarely compelling, though often plausible. The mature philologist will read Mr. Legouis's work with interest and, now and again, with profit. The beginner (for whom the book was written) is likely to be led into false paths.

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GIROLAMO FRACASTORO: *NAUGERIUS, SIVE DE POETICA DIALOGUS*. With an English Translation by Ruth Kelso and an Introduction by Murray W. Bundy. The University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., 1924. (88 pp.)

This dialogue on poetic is quite brief: it fills just four-and-twenty pages of the close-pressed Latin. It is limited in scope, treating of the general function of the poet merely, with no such analysis of methods, types, or qualities of poetry as we find in the long detailed treatises of Trissino, Minturno, Scaliger, and the varied rest of them. Yet it is, in so far as it goes, one of the most striking and significant. Fracastoro was among the

first of Cinquecento theorists to attempt the infusion of the Aristotelian into a system of poetic which, through long centuries, had shrunk into a merely incidental aspect of all-powerful Rhetoric in the schools. All through the Middle Ages down into the sixteenth century, the poet's function had been held merely as the orator's *docere, delectare, et movere*, to demonstrate, to delight, to rouse emotionally; Cicero had been ruler in the realm of Rhetoric and of Poetic both.¹ Fracastoro in the present dialogue accepts *docere, delectare*, in his definition (and *movere* he perhaps may take for granted); but he declares them common to the poet and to others—orators, historians, philosophers. The essential in the poet is his hold upon the absolute and the ideal. Other writers must of necessity be specific, treating of the actual, the real, things as they are or have been, only relatively beautiful. But the poet is free; using his imagination he is able to create the non-existent, the ideal, the absolute.²

Such, in rough summary, is the conclusion of *Naugerius*. Miss Kelso offers us in the present volume a welcome facsimile reprint of the first edition (ff. 153r–164v of the *Hieronymi Fracastorii Veronensis Opera Omnia*, Venetiis, apud Iuntas, MDLV.)³ with an English translation; as well as some six pertinent pages from the *Actius* of Pontano, also followed by an English translation. Professor Bundy has provided a full and useful introduction:⁴ we may disagree with certain matters of its detail; but the general trend is sound and valuable, especially

¹ An interesting witness to this fact, which has (as far as I know) never yet been cited to that end, is the quaint woodcut of the Tower of Learning which we find in the 1504 edition of the *Margarita Philosophica* by Gregorius Reisch, so extremely popular in the sixteenth century. Here, in the chambers of the Trivium, we find that Aristotle has the chair of *Logica* alone; while Tullius lords it in *Rhetorica* and in *Poesis*.

² Did Fracastoro know the pseudo-Longinus *repl. Ulpov*, not printed until 1554? His main thesis is strikingly suggested in one section (xv) of the latter, of which the first part has been summed up by a writer unacquainted with *Naugerius* (or at least making no reference to it):—"Longinus would seem to say that the realization of poetic is untrammelled by fact, while the imagination of the orator is bound by the actual; it is always practical . . ." See D. L. Clark: *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1922, p. 18.

³ I give the title etc. here because, by a very natural oversight, it does not anywhere appear in Miss Kelso's volume: we are simply referred to it throughout as "*Opera* (1555)." The Cornell copy was used for this facsimile reprint; there are also copies in the Harvard University Library and in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania.

⁴ In the references for both Fracastoro and Navagero (pp. 10 and 12, notes 2 and 4) the works which treat of each of them most fully have somehow been omitted. Add, therefore, for Fracastoro (a) E. Barbarani: *Girolamo Fracastoro e le sue opere*, Verona, 1897 (the fullest and most important work on F. in spite of certain weaknesses); (b) Gius. Rossi: *Gir. Fracastoro in relazione all'aristotelismo e alle scienze nel Rinascimento*, Pisa, 1893. And for Navagero, E. Cicogna: *Inscrizz. veneziane*, Venezia, 1843, VI, 173–348. The reviewer cites all three at second hand, none of them being now available to him.

in its emphasis on the influence of Cicero and the Roman rhetorical tradition (to which we may add, perhaps, the influence of contemporary rhetorical practice in the schools) on Fracastoro and on all the earlier Renaissance theorists of Poetic.

The student of Cinquecento criticism who has previously known *Naugerius* only in a later edition concludes his reading of this facsimile with a sense of something missing. Ciro Trabalza in his *La Critica Letteraria* (Milano, Francesco Vallardi, 1915, p. 127) gives several lines to the discussion of one particularly striking allusion in the dialogue:—*prout de Rolando heroe Luduovicus Areostus Etruscus numeris eleganter cecinit* But there is no Rolandus here; what does it mean? Briefly, a collation of the first and second editions shows a number of short phrases present in the latter (and in later texts) that in the first were lacking. These it seems worth while to note here in full; but first the question naturally arises: which of the two editions is the more authentic? With the *princeps* we are now familiar; the second (strangely enough not mentioned by Professor Bundy in his list on p. 11) is the *Hieronymi Fracastorii Veronensis opera omnia Secunda editio*. Venetiis, apud Iuntas, MDLXXIII [*in fine* MDLXXIII], ff. 112r–120v.

Neither space nor time permits the reaching at this point of any definite conclusion as between the two; for the moment we can only note that every superficial indication would suggest the second text as more correct. We note:—

(a) Both are posthumous; neither, then, was seen through the press by Fracastoro.

(b) Both are from the same printer; presumably he would not have made the changes of the second edition had he not supposed that for it he had now a more authentic MS. (Incidentally, the *Carminum liber I* of the second edition is considerably more full than in the first.)

(c) The first edition, as we gather from the title-page, was printed from a MS or MSS containing also certain works of Navagero, which were for that reason included in the volume. The MSS from which this first edition was printed were therefore almost certainly not the originals.

(d) The readings of the second edition were those adopted by not un-critical eighteenth century editors.

(e) Some of the additions in the second edition (and in almost every case the second edition differs only in its greater fullness) might have been glosses incorporated in a later copy. All, however, might equally well have been in the original and omitted by a copyist interested only in essentials; and some can far more naturally be so regarded.

On the whole, then, we are more inclined to regard the fuller readings of the second edition as authentic; either as part of the

original MS, or (conceivably) added later by the author's own hand. Further investigations in Italy will be able, doubtless, to produce a final verdict; for the present, it has seemed worth while to complement Miss Kelso's reprint with the list of variations. In each case, page and line are given from the 1555 edition and reprint; 1573–1574 readings are those given in italic. When the difference is a mere matter of spelling or of resolving an abbreviation, it has not been noted.

- 153r, 2–3 ego *inucundissime* Rhamnusi suauiſſimam
 15 NAVGERII *summae doctrinae et gravitatis patricii*, & IOANNIS
 18 vti vetustior (*ut scis*) ita quodammodo
 19 cum tu *relaxandi animi causa*, vacuum a gravissimis Decemvirum
Consilii negociis tempus nactus, Veronae esses
 20 quae cum ijs olim in vita
 27 in lucem emitti facile possent.
 28 gererem tibi *cui negare quicquam non possum*, tum ut tantorum
- 155v, 5 tu mox Verona *Venetias* discessisses
 24 Andreas Naugerius, *Venetii patricius et Senator, vir graece et latine
 doctissimus, Historiarum autem sui temporis scriptor egregius, &
 Ioanes*
- 154v, 23 & paucos noui, qui *hoc seculo* eo digni sint.
- 157r, 7 [Both editions read *unusquisq*; although the syntax calls for “unum-
 quemq;”]
 29 [Both editions read *imitationem* though the syntax calls for “imi-
 tatio”]
- 157v, 26 Actium Syncerum *Sanazarium*, qui tum multo iunior *Ioviano* Pontano
 30 bitur, *ab eodem Pontano* scriptis
- 158r, 23 [The second edition duly corrects the faulty “operis” to *operi*]
- 159v, 34 cuiuspiam scriptor *egregius, velut Paulus Iovius, aut Guiciardinus
 noster, petens*
- 160r, 3 maiorem doceat: *quod nos quoque in nostris historiarum Libriside
 Rebus Venetis, quantum in nobis fuit, C. Caesarem, & Polybium
 gravem auctorem seculi, praestari conati sumus, verum ita licebit*
- 162v, 19 a quouis alio eorum, qui scribunt [a necessary syntactical correction]
- 163r, 6 bunt, & naue . . . , aut *talía* per [*talía* for the erroneous “alia”]
 31 & longinqua, *prout de Rolando heroe Ludovicus Arcostus hetruscis
 numeris eleganter cecinit. ea vero,*
- 164v, 10 [The second edition duly corrects the faulty “puat” to *putat*. Miss
 Kelso notes the error; but her printer makes another, giving “*Puat*
 for *potat*” as the footnote to p. 73]

Some of these small additions are distinctly trivial, others (assuming they are really Fracastoro's) have a decided interest. They contain the only references in the dialogue to contemporary literature, including the citation which Trabalza quotes as proving most conclusively the *finissimo gusto* and *profundo acume* of Fracastoro.

In conclusion, we sincerely hope that more facsimile reprints of this kind will be forthcoming. And we hope it will not seem ungracious if we suggest that (in the future) it might be even more useful to condense the translation into a full analytical summary, thus saving space for more editorial comments on the

text.⁵ However, such considerations must not for a moment dull our gratitude for what we are here given: one reviewer at least has greatly enjoyed and profited by this work of Miss Kelso and Professor Bundy.⁶

A few words on the accuracy of the translation are inevitable. Unhappily it contains a number of errors in its details, many of which have already been enumerated by a critic who seems to have been lamentably blind to all else in the volume (Cf. *Romanic Review* XVII, 264-268). One could elaborate his list at length: *Haec illi portate* does not mean *Carry her here* (p. 59); & *inuentis excellenter*, & *expressis* is not both *the skilfully invented and the real* (p. 83); etc., etc. And the two brief passages translated in the *Introduction* by Professor Bundy, one from the Italian of Speron Speroni (p. 17), one from the Latin of Minturno (p. 19), both contain really glaring errors; while the last sentence of the second should be printed (as Minturno prints it, though he does not give its source) as a quotation, being Horace, *Ars Poetica*, v. 99: "Non [Minturno misquotes *Nec*] *satis est pulchra esse poemata; dulcia sunt.*" So it must be admitted that in detail the translations should be very much revised, and it is quite unsafe to use them without careful reference to the original texts. But though this seriously mars the reference value of the work, the value of its general suggestiveness remains unquestionable.

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The *VITA MERLINI*, edited by John Jay Parry. University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. X, No. 3. August 1925. Urbana, Ill. Price \$1.50.

The *Book of Basingwerk* and MS Cotton Cleopatra B. V. By the Rev. Acton Griscom. Reprinted from *Y Cymmrodor*, vols. XXXV-XXXVI.

The two works in question ought to be read by anyone who thinks that the medieval field or in particular the *Matière de Bretagne* is exhausted soil for the scholar. The first illustrates by example what ought to be done for many texts which have already been edited and much discussed, but only too often by men whose intentions were far superior to their equipment. The second points out with pitiless precision that almost every statement made about the Welsh histories of Britain or *Bruts* has to be checked up. The total mass of misinformation which Mr. Griscom has cleared away should inspire Welsh scholars to go back to the MSS and study them with the minuteness and accuracy which they fully deserve.

⁵ For example: 160v, 31 could be noted as a reminiscence of Catullus LXIII. 21-22; 162r, 20-21 might be suggested as a reference to Dictys Cretensis and Dares Phrygius; specific references for 164v, 16-17 and several other passages would not be out of place; etc., etc.

⁶ As a piece of bookmaking, type, paper, and the rest, the volume is quite admirable. The few misprints observed are trivial, and can cause no possible difficulty. The University of Illinois Press has set a standard very high indeed.

Dr. Parry's edition of the *Vita Merlini* is a sound piece of textual editing, combined with accurate translation and an interesting discussion of authorship, date and sources, and fairly adequate notes. One is glad to see that the editor does not adopt the unscholarly attitude of rejecting the testimony of any medieval work regarding its authorship if the flimsiest pretext can be offered for doing so, a proceeding which has enjoyed so much favor in this over-suspicious period. He accepts the authorship of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and gives good reason for dating the poem in the latter half of 1150 or early in 1151. It is also a welcome sign that he does not reason, as Lot did, that because certain Welsh poems containing allusions to Merlin's madness and his sister cannot with certitude be dated earlier than 1150, they must have derived this material from Geoffrey. Dr. Parry's discovery that the story is essentially that of Suibhne and my own forthcoming demonstration that other features of the French Merlin romances are based on Welsh and Irish mythical materials should set at rest the question whether the Merlin tradition sprouted from the brain of Geoffrey. I am convinced that much of the original Welsh material, somewhat rationalized by Breton transmission, can be detected in the French stories of Merlin and Celidoine, who is certainly the Merlin Celidonius referred to by Giraldus Cambrensis.

Other figures in the *Vita Merlini* clearly exemplify the same process. Of Morgan le Fay the romances inform us that her husband was Urien, and her son Ivain, while William of Malmesbury makes it pretty certain that her father's name was Avalloc. Yet Zimmer rightly pointed out that no Morgan, a female fay, is known to Welsh tradition. But a triad does tell us of a Modron, daughter of Avallach, wife of Urien, and mother of Owain.¹ Obviously Modron is the Welsh original of Morgan le Fay; and since Modron is descended from the Celtic goddess Matróna,² it is easy to understand why three medieval writers call Morgan a "goddess."

Another divinity appears under the name *Hybero Lucio*, who should be Lucius Hibernus, a translation of Llŵch Gwyddel, or Lugh of Ireland, the great sun-god. The evidence for this is far too voluminous to reproduce here, but will be found in Chapters IX and XXXIV of my *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*. It is strange that Dr. Parry does not recognize that the Legnis,³ referred to as the colleague of Lucius, must be a misreading for the genitive Leonis, since the *Historia* makes Leo a colleague of lucius.⁴ This association of Leo with Lucius is best explained by

¹ J. Loth, *Mabinogion*, ed. 2, II, 284.

² J. Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, 294.

³ L. 1104.

⁴ *Studies and Notes in Phil. and Lit.*, X, 85, note 2.

the fact that Lugh's name was rendered by the Welsh not only as Llwch but also as Llew,⁵ of which Leo is a Latin translation.

It is a common defect of Dr. Parry's and Mr. Griscom's work that they do not seem to have given due weight to Zimmer's demonstration of Breton names in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*.⁶ The hypothesis of Breton transmission and modification of originally Welsh materials affords the key to many of the riddles of Arthurian romance and British "history." Mr. Griscom hardly admits the possibility of Continental intermediation. He interprets Geoffrey's statement that he drew upon a book *Britannici sermonis*, which Walter Archdeacon of Oxford had brought *ex Britannia*, as referring to a Welsh book which Walter had brought "out of Britain (or Brittany?)." For this insular interpretation he has the authority of Evans, Windisch, and Loth. Now Geoffrey's statement makes sense only if it refers to Brittany or to a particular part of insular Britain, since otherwise Walter, a resident of Oxford, could not have brought the book "out of Britain." Windisch would not admit that either Brittany or Wales was meant, but offered no instance of the limitation of the word *Britannia* to any part of the Celtic fringe. Loth has recently tried to prove, in accordance with his Cornish hypothesis, that Geoffrey meant Cornwall.⁸ He cites in support of this a Latin text where "Latina, gallica, anglica, et cornubicaque et britannica" are referred to as four languages; and concludes that "*cornubica et britannica* sont employés indifféremment pour le cornique." On the contrary, if these two languages were identical, one would not expect the conjunction *et* but *vel*. The *et* distinctly implies that two dialects of what might be called the same language are involved. And that Cornish and Breton were two dialects of Brythonic so close as to be linked in this fashion is proved by Giraldus Cambrensis himself. "Cornubia vero," he writes, "et Armorica Britannia lingua utuntur fere persimili."⁹ There is no evidence, therefore, that *Britannia* applies specifically to Cornwall or to Cornish. Just what Geoffrey meant by the word he makes plain in Bk. V, ch. 12: "Armoricum regnum quod nunc Britannia dicitur." M. Loth rejects Geoffrey's own testimony in the matter. May one ask, why? What better testimony is there?

Internal evidence corroborates Geoffrey's word. Prof. Tatlock calls attention to the *Historia's* marked depreciation of

⁵ J. Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, 237. Cf. the fact that Llew was one of the three crimson-stained ones of the Isle of Britain, and that a red color was on Lugh from evening to morning.

⁶ *Zeits. f. Fr. Spr. u. Lit.*, XII,¹ 231 ff.

⁷ *Cymmrodor*, XXXV, 74; XXXVI, 11.

⁸ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itin. Camb.*, I, 6. Cited by Kittredge, *Am. Journ. of Philology*, VII, 199 note 4.

the Welsh and corresponding exaltation of the Bretons. Add the fact that such name-forms as Walvanus, Hiderus, Avallonis, Caliburnus, Modredus are far closer to their French equivalents than to Welsh Gwalchmai, Edern, Avallach, Caletvwlich, and Medrot; and one could not ask for a better case.

I, therefore, feel with Mr. Griscom that even the notorious Geoffrey, who has been so often held up to scorn as an arch-liar, deserves a better reputation. His citation of source is confirmed by internal evidence, and his wildest departures from the facts of history are to be laid not to his discredit but to that of his source. It is a shallow scholarship which when it detects in medieval writings statements that do not square with the known truth at once jumps to the theory of deliberate falsehood. Quite as often the explanation lies in carelessness, misunderstanding, innocent embroidering, or mistaken reasoning. It is curious that Mr. Griscom, who in such masterly fashion has uncovered the mass of error which modern scholars have perpetrated on the subject of these Welsh *Bruts*, should ignore the capacity of medieval authors and scribes to err even more egregiously. When he maintains that the colophons are substantially correct,¹⁰ I cannot follow him. For the *Red Book* says that Walter translated a book from Breton into Welsh; the *Tysilio*, that he turned a book from Welsh into Latin, and in his old age from Latin back into Welsh; and MS. Cleopatra B V asserts that the book which Walter translated from Latin into Welsh, Geoffrey translated back into Latin!¹¹ Though I am prepared to believe that the relationship between Geoffrey's *Historia*, his *liber vetustissimus*, and the Welsh *Bruts* was complicated, I cannot believe in so futile a series of performances as these statements call for. It is far easier to suppose that someone has blundered. Furthermore, the colophons vouch for the existence of two Latin *Bruts* besides Geoffrey's *Historia*, and it seems strange that neither of them has survived. Until further evidence is produced, I am inclined to believe that the Welsh *Bruts* are renderings of Geoffrey of Monmouth's work, with the addition of matter furnished by Welsh tradition. It is to Mr. Griscom's credit that he has cleared away so much misinformation on the subject and has proved the necessity of a fresh study of the MSS. It will immensely clarify the study of the relation of Geoffrey to these *Bruts* if we first determine the name forms which Geoffrey must have found in his Breton source.

The most significant thing about the works under review is that two scholars, making a first-hand study of the *Matière de Bretagne*, agree in rejecting the presumption which has vitiated much recent scholarship on the subject, especially the scholar-

¹⁰ *Cymmrodor*, XXXVI, 8-13.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XXXV, 59; XXXVI, 7, 9.

ship of those who have made no study of the Celtic materials; namely that the whole cycle, both in its romantic and historic phases, is the late invention of a few learned clerks like Geoffrey, Crestien de Troyes, Robert de Boron, and Wauchier de Denain. Foerster was right in maintaining the importance of the Breton elements; Faral is right in detecting signs of classical training in the poets of the twelfth century. But both are completely misled when they argue from these premises that the references to Celtic tradition are a hoax. The two works under review should do much to dispel this wide-spread delusion.

ROGER LOOMIS

THE PRELUDE OR GROWTH OF A POET'S MIND. By William Wordsworth. Edited from the Manuscripts with Introduction, Textual and Critical Notes by Ernest de Selincourt. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. Demy 8vo, pp. lxii+616, with nine colotype illustrations. Price 25s. net.

During the last fifteen years scholarship has made rapid progress in the study of the life and art of William Wordsworth. No other English poet, with the possible exception of Keats, has been the recipient of like honor and attention. A complete concordance, a two-volume biography, definitive editions of two major works, an extensive examination of his doctrines and art, numerous excellent studies, essays, and brief articles, constitute, in the case of Wordsworth, an impressive array of critical apparatus, and manifest an interest as profound and wide-spread as it is tardy and richly deserved. Wordsworth as a simple-minded bard with an uncommon infatuation for nature (whatever that may be) and the odds and ends of a rustic humanity, is passé or the conception only of the unenlightened. Instead, we now regard him as a poet of first rank, a seer, a mystic, something of a philosopher, and much of the teacher and artist, whose thought and style have been shaped by many diverse and subtle influences—a poet more difficult to comprehend than Browning. The cheap wit, the gibes, the merciless reviews, at his expense, by those who should have known better, live only in his fame.

A godlike mind soars forth, in its delight
 Making earth bare and veiling heaven, and when
 It sinks, the swarms that dimmed or shared its light
 Leave to its kindred lamps the spirit's awful night.

The posterity for which Wordsworth wrote and in whose verdict he placed his trust has not betrayed him.

Since its first appearance in 1850 *The Prelude* has been a large factor in establishing Wordsworth's fame. Concerning the

poet's early life and mental development it has proved a rich mine of information, first extensively worked by Professor Legouis for his *La Jeunesse de Wordsworth*, which was translated into English in 1897. An autobiographic poem of nearly eight thousand lines on the growth of a great poet's mind is as unique as it is valuable; yet it is a work that cannot be judged solely by the canons of poetry, which occasionally must give way to those of biography. To this poem students of Wordsworth must again return with renewed interest and not a few shattered conclusions, to review the whole in the light of Professor de Selincourt's variorum edition. The poem is now not only a record of the growth of the poet's mind, but by means of its variant readings it has become an equally interesting account of its own evolution.

Hitherto no variant readings were recorded, and the existence of the manuscript from which the work was printed was unknown. That the poem was completed in 1805; that the author spent much time and arduous labor in revising it during the remaining forty-five years of his life; and that in all probability the poem that saw the light in 1850 is vastly different from the one ostensibly completed in 1805 has long since been generally known. We are now in a position to make comparisons, draw conclusions, and discover other problems.

Through the kindness of the poet's grandson, Mr. Gordon Wordsworth of Ambleside, Professor de Selincourt has obtained access to five almost complete manuscripts of *The Prelude* and eight others which contain drafts of parts of the poem. Of the nearly complete manuscripts, one is evidently that from which the poem was first printed; another is slightly earlier; a third dates from about 1817-19; while the remaining two were made in 1805-6. The dates of the fragments are more conjectural, but so far as evidence goes, seem to range from 1798-1804. We may now assert with more confidence that the preamble of the poem (I. 1-54) was written in 1795; that the work was begun in earnest in 1798; and that the final revision took place in 1839. It is not likely that we can ever know the complete history of the composition of the poem; how separate poems, one written as early as 1786, were pressed into service; how and what parts were rejected; and how fragments were removed from one part to another; but we can now learn far more than we have known hitherto.

The work of collating and deciphering the manuscripts was enormous and most trying, demanding the utmost patience and skill. Wordsworth often confessed to the deficiencies of his penmanship, but no one can imagine how truthfully he spoke or how great was the devotion of his faithful amanuenses, his wife and sister, until he has attempted to read some of the poet's handwriting in his much corrected manuscripts. From chaotic

conditions Professor de Selincourt with rare courage and patience has attained highly pleasing results. On opposite pages he has printed the 1805-6 version and that of 1850. Variant readings from earlier manuscripts are conveniently arranged as footnotes or find a place in the elaborate critical notes at the end of the volume. The editor and publishers have left little to be desired in the convenient and adequate solution of a most difficult problem, giving us a clear presentation and attractive pages. That there will be, however, no further use for the manuscripts except to return them to the obscurity which has so effectively concealed them for three quarters of a century is more than we may hope for the new work—more than any editor could have brought to pass. If we mistake not, scholars will in the future find frequent occasion to consult the manuscripts.

A comparison of the version of 1805-6 with that of 1850 affords an interesting and profitable study from which we may learn much of Wordsworth's development as an artist, his altered views of government, religion, and the philosophy of life, the mistakes in the text as printed in 1850, the addition or subtraction of bits of important information, and finally that Wordsworth, who has hitherto been charged with saving much that he should have discarded, really discarded much that seems to us now to have real value.

The version of 1850 is a very much better poem than any of the earlier ones, though it may not be the ideal version and may in some respects be less true than the earlier ones. Vague or colorless words are replaced by others more precise and meaningful; favorite adjectives and phrases are restrained or eliminated; repetitions characteristic of the *Lyrical Ballads* disappear; arid stretches of insignificant words give way to significant ones; diffuse, verbose, loosely knit and awkward sentences are compressed and polished. The poem as a whole has been shortened some 366 lines in addition to the omission of *Vaudracour and Julia*. This compression has been possible in spite of the fact that there are many additions and elaborations in the final version. All change, however, is not clear gain; for occasionally the better artist nods and the reader loses.

Those who have expected to find in the earlier version more radical views on the French Revolution and on government than we are familiar with in the version of 1850, are doomed to disappointment. It must be remembered that in 1804 Wordsworth had already recovered from his ardent enthusiasm during his first contact with that great upheaval, and could look back with something of a detached interest on his former self. With profit it may also be remembered, as Mr. Dicey reminds us, that there is a "sort of consistency between the political ideas of Wordsworth the Girondin of 1793 and Wordsworth, the so-called Tory of 1820 or 1830." Even in the *Apology for the French Revolution*,

written in 1793, he shows marked conservatism. It is not surprising, therefore, that Book IX on the French Revolution, with the exception of the omission of *Vaudracour and Julia*, shows less alteration than any other book in the poem. The eulogy on Burke, beginning, "Genius of Burke!" introduced about 1820, and the laudatory allusion in it to Fox which was canceled between 1828 and 1832, need occasion no surprise nor lead us to accuse Wordsworth of indulging a conservatism little befitting his earlier years. His opinion of Burke, as expressed in the eulogy, he no doubt held in 1804 and earlier, while the eulogy at most but completes and rounds off, in a manner characteristic of alterations elsewhere, the preceding lines (493-511), probably alluding to Burke. The poet's artistic sense of unity would demand the omission of the lines to Fox without the slightest prodding from his growing conservatism.

Wordsworth's religious outlook in the revised *Prelude* is that of the author of *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* rather than that expressed in *Tintern Abbey*. In the words of Professor de Selincourt: "He took pains to relate as far as possible his naturalistic religion to a definitely Christian dogma. He toned down passages that savored too much of independence. He inserted lines here and there which might lull asleep the watchful eye of the heresy hunter. Sometimes these are merely what might be called pietistic embroidery, in no way affecting the argument, but creating, by the use of conventional phraseology, a familiar atmosphere of edification." Here, for instance, are some bits of this "pietistic embroidery":

Dust as we are. I. 340.

Or His pure Word by miracle revealed. V. 222.

To which the silver wands of saints in Heaven
Might point with rapturous joy. X. 484-5.

Like angels stopped upon the wing by sound
Of harmony from Heaven's remotest spheres. XIV. 98-99.

that peace
Which passeth understanding. XIV. 126-7.

While Professor de Selincourt is ready to admit that such additions are natural, he is, we are inclined to believe, prone to criticize Wordsworth too severely for inserting them. There is far more occasion for surprise in finding many a passage in the earlier version quite in harmony with Christianity and its phraseology than there is at additions of a similar nature in the 1850 version. The views on religion held by Wordsworth in 1798-1807 are but a little nearer to those he held in 1791-3, for instance, than are his views on the subject in 1820 or later. From the outset the poem in a way presents a practical im-

possibility. It is impossible for a man in his early thirties to record exactly his sentiments while in his teens and early twenties, nor does Wordsworth anywhere profess to remove the character and personality of the narrator of the poem. After all what concerns us most is the Wordsworth of the years prior to the writing of the poem, and of him at best we can have only an approximation. As for the rest, whether we have the Wordsworth of 1804 or 1820 matters little; he may be a man of thirty-four or of sixty-nine trying to recall his youth. In either case it is Wordsworth speaking, and a close examination will reveal a consistent and progressive evolution of his faith. Unless the writer is much mistaken there exists side by side with Wordsworth's "naturalistic religion" much of an orthodox one. Concerning the deeper religious tone in Wordsworth's later poetry, it should be recalled that in 1802 he "took fire" from Dorothy's reading Milton's sonnets aloud to him; that during the same year she was likewise reading *Paradise Lost*; and from that time on the influence of Milton is more pronounced in his poetry. Not only did he write Miltonic sonnets, but Miltonic echoes are frequently heard in his subsequent poetry, especially in *The Prelude*. The change in the religious tone of that poem may in no small measure be ascribed to the influence of Milton. To that influence we may attribute the increasing severity in Wordsworth's thought and expression after 1807. The writer has never been convinced that shortly after that year the poet lost his inspiration and ceased to be a poet, at least an inspired one. We have been too much dazzled by the brilliant sunrise rightly to appreciate the sublime sunset. There are some who would rather hear the Wordsworth of 1839 than the Wordsworth of 1804 relate the story of his youth.

The two versions of *The Prelude* show little alteration in Wordsworth's adherence to the philosophy of "Hartley transcendentalized by Coleridge"; traces, in the early version, of sensationalism are far less in evidence than might have been anticipated. In fact, such traces probably have been emphasized too much of late. It is difficult and unsatisfactory to attempt to pigeonhole Wordsworth under any ism.

Of more value than the changes in religious tone and the philosophy of life, all of which could easily be observed in other poems written from 1805 to 1839, is the recovery by means of the earlier version of significant bits of information of biographical interest. We learn, for instance, in the earlier version that Wordsworth had but slender means during his stay in London; that he went to France to learn French; that he returned to England because he was short of funds; that he was not six years old when he lost his guide on Penrith moor; that his guide was "honest James"; that the lake on which he stole the boat was Ulswater near Patterdale, and not Esthwaite; that on his

return to Hawkshead for his first vacation from college he caught the first sight of Lake Windermere from the heights of Kendal; that he came upon the old soldier in distress on the road from Windermere to Hawkshead through Sawrey; that Mary was the maid to whom he breathed his "first fond vows"; etc.

The manuscripts prove correct nearly all of the conjectural readings in the 1850 version—a noted triumph for those who put faith in such emendations and have the genius and courage to make them; for it is not often that such conjectures can be established beyond all doubt by the discovery of manuscripts. The poet's nephew, Christopher Wordsworth, assisted in seeing the work through the press, and seems both to have made some inexcusable blunders and to have taken some unwarranted liberties with manuscript readings. For instance, in the first edition in 1850 he omitted eight lines at the end of Book V which recount the poet's change of plan in deciding to extend the poem beyond five books. Again in 1857 in the third edition, Book III. 104-7, he substituted four lines of his own for one which he thought ungrammatical.

Had Wordsworth printed *The Prelude* in 1805 he would have made many corrections, some of which now appear in the version of 1850; he would, no doubt, have preserved some of the passages which he abandoned later, and also some of the interesting biographical details; but it is doubtful whether the work would have equaled the version of 1850. Most of the best passages are to be found in the earlier version, though as late as 1839 he could add the last two of the famous lines describing the statue of Newton at Cambridge as:

The marble index of a mind for ever
Voyaging through strange seas of Thought, alone.

Such lines prove that his inspiration was not dead.

A more fitting portrait of Wordsworth could not have been selected as a frontispiece than the pencil drawing by Edridge, made in 1805 when the poet was completing *The Prelude*. The dedication to Mr. Gordon Wordsworth, whose valuable assistance has meant much to the editor, is a most proper acknowledgment. The several collotype facsimiles of portions of the manuscripts add interest and give a general idea of some of the difficulties of the editor. The sane, well-balanced introduction, the scholarly notes, particularly those on topography and the influence of Milton, together with the index to the introduction and notes, mark a well-rounded scholarly achievement of prime importance. It is fortunate that this most important task fell to one who for thirty years has made Wordsworth a "constant companion," and whose sympathy and judgment are right.

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ALBERT SOERGEL, DICHTUNG UND DICHTER DER ZEIT. Eine Schilderung der deutschen Literatur der letzten Jahrzehnte. Neue Folge: Im Banne des Expressionismus. Mit 342 Abbildungen. 896 Seiten. R. Voigtländer's Verlag in Leipzig. 1925.

Wir besitzen drei Literaturgeschichten der allerneuesten Zeit. Ein Büchlein von Philipp Witkop; und ausführliche Darstellungen von Friedrich von der Leyen und Hans Naumann. Jedes der genannten Werke hat seine Vorzüge, jedes wiederum ist bedeutsam in seiner Art. Unentbehrlich aber für jeden, der sich über die literarischen Erscheinungen Deutschlands von 1900 bis 1920 unterrichten will, ist Soergels Schilderung. Der erste, aufs freundlichste aufgenommene und oft gedruckte Band zeichnete die Entwicklung von 1880 bis 1910. Der zweite Band gibt ein wichtiges, zum Teil freilich auch recht trauriges, oft schmerzvoll erschütterndes Bild unserer Tage. In der Kunst spiegelt sich der Geist einer Zeit wider: ihr Ringen, ihr Sehnen, ihr Irren, ihre Seele.

Es gehört schon Mut dazu, den gewaltigen Stoff überhaupt bändigen zu wollen. Und wir sind Soergel dankbar für den Ernst und die Gewissenhaftigkeit, mit der er seine Arbeit abgefasst hat. Er teilt das Ganze in zwei grosse Abschnitte. Der eine ist betitelt: "Zum Expressionismus hin. Vorbereiter und Vorläufer"; der andere: "Der Durchbruch." Innerhalb dieser Abschnitte entscheidet er sich für die Anordnung nach den Gattungen Lyrik, Epik und Dramatik. Und er zeichnet das Antlitz der Jahre, indem er Einzelpersönlichkeiten herausgreift und ihren Werdegang, ihre Eigenart, ihre Stellung in der Entwicklung der Literatur beleuchtet. Reiche Proben aus den einzelnen Werken sind beigegeben. Diese Art, Literaturgeschichte zu schreiben, wird vor allem dem willkommen sein, der eine Einführung von dem Verfasser erwartet. Gerechtigkeit ist Soergels oberster Grundsatz und letztes Ziel. Er ist vorsichtig im Urteil; scheut aber keineswegs vor Ablehnung zurück.

Wie fern liegen uns doch schon heute viele der hier erwähnten "Richtungen." Manche Verirrungen sind nur zu erklären aus dem Chaos, das mit dem Ende des Weltkrieges über uns hereinbrach. Ein fast sinnloses Wüten gegen das Leben zeigt sich; ein wildes Sich-Aufbäumen; ein atemloses Hasten; ein trotziger Wille, die letzten Geheimnisse zu ergründen; ein ohnmächtiges Wüten wider die scheinbare Sinnlosigkeit alles Seins; ein verzweifelndes Aufschreien; und zugleich doch auch eine schmerzvolle Sehnsucht nach Liebe, nach Geborgensein; Flucht über das Leben hinaus; grenzenlose innere Zerrissenheit; eine masslose Überschätzung des Verstandes, mit dem man den Sinn der Welt fassen zu können meinte; ein Vergessen der geheimen Macht der Seele, ihrer Zauberkräfte und der Verzückungen, die

dem beschieden sind, der in den Schacht seines Wesens zurück-sinkt und den Offenbarungen seines Innern lauscht.

Schmerzvoll sind oft die Eindrücke, die wir empfangen. Mit stiller Trauer wird der Künstler gedacht, die der Weltkrieg geraubt hat. Genannt sei Walter Flex, von dem das Wort stammt: "Nicht das Glück ist das letzte Ziel des Menschen, sondern seine Vollendung als leiblich-sittliches Wesen. Dazu helfe Euch der Krieg. Die Sieger werden unter den Toten sein." Oder Gustav Sack; unvergesslich als Mensch; "Block aus Urgestein, Urgewalten und Urleidenschaften hingegeben und verfallen." Oder Gerrit Engelke, der mit heiliger Liebe das Leben umfasste. Oder Georg Trakl, dessen Kunst am Ende immer mehr dunkle Verzückung ward, "ein bis zum Überschwäumen mit Gefühlen gesättigtes Wallen, Ziehen und Treiben ahnungsschwerer und deutungstiefer Bilder und Klänge in Wohllaut und Wehmut." Oder Ernst Stadler, den es hintrieb zu den Dumpfen und Armen. Oder Reinhard Johannes Sorge, der All- und Gottverbundene, der in der Welt der Mystik zu seinem Wesen fand.

Von den Künstlern unserer Tage, deren Schaffen Aufbau bedeutet und deren Werk Soergel ausführlich würdigt, erwähnen wir die nunmehr verstorbenen Dichter Christian Morgenstern und Carl Hauptmann. Und von den noch unter uns Wirkenden Paul Ernst, Wilhelm von Scholz, Hanns Johst. Nicht minder Wilhelm Schmidtbonn und Hermann Stehr. Der eine ein Rheinländer, der andere ein Schlesier von Geburt. Von Hingabe an das Sein sind Schmidtbonns Bücher erfüllt. Sie zeigen nichts Krankes, Zersetzendes, Lebenzerstörendes. Von heimlicher Poesie sind sie erfüllt. Durchwärmt von Liebe; und voll heisser Inbrunst eines Dichtermenschen, eines Menschendichters, eines Suchers, der den Gipfel erklimmen will; der nicht matt wird auf dem Pfad, der zur Höhe führt. Und Hermann Stehr—der heiss um sein Wesen gerungen hat, bis er aus dunkelsten Finsternissen den Weg ins Helle fand. Immer aufs neue erstaunt man über die Naturgewaltigkeit seiner Bücher. Sein bedeutendstes Werk ist der zweibändige Roman *Der Heiligenhof*; voll dichterischer Schönheiten und zugleich voll tiefster Erkenntnisse und Verkündigungen. Stehrs Schöpfungen zeigen den einsam Ringenden und den grossen Gestalter und Vollender.

Reich mit Abbildungen ist Soergels Schilderung geschmückt. Denn das Werk soll—über die Aufgaben einer Literaturgeschichte hinaus—zugleich die Beziehungen zwischen Dichtkunst und bildender Kunst aufhellen. Bildnisse von Künstlerhand sind bevorzugt. Karikatur und Satire werden herangezogen. Ein wichtiger Ausdruck des Zeitwillens sind die vielen Flugschriften und literarischen Blätter aus den Tagen des Weltkrieges und der Revolution. Auch Handschriftproben sind in grösserer Anzahl beigegeben.

HELMUT WOCKE

Liegnitz in Schlesien.

DAS DEUTSCHE DRAMA. In Verbindung mit Julius Bab, Albert Ludwig, Friedrich Michael, Max J. Wolff und Rudolf Wolkan herausgegeben von Robert F. Arnold. 868 Seiten. C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München, 1925.

Einem Antrieb von aussen her verdankt dies bedeutsame Werk seine Entstehung. Im Sommer 1920 lud der Vorsitzende des geschäftsführenden Vorstandes der "Deutschen Dramatischen Gesellschaft" den Herausgeber ein, zusammen mit andern Gelehrten und Schriftstellern eine Geschichte des deutschen Dramas zu veröffentlichen. Der Plan wurde in die Tat umgesetzt. Mitarbeiter wurden herangezogen, und die Grundsätze für die Abfassung des Werkes festgelegt. Man war sich darin einig, "dass das, worauf es ankomme, eine Entwicklungsgeschichte der Gattung sei, der national begrenzte und bedingte Werdegang einer Kunstform im Zusammenhang mit dem Werdegang des Schrifttums und des Volks selbst; dass der Lärm unübersehbarer Tatsachen den gewaltigen Rhythmus des Geschehens nicht übertönen dürfe." Inzwischen kamen die trostlosen Jahre für Deutschland. Das Unternehmen wurde stark gefährdet, zumal 1922 die "Deutsche Dramatische Gesellschaft" unter dem Drucke der Zeit sich auflöste. Immer aufs neue galt es, Hindernisse und Widerstände zu beseitigen. Nun freuen wir uns doppelt der gelungenen Arbeit, für deren Veröffentlichung sich Arnold, der bekannte Verfasser der *Allgemeinen Bücherkunde*, so erfolgreich eingesetzt hat.

Eine Geschichte des deutschen Dramas von den ersten Anfängen bis in unsere Tage zu schreiben, übersteigt die Kraft eines Einzelnen. Die Verteilung der Abschnitte an verschiedene Gelehrte und Schriftsteller ward zur Notwendigkeit. Der Stoff ist reich, überreich; und es galt, den Gedanken der steten Entwicklung nicht aus den Augen zu verlieren. Die Anordnung weicht von der herkömmlichen Art ab. Von Friedrich Michael stammt der erste Abschnitt "Das Mittelalter und sein Ausklang." Rudolf Wolkan behandelt "Das neulateinische Drama." "Von Ayrrer bis Lessing" und weiter "Von Lessing bis zur Romantik" führen uns Max J. Wolff und Albert Ludwig. Robert F. Arnold hat das Kapitel "Von der Romantik bis zur Moderne" übernommen. Julius Bab schildert "Die Lebenden." Die neueste Literatur ist dankbar berücksichtigt. Man spürt dies sogleich auf den ersten Seiten, in dem Absatz "Ursprünge." Hier zeigt sich, wie bedeutsam und wegweisend Hans Naumanns "Primitive Gemeinschaftskultur" ist. Jedem der Mitarbeiter ist begreiflicherweise das Gebiet zugewiesen worden, auf dem er selbständig-forschend tätig ist. Einen weiten Weg durchwandert das Werk; reich an neuen Aufschlüssen ist es, reich an feinen Einzelbeobachtungen. Das letzte, von Julius Bab bearbeitete Kapitel ist in vieler Hinsicht ein Seitenstück, eine Ergänzung zu Albert Soergels *Dichtung und Dichter der*

Zeit. Zugleich zeigt sich hier die verschiedene Art, Kunstwerke zu beurteilen und literarische Erscheinungen des Tages zu beleuchten. Ein Jeder schreibt aus dem Wesen seiner Persönlichkeit heraus. Einen Sonderabschnitt widmet Bab "Gerhart Hauptmanns Weg"; dem Dichter, den er wiederholt schon tief und feinsinnig gewürdigt hat. Aber dem Bruder Gerharts, dem einsamen Carl Hauptmann, wird er nicht gerecht. Wärmer und lebendiger schildert ihn z. B. Soergel.

Einen bedeutsamen Eindruck hinterlässt das von Arnold herausgegebene Werk. In der Tat: "Das Ringen der deutschen Dramatik ist selber ein sehr echtes und deutsches Drama." Mit Sorgfalt angefertigt sind auch die Beigaben: die wichtigen Literaturhinweise und die nicht minder willkommene "Zeit-*tafel.*" Unentbehrlich sind die Personen- und Dramenregister.

HELMUT WOCKE

Liegnitz in Schlesien.

RAABESTUDIEN. Im Auftrage der Gesellschaft der Freunde Wilhelm Raabes herausgegeben von Constantin Bauer. Heckner's Verlag. Wolfenbuettel, 1925. 452 S.

Aus Wolfenbüttel, der Stadt Lessing's, kommt uns diese willkommene Gabe. Aber Wolfenbüttel ist auch die Stadt des jungen Raabe, der dort einige seiner entwicklungsreichsten Jahre verlebt und der alten Welfenstadt tiefgehende historische Anregungen verdankt. Neben diesem rein äusserlichen Moment im Leben beider Dichter gibt es aber noch ein geistig bindendes: Ihre weitgehende Toleranz und grosse Liebe zum deutschen Volke, dem Volke, dass beide jahrelang in Einsamkeit und Unverständnis ihre Wege ziehen liess. Bis dann für Lessing die "Zeit der Bronze" gekommen war und es dem dazu beauftragten Komitee nur mit grösster Mühe gelang, die Ruhestätte des grossen Toten zu finden. Auch Raabe war bis zu seinem siebzigjährigen Geburtstage der grossen Masse der Deutschen so gut wie unbekannt. So sehen auch heute, trotz der jahrelangen aufklärenden Arbeit der Raabefreunde, die meisten seiner Landsleute nur den "Humoristen" in Ihm. Und hat man die "Chronik der Sperlingsgasse" und den "Hungerpastor" gelesen, so gibt man sich zufrieden. Uebrigens geht es vielen zuentfingigen Literaturhistorikern ebenso! (R. M. Meyer, A. Biese.)

Über den Inhalt des schlicht, aber geschmackvoll eingebundenen Buches macht uns der Herausgeber im Vorwort bekannt: "Der vorliegende, unter dem Titel *Raabestudien* veröffentlichte Band enthält Aufsätze von Mitarbeitern der seit 1911 von Wilhelm Brandes und mir herausgegebenen *Mitteilungen für die Gesellschaft der Freunde Wilhelm Raabes* aus den

vergriffenen Jahrgängen 1911–1919. Ihr Wiederabdruck erfolgt auf Wunsch und Anregung vieler Raabefreunde, die nicht im Besitz dieser Jahrgänge sind. (Vorwort)—Der gesamte Inhalt der *Mitteilungen* konnte für den Abdruck natürlich schon deshalb nicht in Frage kommen, da eine Wiedergabe von alten Mitgliederverzeichnissen, Nachrichten und Berichten heute wohl kaum noch Interesse auslösen würde. Auch sind die bisher ohne Rücksicht auf Zeit und Zusammenhang erschienen Briefe Raabes fortgelassen, wohl in der Voraussetzung, dass sie doch kurz oder lang im Gesamtbriefwechsel des Dichters ihren Platz finden. Dasselbe gilt von der ergebnisreichen Raabebibliographie von Hans Martin Schultz, die, von 1903 an bis in die neueste Zeit fortgesetzt, demnächst in Buchform erscheinen soll.

Das Buch hat vier Abteilungen: Aus Raabes Leben; Quellenstudien; Zu Raabes Schaffen und Wirken; Zu einzelnen Werken.—Diese Einteilung ist ebenso zweckmässig wie vernünftig, da sie die Übersicht erhöht.

Der erste Teil "Aus Raabes Leben" ist seinem Charakter nach durchaus subjektiv gehalten, während in den anderen das wissenschaftliche Element vorwiegt. Über die Verfasser Folgendes: Bilden Wilhelm Brandes, Hans Martin Schultz und Robert Lange gewissenmassen die Phalanx im Kampfe fuer raabische Ideale und die Anknennung ihres Meisters, so fehlt auch der kräftige Nachwuchs nicht: Heinrich Spiero, Constantin Bauer, Wilhelm Fehse, Helene Dose u. a. In allen ihren Aufsätzen aber schwingt die Liebe zum Meister als dominierende Note. Bei Raabe geht es eben nicht ohne starke innere Teilnahme! Wenn es—was ich nicht glaube—in der literarischen Kritik so etwas wie "völlige Objektivitaet" gibt; bei Raabe müsste sie jedenfalls versagen! Denn den Dichter erfassen und lieben ist Eins; einen Mittelweg gibt es da nicht! Geben wir also ruhig zu, dass die wissenschaftliche Behandlung raabischer Probleme ihrer ganzen Natur nach stark subjektiv gefärbt ist, sein muss; es braucht damit noch lange nicht gesagt zu sein, dass dies den Wert ihrer Leistungen herabsetzt! Im Gegenteil: Liebe sieht scharf und ist feinhörig! Ich meinerseits kann nur wünschen, dass dies Charakteristikum der Raabeforschung ihr noch lange erhalten bleiben möge!

Man merkt vielen dieser Aufsätze an, dass die Raabeforschung noch in den Kinderschuhen steckt, dass sie noch allzusehr im Schatten des grossen Toten steht. Es fehlt den Zeitgenossen eben an der eigentlichen Perspektive, wie sie nur die das Persönliche mehr in den Hintergrund rückende Zeit und die dadurch bedingte schärfere Einstellung des Forschers dem Raabe—Problem gegenüber geben kann. Denn dass Raabe der literaturhistorischen Forschung noch manche harte Nuss zu knacken geben wird, wird jedem Kenner des Dichters

ohne Weiteres einleuchten. Dieser Geist ist tief wie das Meer, und wie es voll dunkler, geheimnisvoller Abgründe. Dem ur-eigensten Wesen raabischer Eigenart am nächsten kommt wohl Helene Dose (Frau Claudine in *Abu Telfan*, S. 195; *Frau Salome*, S. 286; "Die Innerste," S. 296;), wobei Ihr eine echt frauenhaft-intuitive Kraft der Einfühlung besonders zu statten kommt. Doch scheinen mir Ihre Folgerungen oft zu rigoros und einseitig aufgefasst. Dies besonders in Ihrem prächtigen Buche (Helene Dose: Aus Wilhelm Raabes mystischer Werkstatt, Sammlung *Unser Volkstum*, Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, Hamburg, 1925.), Hier sucht sie den Beweis für Raabes innerste Verwandtschaft mit der Mystik anzutreten wobei Sie es aber unterlässt, das eigentliche Wesen der Mystik genauer zu definieren.

Dr. Constantin Bauer hat sich durch den Neudruck dieser ersten, fast verschollenen Jahrgaenge der *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft der Freunde Wilhelm Raabes* grosse Verdienste erworben. Und so begrüßen wir die *Raabestudien* als eine wertvolle und zugleich handliche Bereicherung der stetig anwachsenden Raabe-Literatur.

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ISLENZK-ENSK ORÐABÓK (Icelandic-English Dictionary).

Eftir G. T. Zoëga. Önnur Útgáfa, aukin. Reykjavik, S. Kristjánsson. 30kr. 1922.

The first edition of this useful book was published in 1904 and, according to the author, has been unobtainable in the trade for ten years before the second edition came out. Clearly, then, the case of a necessary publication! How large the first edition was, I have no means of knowing; but evidently the several thousand cultured Icelandic families on this continent (chiefly in Canada), the active Icelandic traders, and—let us hope, quite a number of English and American lovers of modern Icelandic literature—account for the demand. To be sure, it was like Adam's having to choose Eve—because there was no other. Fortunately, the only available choice was good.

By all means, the new edition deserves the adjective *aukin* (enlarged): from a book of 560 pp. with 42 lines to the page, it has grown to one of 627 pp. with 45 lines to the page; that is, to one of somewhat larger format. Frequent comparisons convince one that there is hardly a column but has been added to. The paper is excellent, the print delightfully clear. Only, as in the first edition, it is regrettable that in the case of longer articles—such as the ones *ou taka* (3 columns), *fara, koma, bera, ganga, verða* (2 columns each), and a large number of verbs with 1-1½ columns—the material is not organized under conspicuous

numbers. To wade through much print to find the meaning or idiom sought for is both time-robbing and hard on the eyes; and it is precisely the common simplex verbs which have gathered around themselves the vast majority of idioms.

To be criticised is also the unwarranted listing of words, neither of the same derivation nor, (frequently) even homonymous, under the same heading. That is, compounds from the same root-stem are not kept together. Thus, to cite only a few examples, *kúgun* f. 'cowering, tyranny' is cited *sub kú-gild* 'a cow's value' and other compounds with *kú-*; *for-smán* f. 'disgrace' *sub for-setning* 'preposition'; *ris-hár* a. 'high-pitched' *sub risa-* 'giant-' etc.

Modern Icelanders are apt to protest to one approaching their language from the Old Icelandic that it is by no means the same; which is, of course true especially of the phonology and, though to a much lesser degree, of the grammar and syntax. But when the vocabulary of the literary language is examined one has to admit that vast numbers of words and idioms are identical and, also, have preserved the same sense very generally. I am here referring, not only to the ancient poetic vocables used in modern poetry, but to the common coin as well.

I would be the last to find fault with the inclusion of these; for, as remarked, they are current in elevated diction, and surely a dictionary is to aid readers of the literature. On the other hand one feels that, by comparison, the huge new vocabulary of commercial, scientific, industrial terms is treated in rather stepmotherly fashion. If I may be so ungracious I would suggest, for the future, as a means to find room for these without unduly increasing the bulk of the book, that the very great number of entirely unambiguous compounds with *jafn-*, *ó-*, *sam-*, *endur-*, *eftir-*, *of-*, etc. be omitted. Many of these I should call only 'temporary,' made *ad hoc* for the use of the moment. It is certainly worth while to print e. g. *jafn-lyndi* 'evenness of temper, (better, equanimity),' *jafn-lendi* 'level, even piece of land'; but how about *jafn-mikill*, *jafn-ltill*, *jafn-mildur* etc. etc?

Also, one might dispense with such compounds as *hird-ftll* 'court-fool,' *gull-skóaðr* 'with golden shoes,' *land-greifi* 'landgrave,' *landgreifi-dæmi* 'landgraviate' etc.

The purist has had his day in Iceland, with a vengeance. I am struck ever again with the folly of coining such outlandish neologisms as *rafmagn* 'electricity' (literally 'amber-power') and its many compounds, such as *rafmagn-vaki* 'dynamo'; (literally 'amber-power-exciter'); *loft-skeyti* 'radio telegram', *hreyfingarfræði* 'dynamics'; *ljóskönnuður* 'spectroscope'; *stma-mær* 'telephone girl'; *tundur-bátur* 'torpedoboot'; *hvitla-gull* 'platinum'; *segul-ásl* 'magnetism' etc. They bring the thing not a whit nearer to people, but rather deceive with a false familiarity. Of course, the compiler had no choice; though in his *estirmáli* he

intimates that he is not in sympathy with many of the neologisms urged for adoption.

It would be unfair to charge him with the omission of many words in dialectal and conversational use, especially so long as Sigfús Blöndal's large Icelandic-Danish Dictionary is incomplete; but I may be forgiven if I mention a few fairly common vocables that I have met with in my reading and entered in my copy of the first edition, to wit: *atför* f. 'attack'; *blása við e-n* 'to yawn upon' (of a cave etc.); *fall* n. '(grammatical) case,' as in *staðarfall* 'accusative'; *frænka* = *frændkona* f. 'cousin'; *hafa undir (eða á) höndum* 'to have on hand'; *heilár!* 'hail!'; *hugnæmur* 'quick to learn'; *láta som minnst* 'to make little of'; *líkast* 'to be alike'; *líta til e-s* 'to depend on'; *sub mega, hversu mátt þú* 'how are you?'; *svein-staull* m. 'boy'; *strjúka e-m um nef* 'to give one a bloody nose'; *tískan* f. 'fashion'; *vaka máls við* 'to broach a question'; *viðsvegur* adv. 'far and near.'

Not any real misprints have been observed; except that with many compounds the gender is not stated, and that with a number of archaic terms the caution 'poet.' is omitted.

The second edition being issued with the aid of a subvention from the Althing, as was the first, the somewhat high price of this excellent and indispensable volume is rather regrettable.

LEE M. HOLLANDER

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MOLTKE MOES SAMLEDE SKRIFTER, utgit ved Knut Liestøl. Issued by the Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, Oslo, 1926. Harvard University Press, American Representative.

The name of Moltke Moe is an outstanding one in two fields,—that of linguistic reform and that of folkloristic investigation. In the former, he is a champion of *landsmål*, on the one hand, and of national rejuvenation of the *riksmål*, on the other, with the purpose of their fusion in one national tongue in the not too distant future. In this phase of his work, not many in this country will be interested. In the second field, Moe did more than any one man to put Norwegian investigation of folk-tradition on a scientific basis. Here he is a breaker of trails, the creator of a new methodology, a thinker who has plumbed deeper than his predecessors. This phase of Moe's work is not so well known as it deserves.

Moe's published works are not extensive; and yet they are sufficient to show his gradual development from a zealous collector to a keen, analytical thinker and a formulator of basic laws of mythological and folkloristic origins and evolution.

To make it possible for scholars everywhere to reap the full benefit of Moe's learning and even more to become acquainted with his methodology, the Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture has arranged for a complete collection of his articles, hitherto scattered in pamphlets, journals, or collections not available beyond the principal library centres of Scandinavia. The work has been well entrusted by the Institute to Professor Knut Liestøl, a student of Moe's and his successor to the professorship of folklore at the university of Oslo.

The two volumes now issued contain in all twenty-eight articles. Of these, a few dealing with linguistic reform are of interest to anyone who wishes to follow the conflict that led to the gradual nationalization of the Norwegian language. To others they are of little interest, for, in their conception, temperament and patriotism are stronger factors than scientific linguistics. Others, like the articles on Sophus Bugge and P. A. Munch, are general studies of the national awakening. But the bulk of the volumes is a series of widely varied studies in popular tradition,—the proverb, the ballad, the folk-tale—revealing great learning, keen analytical power, and the ability to generalize. These studies are of value to students of social science, folk-lore, literature, psychology, or religion; and they are so charmingly and simply written that they will satisfy equally well the general reader.

Scientific study of folk-lore was yet in its infancy in Norway when Moltke Moe, in 1878, made his first significant contribution. The first interest in the collection of popular traditions reached Norway shortly after 1830 and developed, almost feverishly, in the forties and fifties, the great period of romantic revival of the national past. Faye had published his *Norske Sagn* (1833); Jørgen Moe had made his first collection of ballads (1840); Lanstad and Olea Crøger were embarked on their extensive search for the folksongs of Telemarken; and Asbjørnson and Moe sent forth volume after volume of folk-tales.¹ The whole movement was inspired by the brothers Grimm; and their romantic views were dominant among the Norwegian collectors. Of any scientific evaluation or analysis, we find little before Jørgen Moe's introduction to the second edition of *Norske Folkeæventyr* (1851). This study, wholly in the spirit of Grimm, considered the folk-tales deteriorated myths.² In a review in *Morgenbladet*,³ P. A. Munch, though on the whole in

¹ For a short bibliography see *Moltke Moes Samlede Skrifter* I, p. 83 ff. A far more complete survey is Halvdan Koht, "Folkeminne-Vitenskap" in *Norsk Historisk Videnskap i Femti Aar*, p. 224 ff.

² Koht, *Folkeminne-Vitenskap* 233; Moe's introduction is reprinted in *Samlede Skrifter* II, 75-124, Kristiania, 1924.

³ Reprinted in *Maal og Minne* 1912, p. 127.

agreement with Moe, suggests for the first time that the folk-tale may antedate the myth⁴ and may even be the source of the latter. This idea of Munch's was later developed and formulated by Sophus Bugge and Moltke Moe; and, together with new theories of migration of motifs, it largely shaped Bugge's revolutionary interpretations of the *Eddas* and their origin.⁵ What Bugge here attained was certainly in part due to the collaboration of Moe,⁶ who even before Bugge saw the significance of the new theories and who achieved a clearer methodology for the study of popular tradition than Bugge ever did. It was Moltke Moe's work, more than that of any other scholar that placed Norwegian folkloristic investigation on a scientific basis.

The present edition of Moe's works, with its strictly chronological arrangement, enables us to follow the gradual maturing of his powers. The first article, *A Report on a Journey to Telemarken in 1878*, when Moe was nineteen, reveals a surprising instinct for scientific plan and accuracy. The earlier collectors had recorded as best they could in their own language, and after publication of their results had discarded their notes. Moe applies strictly the principles which he formulated two years later:⁷ 1. Recording in the dialect of the speaker, 2. recording the exact, unemended story, 3. including all variants even seemingly poor ones, 4. recording the name of the teller or singer, his source of information, and all attendant circumstances possible. Moe's attitude served greatly to stabilize the work of other collectors, and led eventually to government regulations for the deposit of all records in the archives of the Folk-lore Institute.

In a series of articles beginning with *Hellenic and Norwegian Popular Traditions* (part I publ. 1879, part II publ. for the first time now), Moe enters the field of comparative study of folk-tales. He takes exception to the theories of Grimm and Benfey, then dominant. He shows the limited application of both theories and tries to account for other forces in the evolution of the stories. In other articles, he studies specific tales. A particularly illuminating analysis is the one entitled *The Migration and Transformation of Folk-Tales*, dealing with the well-known story *The Devil in the Nut*⁸ and the cross-current from *The Smith Whom They Were Afraid to Admit to Hell*. The thesis is that "the folk-tale is cosmopolitan . . . the common property of humanity shaped by the coöperation of countless generations and peoples . . . ; but every nation that adopts such a story saturates it unconsciously with its views of life, its conceptions,

⁴ Moltke Moe, *Samlede Skrifter*, II, 293.

⁵ *Studier over de nordiske Gude- og Hellesagns Oprindelse*, 1881-1889, 1896.

⁶ Koht, *Folkeminne-Vitenskap* p. 238.

⁷ *Samlede Skrifter* I, 83.

reshapes it in its image; not till then is it the spiritual property of the people." Another significant study, and the most pretentious in scope, *Miraculous Legends in our Ancient History*, culls out and interprets in detail folk-tale motifs that have crept into the Old Norse sagas of King Halvdan the Black and King Harald the Fairhaired.⁹

In ballad study, too, Moltke Moe has made significant contributions. A particularly interesting study is *The Three Conditions, A Ballad of West-Telemarken*.¹⁰ The ballad is traced directly to a literary source, an introduction tacked on to the *Magus Saga*, a story of Charlemagne. The introduction, which is not found in the French source,¹¹ Moe traces to a Turko-Tartar story from Southern Siberia and Western China. From Asia the story made its way to Europe by two routes. One version, in the North, is the antecedent of the introduction to the *Magus Saga*; another, in the South, has been used by Boccaccio, from whom again it has passed to Shakespeare's *All's Well That Ends Well*.

In all of Moe's works, his effort to determine the fundamental laws of the origin and growth of myth and legend are evident. But only one article¹² is devoted wholly to the formulation of general theories.¹³ Taking as his starting point an analysis of folk-riddles, which in their irrational imagery are akin to the creations of the primitive mind, he argues that in the first poetic creations of man the sensuo-figurative dominates. The wind which howls becomes, in his mind, a dog; the thunder, a bellowing bull; the snow-flakes, chips flying from the ax, or feathers from some bird. With such irrational imagery personification is easily coupled—inanimate nature becomes animate. In language, Moe believes, this tendency has produced grammatical gender. And yet this is not poetry—but in it lies the germ of poetry. When an element of logic enters in, when cause and effect is considered, then we have the beginning of epic development. The result is myth or folk-tale depending upon whether the story is viewed religiously or not. To distinguish between the two forms and to analyze their growth, an intensive investigation is still necessary. For such a study a lexicon of

⁹ Used by Ibsen in *Peer Gynt* Act I, Archer's Transl. p. 39.

¹⁰ These investigations have later been carried on and have been given more stability by Yngvar Nielson and Halvdan Koht, see Koht, *Folkeminne-Vitenskap*, p. 243.

¹¹ Vol. II, p. 52 ff.

¹² The French poem *Quatre Fis Aimon*.

¹³ *The Mythopoeic Mind*, Vol. II, p. 265 ff.

¹⁴ Most of Moe's efforts to establish the general principles of mythological evolution were left by him in the form of notes for university lectures. They have been published only in part. Whatever is available will undoubtedly be included in the present edition in a third volume yet to come. So will also the most significant of all his writings—the commentary on *Draumkvææ*.

poetic roots (just as an etymological dictionary gives linguistic roots) is essential; it alone can reveal what elements are universal or make clear their innumerable combinations.

All of the articles now collected are interesting and stimulating. Moe's easy and fluent style and clear exposition raise them above the general level of philological studies and make them of interest not only to the specialist but also to the general reader. And, finally, for those who cannot with ease follow the Norwegian original there is appended a full and accurate summary in the English language.

HENNING LARSEN

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF GRAMMAR, by Otto Jespersen.
New York (Henry Holt and Company), 1924.

Under this title Jespersen increases his many gifts to the science of language by a discussion of the basic grammatical categories of English and kindred tongues. The 350 pages of the book are so full of matter that no review could exhibit its wealth. The author's keen yet sensitive observation and his combinatory skill are known to all students of English. It would be futile to voice differences of opinion on specific points without a more detailed exposition than is here warranted. Instead, I shall state the difference of general outlook which in my case probably underlies most such differences.

For Jespersen language is a mode of expression; its forms express the thoughts and feelings of speakers, and communicate them to hearers, and this process goes on as an immediate part of human life and is, to a great extent, subject to the requirements and vicissitudes of human life. For me, as for de Saussure (*Cours de linguistique générale*,² Paris, 1922) and, in a sense, for Sapir (*Language*, New York, 1922), all this, de Saussure's *la parole*, lies beyond the power of our science. We cannot predict whether a certain person will speak at a given moment, or what he will say, or in what words and other linguistic forms he will say it. Our science can deal only with those features of language, de Saussure's *la langue*, which are common to all the speakers of a community,—the phonemes, grammatical categories, lexicon, and so on. These are abstractions, for they are only (recurrent) partial features of speech-utterances. The infant is trained to these features so thoroughly that after earliest childhood the variabilities of the human individual and the vicissitudes of human life no longer affect them. They form a rigid system,—so rigid that without any adequate physiologic information and with psychology in a state of chaos, we are nevertheless able to

subject it to scientific treatment. A grammatical or lexical statement is at bottom an abstraction.

It may be urged that change in language is due ultimately to the deviations of individuals from the rigid system. But it appears that even here individual deviations are ineffective; whole groups of speakers must, for some reason unknown to us, coincide in a deviation, if it is to result in a linguistic change. Change in language does not reflect individual variability, but seems to be a massive, uniform, and gradual alteration, at every moment of which the system is just as rigid as at any other moment. This would be impossible, of course, if what we studied were the living realities, the actual utterances. These, however, involve, in each case, an overpowering majority of features which the linguist cannot study, features which, to speak optimistically, the other social sciences and physiology or psychology will someday describe, even as we today abstract and describe the features of the linguistic pattern.

In the study of linguistic forms, therefore, I should not appeal, as Jespersen sometimes does, to meaning as if it were separable from form, or to the actual human necessities and conveniences of communication. On the one hand, we flatter ourselves when we think that we (as linguists, at any rate) can estimate these; on the other hand, they do not affect the somewhat meagre abstraction which we can and do study. In setting up the grammatical categories, such as the part-of-speech system, I should not appeal beyond the actual forms of the language under consideration. Under forms we must of course include substitutive and syntactic features. Thus, in Chapter XIII, I agree with Jespersen in distinguishing for English a nominative and an oblique case, for when we say *Jack hit Tom*, both the word-order and the substitutive pronoun forms distinguish the two. But I disagree when Jespersen refuses to subdivide the oblique case. In *I gave the boy a book; I asked the boy a question; I called the boy bad names*, the fixed order of the two oblique elements is part of the linguistic form; these examples would justify us in setting up at least two types of oblique. And such substitute forms as *I gave it to the boy, I asked it of the boy, I called the boy by them*, distinguish the three examples; instead of the half-dozen morphologic distinctions of the old language, English has a wealth of syntactic variety.

When, in Chapter VII, Jespersen develops for syntax the concepts of *nexus* and *junction*, each of which exists in several ranks, he makes clear something which hitherto has been badly confused. But one should be careful not to universalize. One should except, for instance, (as I believe Jespersen does) the relation of preposition to object in English, *with John*; the relation between these two words is neither *nexus* (as in *John sang*) nor *junction* (as in *big John*), but a third and peculiar one,

like the others a historical product and like them possessed of all the philosophical validity in the world, or, better, of none at all. In this connection one fully agrees with the note on p. 187. One should except also languages whose structure makes these terms unsuitable. In Algonquian our adnominal and adverbial qualifications (adjuncts) are morphologic features, and our actor, objects, and possessor appear as mere repetitions, appositional, as it were, of an anaphoric morphological mention; as, in Menomini: *wākihkumān crooked-knife, kihki'taw he-runs-fast, anāmun pakāmāw ināniw the-subsiary-dog he-hit-the-subsiary-one the-man* (i. e., the man hit the dog), *anāmun sakēpuk ināniw the-subsiary-dog the-subsiary-one-bit-him the-man* (i. e., the dog bit the man), *tsān utā'sikan John his-knife*. (The word order is variable; the commonest is that here given). From these forms an entirely different system from that of nexus and junction will be derived. We have yet to learn what features, if any, are common to all of those arbitrary systems of requirement which we call languages. The real content and use of speech-utterances is the same the world over, but their linguistically fixed features vary enormously.

Similarly, the logical definition, say, of proper nouns, might serve as a device for stating the meaning of this category after it has been defined by formal linguistic features, as, in English, by lack of article in the singular plus some other peculiarities, in Tagalog by article *si* instead of *ang*.

While such differences of theory will often cause a change of wording and sometimes lead to a different result, yet for the most part the statement of facts will be the same: and it is in the statement of fact, in the wealth and delicacy of observation that one finds the merit of Jespersen's book, by which English grammar will be forever enriched. One can only hope that Jespersen's teachings will find their way into our schools.

LEONARD BLOOMFIELD

NOTES

Meadowcroft, Charles William, Jr.: *The Place of Eden Phillpotts in English Peasant Drama*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1924. This dissertation calls attention to a neglected aspect of English dramatic history, namely, the peasant drama, and seeks to establish the priority of Eden Phillpotts in the field. Peasant drama is defined to be drama which has for its subject the rustic laborer, who may be either a small farmer or a small unskilled tradesman. Mr. Meadowcroft finds that "the first treatment of the English peasant done in the naturalistic manner and without exaltation in the plot or character-drawing came with Phillpotts' domestic tragedies of Dartmoor life," a statement which may cause a raising of the eyebrows among certain mediaevalists. The plays of Masefield, Gilbert Cannan, and Charles McEvoy antedate Phillpotts's, but do not constitute true peasant dramas. The writer regrets that Phillpotts has tired of the dramatic medium. A complete bibliography of Phillpotts's dramas is appended. The reviewer confesses to wishing that the dissertation were more clearly organized.

HOWARD M. JONES

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E. Mogk: *Gunnlaugs saga Ormstungu*. Appearing as Nr. 1 in the *Altnordische Textbibliothek*, the first edition of this work was published in 1886 and the 2nd in 1908. This, 3rd, edition has been somewhat enlarged (from 57 to 66 pages, and the pages are broader and the lines longer also), mainly by the embodiment in the *Einleitung* of numerous matters from the investigations of Bjørn M. Olson; *Om Gunnlaugs saga Ormstungu*, Copenhagen, 1911. Many changes in the readings of the poetry are also to be noted, here with references to R. Meissner and Bjørn M. Olson. In the chronology of events in the saga the years have to be moved forward four figures from the older datings, hence the enactment of the law abolishing duelling in Iceland is to be dated 1010 (not 1006); as will be remembered, it was the duel of Gunnlaug and Hrafn that led promptly to the passing of the law. The most important difference is that the new edition has been based on the Stockholm Ms., *Holm 18*, whereas the first (and second) followed the Copenhagen Ms., *AM*, 557. The new edition aims, more than did the earlier ones, to give a definitive text, often embodying the wording of the Copenhagen text, where this, to the Editor, seemed to be more authentic. As to the orthography, I welcome the change to 'eð,' ð instead of

'þorn,' *þ*, in medial and final position (hence now *maðr*, *rauðan*, *með*, etc., instead of *mabr*, *rauban*, etc.). Mogk's view of problems connected with the saga have changed in some points. The emphatic rejection of the idea (1st ed) that all the stanzas of the saga are by Gunnlaug himself is now tempered to the statement: "Ob freilich alle echt sind, wage ich nicht mit der Sicherheit zu behaupten, wie es Finnur Jónsson (Lit. hist. I, 558 f.) getan hat." New material in the edition is the discussion on lower p. XV to middle p. XVI, the concluding statement of which is that the author of the *Gunnlaugs saga* belonged to the clergy. The Bibliography has been considerably enlarged. (On p. 66 I note the misprint: *Olfúss*; should be *Qlfúss*. The new edition will, we hope, continue to give the same good service in University courses in Old Icelandic here in America, as elsewhere, that the earlier editions have given now for forty years.

G. T. F.

THE PHONETIC INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

The Phonetic Institute of the University of Oslo was founded in 1919 under the auspices of professor Marius Hægstad, Dr. Amund B. Larsen, and Dr. Ernst W. Selmer, the latter undertaking the management of the Institute. Its primary aims were to be, first, the establishment of permanent University instruction in phonetics; and, second, the promotion of scientific phonetic research, with special regard, of course, to Norwegian language and dialects. The efforts for the improvement of the conditions for training in phonetics at the University were soon crowned with success, as, from 1921, propedentic courses in phonetics were made obligatory to all philological students. These courses, held every semester and terminating in an oval test, are conducted by Mr. Selmer, who, in collaboration with professor Olaf Broch, has composed a manual of general phonetics (*Håndbok i elementær fonetik*, Kristiania, 1921). There can be no doubt that the systematic instruction thus established will, in a very helpful way, promote phonetic knowledge and interest among teachers-to-be of our secondary schools.

As to its second aim, that of being a centre of scientific research, the Institute has had to contend with many difficulties, chiefly economic, connected with the general post-war crises. For the purchasing and repairs of up-to-date phonetic apparatus and instruments the small grants awarded by the Storting are scanty enough. Besides phonographs and gramophones, the Institute makes extensive use of the *kymograph* (for a description of which, as for other heads, see Dr. Selmer's article in *Syn og Segn* 1919 p. 231 ff.). By means of a tagged-on apparatus invented by Dr. Meyer, of Stockholm, the *kymograph* has been

made also to register the *word tones* ("tonelag") playing so prominent a part in Scandinavian speech. In fact, the Institute's investigations on this point—the manifold dialectical differences in word-tone habits and linguistic problems connected therewith—belong to its most important tasks. Of the dialects of Oslo and Bergen, thorough experimental researches have been made, to the interesting results of which I can here only refer.¹ Further, kymographical experiments have thrown fresh light on the question of the sonorisation of *tenues* in Southern Norway.²

The gramophone-records—owing to economic considerations also phonographic records have been made use of—principally serve the intention of building up a *phonogram archive* comprising all our chief dialects ("Norsk fonogramarkiv"), for a later comparative study of their phonology. The texts used for these records are standardized—consisting of 62 proverbs and an easy story of two printed pages—and issued in both the official languages of the country, each recorder being requested to turn them into his proper vernacular.

The Institute—Dr. Selmer assisted by seven of the ablest Norwegian phonologists—edits, a series entitled *Opuscula phonetica*, the first number being a dissertation by Eilert Mo on word-tone relations in the dialect of Rindal, Romsdal. The third in the series is a short exposition of evolutive phonetics by Dr. Alf Sommerfelt, a pupil of Meillet's.

It is, finally, the purpose of the Institute to compose a *dialect map* of Norway, based upon the German *Wenker*-principles (and corresponding to Bennike and Kristensen's map of Danish dialects), the existing small maps by Hans Ross and A. B. Larsen having long been inadequate.

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PER THORSON

Stavanger, Norway, Nov. 12th, 1926.

¹ See Dr. Selmer's article in *Mål og Minne*, 1920, p. 55 ff., and his book *Tonelag og tonefald i Bergens bymål* (Kra., 1921), as also his dissertation on the word-tones of *Faroese* (*De færøiske tonelag*, Kra., 1921).

² See the same author, "Om Stavangermålets hårde- og bløte klusiler" (Kra., 1924).

ROMANTICISM AND OTHER ISMS

In the "Yale Review" for July, 1925, Mr. Louis Untermeyer declared that the recent wave of literary realism is spent, that a romantic reaction is pouring upon us in a flood. Mr. Untermeyer is an astute and well-informed critic. Whether he exaggerates or not, he has seen something which is a challenge to thought. If the literary spirit of our fathers is upon us, or threatens to be, it is time that in self-protection we examined the literature of our fathers, time that we learned what to welcome in it and what to oppose, if it rises from the dead. The romantic movement of the early nineteenth century was an experiment in untried fields; powerful intellects could be excused for making tragic mistakes. With a century of experience behind us, we have no such excuse. Our pressing duty, as artists certainly, as moral philosophers perhaps, is to analyze the various aspects of so-called romanticism, and find where the critic of the future should encourage, where restrain.

The present essay makes no effort to utter final *dicta* on so vast a subject. Rather, like a judge charging a jury, we are trying to point out the proper methods of reasoning, trying to make each separate issue clear and distinct from related issues. Everybody realizes now that the so-called "romantic movement" was not the orderly march of one literary army, but a chaos of divergent, often conflicting forces, as numerous as the parties of presidential aspirants in Mexico. These were not all equally good, neither were the faults or virtues of one always those of another. It may be that in some way they all represented an insurrection of feeling against "the age of reason," but that fact, if true, does not make them all alike. Emotion takes on a thousand different forms, from the thrill of the decadent Sadist to the rapture of the dying Christian. Furthermore, emotion never appears alone, but always combined with some form of intellectual reaction, and the possible combinations that result are countless. They run the whole gamut, from the lowest to the highest note of human experience.

There has been too much tendency to classify "romantic" tendencies according to *subject matter* only. Temporary interests in remote ages, far-off countries, wild frontiers, and rural

meadows are often the result of passing fads. They frequently belong to the conventional machinery of expression rather than to some great author's philosophy of existence. Let us at least try the experiment of making another classification, based on Fundamental attitudes toward life. Scott, Keats, and Longfellow all wrote poems ~~medieval~~ in theme; but no two of them had the same attitude toward life or the same solution of its problems.

As a preliminary, it is well to remember a distinction too often ignored, the distinction between an author's real attitude and that which he seems to have in his efforts to reach his audience. We are told that Oliver Cromwell, after conversing ardently with fanatic satellites in fanatic phraseology, turned to a friend and said: "You know I must talk to these men in their own language." True or not, this incident is symbolic of many a great thinker's attitude toward his age. The poet and novelist, as well as the preacher and teacher, are not talking in a vacuum. They are trying to convey the thoughts in their minds to the minds of some kind of audience. In doing this they must inevitably meet the prejudices and tastes of that audience part way. The great poet does not descend as far to meet his hearers as the popular preacher does; but he must descend some steps, not only to have hearers, but also to strengthen his own courage by their applause. Some authors naturally show much more compliance than others. Scott, Tennyson, and Longfellow yielded a great deal; it is a question whether Blake and Landor yielded at all. But frequently the literature of the nineteenth century surrounded its thought with a romantic ritual with which the greatest authors only partly sympathized, but which they believed worth while in leading humanity to certain truths. The literary masterpiece, like most other important achievements, grows out of endless adjustments and concessions between the great mind and its environing world. Sometimes the process is good for the masterpiece; sometimes it surrounds deep thoughts and exalted moods with a veil of trashy tinsel. But we must always remember that the great poets of a "romantic" age are less romantic, the great poets of a "neo-classic" age less neo-classic, than a casual reading seems to indicate. Strip off from their best verse the changing literary vestments dictated by changing fashions,

and you find partial justification at least for Wordsworth's conception:

One great society alone on earth,
The noble living and the noble dead.

Another distinction to be remembered is that between literature voicing a philosophy of life and literature written simply to amuse. This division does not run parallel to that between the good and bad. A list of the great amusers would certainly include the author of "Treasure Island," would probably include that supreme genius who wrote "Orlando Furioso." But a book written to amuse simply does amuse, and neither influences our conduct nor alters our emotional nature. Let fancy picture the "tired business man" of 1820 forgetting his cares over Maturin's wild romances, after a day successfully passed in cheating widows and orphans. Certainly his reactions would be very different from those of Wordsworth's devoted neophytes absorbing truth among the fields of Grasmere. It is not always easy to say how far the wilder works of the nineteenth century were accepted merely as fun, how far they were regarded as a slightly vulgarized form of the tragic *katharsis*. But beyond question a good deal that was crude and melodramatic was written merely to give tired brains a vacation; and part of it at least was read in the same spirit.

With these cautions in mind, we have ventured to divide so-called "romanticism" into four general currents which we have called: (a) Popular Tendencies; (b) Exploratory Tendencies; (c) Mystical-Ethical Tendencies; (d) Purely Aesthetic Tendencies. We will discuss these in detail.

A. POPULAR TENDENCIES

The eighteenth century movement for popular rights, reaching its climax in the French Revolution, inevitably affected literature. As it gave political rights to the *bourgeoisie* and some of the lower class, so it gave these people a voice at the literary tribunal. Before that time most of the world's authors, and most of its audiences and literary arbiters as well, had been either aristocrats or the protégés of aristocrats, adopting the mental attitude of the caste which had adopted them. With the late eighteenth century came peasant poets and peasant readers,

lower middle class authors and lower middle class critics, good, bad, indifferent, but countless. At the same time nobleman, scholar, and blue-stocking bent from the heights of ancient tradition to hear and repeat the utterances of the poor. They were as glad to recognize the literature of the lowly as that literature was to be recognized. Poetry under Queen Anne had interpreted the sharpened wits and blasé moods of an upper class; under George III vast tracts of poetry interpreted the life of the humble, in which thought was stunted and feeling ran riot.

Various new forces were let loose by that vast upheaval.

- 1) There was the love of melodrama and clap-trap; there was the
- 2) love of adventure and excitement. Then, reaching far down among the masses but also reaching high up among the aristocracy, was the spirit of nationalism. This was lukewarm in the rich and powerful countries, in England and France. But among people who were poor or oppressed or alarmed for their national safety, it was fervid. From this arose that passionate medievalism—not to be confounded with either sentimental or antiquarian medievalism—which glorified the great past of Ireland, Scotland, and Germany, the glories of Brian the Brave, of Robert Bruce, and the Hohenstauffen kaisers. There was also the peasant's passionate love for his native soil, which affected in various ways the poetry of landscape.

But the chief product of the popular movement in literature was sentimentalism. This is rare among the wretchedly poor, whose hard experiences crush it. It is rare among the traveled and worldly wise, whose disillusioning knowledge withers it. It is common among a people who live quietly in a little shut-in world, cut off from experience, deprived of luxuries, but safeguarded also from hardship and fear. In other words, it is a natural attitude for well-to-do laborers and peasants and the less worldly-wise element of the middle class. With the rise of these people to power, their moods began to loom large in literature. Also women are supposed to be more sentimental than men, and the growing influence of women at that time is unquestionable. It is not true that all "romantic" literature is sentimental; but it is true that the amount of sentimental literature poured out was enormous. The tearful deluge reached from the Danube to the Hudson, and stayed at flood for a

century and a half, from the death of Pope to the death of Tennyson.

Certainly in such a literature there is much that we would not see revived. There are novels and poems unnumbered in which the concentrated mind and will seem to relax and melt away in a Turkish bath of tears. There is a vast amount of hypocrisy too, self-deceiving hypocrisy, the worst of all. Readers, writers, and "philanthropists" consider that in feeling a noble emotion toward the sufferer they have conferred a benefit on him, without exerting any beneficent activity, without even restraining their own greedy instincts.) ✓

"I weep for you," the walrus said,
 "I deeply sympathise."
 With sobs and tears he sorted out
 Those of the largest size,
 Holding his pocket-handkerchief
 Before his streaming eyes.

Yet sentimentalism is not always bad. It is evil when it blinds or perverts our perceptions of truth, as in the case of weak-kneed juries acquitting murderers or lachrymose Maud Mullers crying over spilt milk. But there are poems such as Whittier's "My Playmate" which are highly sentimental and yet noble poetry because the sense of true values is kept.) ✓

B. EXPLORATORY TENDENCIES

It is a truth and a platitude that the age of Pope emphasized intellect at the expense of feeling. It is equally true and less of a platitude that his age emphasized certain types of intellect more than others. We speak rightly of Queen Anne's reign, not as the period of restless cerebration, but as that of common sense. The spirit that dominated it was one of practical economy; and the resources of the brain were not to be wasted on some vast visionary inquiry, they were to be directed to practical ends. Exceptions there were, distinguished and numerous ones; but the prevailing tendency was clear. The proper study

¹ Strictly speaking, there are three types of emotion involved in this discussion: sentiment which is genuine and not unwise, though not philosophical (which is hardly sentimentalism at all); sentiment which is sincere but not wise; and sentiment which is neither sincere nor wise. The first is illustrated by Burns at his best; the third by Burns at his worst; the second by most of Mrs. Hemans.

of mankind was man, his habitat, his needs, the methods of restraining his follies and developing his virtues.

The romantic age brought with it emphasis on another mental activity, the explorer's love of ransacking vast fields of truth, not for practical results, but for the sake of the discoverer's joy. It was the desire

To follow knowledge like a sinking star
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought.

It was the rapture of

some watcher of the skies,
When a new planet swims into his ken.

It was the feeling of "Don Juan" that

fact is truth, the grand desideratum.

This attitude resembled that of the Pope School in that it meant a keenly concentrated mental activity, quite unlike the flabby mental relaxation of the sentimentalist. It differed from the Pope School in that its mental action was inevitably accompanied by a deep, surging wave of emotion, the explorer's delight. Emotion is always characteristic of what we call "romanticism," and appears here—but as the accompaniment or shadow of thought, not as the destroyer of thought. This attitude is usually a nobler and more manly one than that of the sentimentalist; and the authors in whom it predominates have usually been highly masculine men.

In pure literature, this type of "romanticism" is seldom found unmixed. Its unadulterated form is too intellectual and specialized to be generally popular. In a mildly sentimentalized or slightly melodramatic form its appeal becomes wide, as is shown by the record of our semi-scientific novels and movies. From the very nature of things, authors of this type are usually clear-headed and shrewd; even if their ideals are high they are willing to make some "sensible" concessions to the feelings of their audience. So we have novels and poems originating in an intellectual eagerness for discovery, producing a powerful manly emotion in the author and his more discerning readers, and carefully designed to produce in the shallower minds of prospective buyers an emotion more superficial and sentimental.

During the romantic period in England exploratory ten-

dencies mainly pursued the two channels of history and geography, of antiquarian literature and the literature of travel. The two outstanding examples among authors are Scott and Byron. There are many others, however, who belong in the list: Thomas Warton and Gray (in their later poems); most of the minor Scotch poets; the much traveled Mérimée in France and the scholarly ballad collectors and Märchen collectors in Germany. Here, too, belong such novels as Morier's "Hajji Baba," Thackeray's "Henry Esmond," and Charles Reade's "The Cloister and the Hearth," as well as "The Imaginary Conversations" of Landor, which ransack the archives of history.

More sporadically and less definitely, the exploratory tendency can be traced in another direction, that of psychology, a science which was then in its beginnings and vaguely felt in the air. The German *Romantiker* Hoffmann seems to have studied in an almost scientific spirit the reactions of his own bedeviled nervous system, and to have used the results as "copy." As Scott gives us the antiquarian's research wrapped in a popular veil of sentimentalism, so Hoffmann—sometimes at least—gives us the psychologist's introspection wrapped in a popular veil of the fantastic. He was a morbid and ill-balanced being; yet, like most authors of this category, he could be, when he chose, a shrewd and competent man of the world.

With the steady advance of science during the nineteenth century came an ever increasing emphasis on professional accuracy in investigation. This was eventually carried to an extent hardly compatible with any type of literary creation and especially hostile to anything "romantic." That is one reason why the exploratory tendency in poetry has sunk into the background or evolved from romance to realism. When the soldiers of Cortes from their mountain summit looked down on the rich valley of Mexico, which they were soon to conquer, they had their hour of anticipation and romance. As they descended into the valley, their mood changed. The months of tragic hardship and dull routine which were leading them directly toward their goal robbed that goal, for the time being, of all its early glamour. But the campaign of drudgery ended, the hour of victory came, and the glamour returned. So the contemporaries of Shelley looked down, in enthusiastic premonition, on that vast field of scientific knowledge which the nine-

teenth century was to make its own. But the very means by which that field was conquered, have, since Darwin's day, achieved results by shattering romance. The end is not yet.

C. MYSTICAL-ETHICAL TENDENCIES

In the third century A.D., Plotinus grafted on the Platonic system of thought shoots of Oriental mysticism, and so developed a philosophy perhaps the most religious, the most poetical of any in history. One teaching of his was that divine truth can be grasped by immediate perception in moments of transcendent ecstasy. This conception was taken over by the medieval mystic, and worked out as his ecstatic perception, in supreme crises, of the immediate presence of God. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries this mystic attitude was revived, and other doctrines of Plotinus were revived with it, leavening the thought of a certain type of romantic poet. Sometimes these authors drew their inspiration direct from Plotinus, sometimes at second hand from his modern interpreters; sometimes they caught it by reading Plato in the mystic and doubtfully Platonic mood in which Plotinus had read him. Among authors who, to a greater or less extent, show Neo-Platonic tendencies are Blake, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Shelley, Carlyle, Francis Thompson, and the New England Transcendentalists, including Emerson. This spirit was strong among the mystic romanticists of Germany, much less noticeable among the romantic writers of France.

Like the ancient mystic, his modern successors tried to grasp the glory of God's presence in moments of supreme realization. But, being poets instead of ascetics, they sought the revelation of that presence in the glory of an external world. Whether Wordsworth interprets that spirit

Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
or Coleridge cries,

Earth with her thousand voices calls on God.
or Blake sees a thronging metropolis as

London, a human, awful wonder of God,
or Francis Thompson bids us

Cry, and upon thy so sore loss
 Shall shine the traffic of Jacob's ladder,
 Pitched between Heaven and Charing Cross;

whether Carlyle applauds Fichte's conception of earth "as the realized thought of God"; or Shelley declares in "Adonais":

Flowers, ruins, statues, music, words are weak
 The glory they transfuse with fitting truth to speak:

—they are all giving poetic versions of what Plotinus taught and St. Francis of Assisi believed. From the religious point of view, they are undergoing the deepest of human experiences, that of direct contact with the mind of the Almighty. Even the sceptical psychologist, if he denies them this, must admit that they are on one of the highest of psychic adventures, that of searching with the active intellect for the noblest of spiritual experiences. ✓

It must be remembered that the object of that immediate and transcendent perception was called "God" only by the more religious type of Neo-Platonist. Mystics of a more purely philosophical bent might call that great moment the intuitive perception of what was truly valuable and marvellous in the universe and of how marvellous it was. It was the instantaneous insight, flame-like, into the genuine realities and values of life, stripped of the conventions and veils, and formulae, which man, in his stupidity or craft, has thrown around them. This was what Carlyle meant when he spoke of looking through the shows of things into things, and said that the flame image of reality glared in on the soul of the great man. Authors of the mystical-ethical type were generally not sentimentalists.² ✓
 Some of them, Blake for instance, were more free from sentimentalism than any other "romantic" poets. They were philosophers with keen, original brains, exploring the recesses of their own souls. ✓

Many other teachings of Plotinus, besides that of transcendent vision, crop up among some of these poets. His belief that lower forms of mind emanated from the higher is echoed by Emerson, who speaks of the great central intellect throwing off lesser intellects, as the central sun of the nebula throws off

² There are exceptions, however, including large tracts of Coleridge and Shelley.

planets and satellites. Several of Blake's allegorical characters have their "emanations," weaker and more feminine than themselves. The belief of Plato and Plotinus that sex love in its highest manifestations might become a stepping-stone to nobler spiritual attitudes runs in and out through the poetry of Shelley. And through all these mental conceptions, like white light through the various colored panes of a painted window, shines that aspiration which makes us reverence Plotinus and his followers, whether we accept their teachings or not.

Another characteristic in this type of poets was their moral earnestness, their conviction that ethical problems were the most important problems of life, and the noblest material for poetry. Wordsworth taught the old, conventional standards of morals; Blake and Shelley taught standards so revolutionary that they made the hair of many a clergyman bristle upon his head; but conservative and radical alike insisted that moral questions were the most pressing of all questions, that *some* code was the first requisite of spiritual life. The a-moral attitude of Keats and Rossetti, the cynical acceptance by Byron of life as it is, regardless of what it ought to be—such attitudes were impossible for Blake and Wordsworth alike. Even Coleridge and Francis Thompson, weak-kneed, pathetic drug-fiends that they were, recognized in their profound remorse the gap between their conduct and their standards.

Mystics and moral philosophers are seldom popular, and seldom care to be. None of the authors discussed in this section wrote best sellers. Some had a genuine indifference to popular applause, others found the gulf between their own thoughts and those of the public too wide to bridge. Unlike the exploratory writers, they seldom made their thought acceptable by wrapping it in popular disguises. The bareness of Wordsworth, the vagueness of Shelley and Emerson, the incomprehensibility of Blake, are apparent at a glance. Moreover the whole mystic or Neo-Platonic attitude toward life seems foreign to the Anglo-Saxon mind; and although the early nineteenth century poets used mysticism only moderately, and leavened it with English common sense, the foreign element was felt. We may grieve but can hardly wonder that this type of poetry grew rare after 1850.

D. PURELY ÆSTHETIC TENDENCIES

It is commonly said that the romantic age differed from the Neo-Classic in its greater appreciation of beauty. Strictly speaking, however, this is less true of the early romanticists than of the later ones. Scott and Byron had no keener æsthetic sense than Pope or Dryden; and this quality appears only fitfully in the complete works of Blake and Wordsworth. The supremacy of the beauty cult came after Waterloo, with Keats as one of the first and greatest of its protagonists. The latest phase of "romanticism" to develop, it naturally lasted latest, and dominated the poetical world through the latter part of the nineteenth century. The Pre-Raphaelites followed Keats, and the æsthetes of the "nineties" followed the Pre-Raphaelites, while in France the "pure art" of Gautier was followed by that of the *Parnassiens*.

Historically the beauty cult was in part an off-shoot of the mystical-ethical attitude. It transferred to the worship of art for art's sake what the earlier poets had devoted to nature for the sake of deity. In Germany one sees the transitional stage in the immature but influential work of Wackenroder. In England one finds it in Shelley so like in some ways to his predecessors Blake and Wordsworth, so like in others to his contemporary Keats. But the new type drifted away from its parent one, and what it eventually became is what we are asked to appraise.

It would take volumes to discuss what beauty worship at its best *might* become. But what this particular beauty worship of the nineteenth century did become is history, and can be stated briefly.

The gorgeous richness of its style, the marvellous atmosphere of its descriptions, must be conceded by everybody. But in the last analysis it became a cultured hedonism. The beauty that it admired was not that of ideas, so dear to the mind of Plato, but that of tangible objects perceived through the five senses. It inculcated a sensuous and a-moral attitude toward life which might be harmless for such a virile soul as William Morris, but which was full of danger for weaker disciples. Ethically, its greatest virtue was the tireless enthusiasm with which it inspired the artist while laboring toward his ideal. But that ideal was

always the gratification of his own desire. The virtue of intense application might be encouraged; but the virtues of renunciation and self-control and adjustment to one's environment were allowed to become atrophied. The raptures of the five senses crowded out the activities of intellect and will; and as the beauty of the style increased, so did the hollow sounding emptiness of its subject matter. There came a time when such men as Henley, Hardy, and Kipling felt that literature had wandered into a Venusberg, from which escape was imperative.

Yet it must always be remembered that the weakness of the beauty cult did not lie in its admiration of beauty. That has always played some part in human culture since the feet of him who bringeth good tidings were beautiful upon the mountains. The trouble with these nineteenth century æsthetes was not overemphasis on beauty but underemphasis on the rest of life. They allowed their love of gorgeous visions to crowd out the sense of the divine and the sense of civic duty. They forgot the wise dictum of Goethe—which Carlyle had interpreted for them—that the beautiful is higher than the good only when it is that nobler beauty which includes the good.

The preceding paragraphs, it must be remembered, deal with attitudes toward life primarily rather than with groups of authors. The same writer, especially if his literary career is long, may experience different attitudes. Carlyle was both a mystic and a scholarly searcher of history. Every attitude here discussed can be found in a mild form somewhere in the poems of Tennyson. The history of literature is not a study of thought-tight compartments, but of eternal flux and fusion. It is true, none the less, that these interpretations of life had each its own circle or period in which it predominated. And these four attitudes, if not the only ingredients, were the chief ingredients which, mingling in different ways and in different proportions, made up nineteenth century romanticism. All of them were revivals of moods and beliefs that were centuries old, fundamental moods in the history of the race.

How does this discussion affect some of the old definitions of romanticism, "the return to nature," "the sense of wonder," "the sense of the infinite," "the revival of the life and thought of the middle ages"? It splits them up into a three-fold or four-fold division, showing that they are imperfect labels for

the deeper workings of the mind, however adequate for tendencies on the surface.

The sentimentalist loves nature as the long-suffering recipient of his own woes. He turns to it as he would turn to a sturdy Newfoundland dog, whose good-natured passiveness seems like sympathy. Rocks and meadows listen unwearied to his long chronicles of woe, which have been known to weary the sons of Adam; and trees sigh sympathetically in the gentle wind, instead of reminding the moron of his folly. It is well to remember in this connection the statement of Ruskin: "Till Rousseau's time, there had been no sentimental love of nature."³

The exploratory type of mind, when it studies landscape at all, studies it with an agile brain, bent on accurate detail, especially details that are interesting because foreign.

There shrinks no ebb in that *tideless sea*.⁴

The *blue Rhone* in fullest flow.⁵

For where is he that hath beheld
The peak of Liakura unveiled?⁶

Where Orinoco in his pride
Rolls to the main no tribute tide,
But 'gainst broad ocean urges far
A rival sea of roaring war.⁷

The mystic sees nature, even in its bare and unbeautiful aspects at times, as the revelation of deity.

Written on Thy works I read
The lesson of Thy own eternity,

says Bryant to his Creator in the "Forest Hymn". And Wordsworth feels that

The clouds that gather round the setting sun
Do take a sober coloring from an Eye
That hath kept watch o'er man's mortality.⁸

³ *Praeterita*, Vol. 1, Chap. 6.

⁴ Byron's *Siege of Corinth*.

⁵ Byron's *Prisoner of Chillon*.

⁶ Byron's *Giaour*.

⁷ Scott's *Rokeby*.

⁸ *Ode on Intimations of Immortality*.

One proof that the mystic and sentimental poets differed fundamentally in their reaction to landscape is found in the admiration which many of the former felt for Spinoza. There is hardly in philosophy a conception of God immanent in nature which is more coldly austere, more awesomely unsentimental than his.

The æsthete, if he studies landscape, sees there only the beauty of its outlines and colors:

White hawthorne, and the pastoral eglantine;
Fast fading violets covered up in leaves;
And Mid-May's eldest child,
The coming musk-rose, full of dewey wine,
The murmurous haunt of flies on summer eves

as Keats describes them in his "Ode to a Nightingale."

A similar division holds for a return to the middle ages. The sentimentalist did not return anywhere. He simply fled away from the hard-headed reality of the present, to a dream-land of feudal towers and visored knights, a world where all women were gentle and all men chivalrous, where the weakling could nestle lovingly in the arms of Providence and know that his weakness was protected. That was the medieval world of Fouqué and Longfellow and Mrs. Hemans.

In the exploratory authors the spirit of the historian was strong. They might perpetrate a hundred anachronisms for the sake of a good story; but in the main they delighted in ordering facts rather than escaping from facts, in the main they restored a past of realities, not of dreams. We know the real François Villon when we have read "A Lodging for the Night" and the real Louis XI when we have read "Quentin Durward."

The mystics, as such, seldom handled medieval incidents. There is less mysticism in Coleridge's "Christabel"⁹ than in his poems of modern life. What these men revived from the life and thought of the middle ages was the mood of the ancient ascetic, as when Coleridge in his "Sunrise Hymn" echoes the words of Suso in the fourteenth century. The idea of immanence

⁹ That for Coleridge, at least, medieval atmosphere was merely a convention of expression is shown in his lines from "Monody on the Death of Chatterton," later version:

And greet with smiles the young-eyed poesy
All deftly masked as hoar antiquity.

in Wordsworth's poetry comes straight from the old mystics, one of whom said: "God mingles with humanity as the salt with the sea, as the perfume with the flower."¹⁰ Unquestionably this is a revival from the past, but it is not much like the medievalism of Scott.

As for the æsthetic romanticists, what they loved was the richly picturesque, and that is what they borrowed from medieval painter and chronicle alike. Shielded scutcheons that "blushed with blood of kings and queens"¹¹; visions of ancient cities that came

A lily-sceptered damsel fair,
As her own Giotto painted her,¹²

such were the materials they sought. It is significant that the Pre-Raphaelite artists, in drawing from the medieval painters, caught their picturesqueness but not their religious devotion.

The sense of the infinite plays little part in authors of the second and fourth categories. Byron's lines on "the feeling infinite" represent a momentary cross influence quite out of keeping with his general attitude. "Infinity" belongs to the sentimentalist and the mystic, and becomes two utterly different things in their respective hands. For the sentimentalist, it is simply the desire to throw down all walls and checks, to let one's flooding emotions pour out unrestrained. All the denunciation which Professor Babbitt has poured forth on this type of feeling we heartily endorse.

But another conception of the infinite, and a far nobler one, was taught by Plotinus. Infinity for him was not infinite space or infinite freedom from restraint, but infinite opportunity to act, to think, to improve. As certain mathematical formulæ expand into an endless series drawing nearer and nearer to a limit that they never quite reach, so certain trains of thought or forms of self-discipline lead us endlessly onward and upward, ever nearer to that Godhead which we never quite attain. It was such an endless series of uplifting conceptions that Wordsworth meant in his "Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears," and that Tennyson thought of in addressing the flower

¹⁰ R. M. Jones' *Studies in Mystical Religion*, p. 83.

¹¹ Keats' *Eve of St. Agnes*.

¹² D. G. Rossetti's *Dante at Verona*.

in the crannied wall. It was this that Holmes expressed in "The Chambered Nautilus":

"Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from heaven with a dome more vast,
Till thou *at length* art free."

Countless disciplinary limits around you, but no limit to the goal that you can some day attain if you submit to that discipline—such is the Neo-Platonic sense of the infinite, and very different from that of the sentimentalist.

Some years ago Prof. Irving Babbitt startled the world with his denunciations, not of all romanticism, but of a certain type of romanticism. At first we revolted in disgust. Later, as he modified and explained his position, many of us felt our hostility change into respect and at least partial agreement. Now the question arises: What phases of romanticism are most open to his attack? Mysticism and Neo-Platonism can be fearfully degraded, have been so degraded in certain ages, but such was not their fate in the nineteenth century. Minds that love to explore may let science crowd out style, but the resulting danger is artistic, not ethical, and brings its own cure. Is it not true that in sentimentalism and the beauty cult the real danger lies?¹⁸

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¹⁸ Just as one aspect of Shelley's work is Platonic or Neo-Platonic, so another is sentimental, and a third is connected with the beauty cult. It might be interesting to ask which element in Shelley's verse is the nobler. L. B. L.

A SINGLE PRINCIPLE FOR ENGLISH AND PRIMITIVE GERMANIC SOUND-CHANGES

In order to indicate my attitude toward linguistic problems I should like to quote with approval a few lines from Jespersen, *Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin*, page 98:

In the history of linguistic science we have seen in one period a tendency to certain large syntheses, and we have seen how these syntheses were later discredited, though never actually disproved, linguists contenting themselves with detailed comparisons and explanations of single words, forms or sounds without troubling about their ultimate origin or about the evolutionary tendencies of the whole system or structure of language. The question may therefore be raised—were Bopp and Schleicher wrong in attempting these large syntheses? It would appear from the expressions of some modern linguists that they thought that any such comprehensive generalization or any glotto-genic theory were in itself of evil. But this can never be admitted. Science, of its very nature, aims at larger and larger generalizations, more and more comprehensive formulas, so as finally to bring about that “unification of knowledge,” of which Herbert Spencer speaks. It was therefore quite right of the early linguists to propound those great questions; and their failure to solve them in a way that could satisfy the stricter demands of a later generation should not be charged too heavily against them. It was also quite right of the moderns to reject their premature solutions (though this was often done without any adequate examination), but it was decidedly wrong to put the questions out of court altogether. These great questions have to be put over and over again, till a complete solution is found.

For a number of years I have been trying to get a clearer idea of just what is meant by tendency in language and to see whether or not all the major sound-changes of a language group can be reasonably looked upon as different manifestations of a single principle. I have become more and more convinced that the general type of articulation of a given territory is a very stubborn and persistent habit, a phenomenon of long standing; that we are justified in assuming that our Germanic and Anglo-Saxon ancestors pronounced their words and sentences very much as we do today; that each language or even language-group is characterized by one main tendency; that this tendency is nothing more than present speech-habit viewed in its historical manifestations, that is, that all the major sound-changes have grown out of this speech-habit. In several articles in the *JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY* I have dis-

cussed English vowel shifts and primitive Germanic consonant shifts; here I should like to refer to those discussions and to add to them a brief statement about quantity changes and umlaut, thus completing the list of the more important changes which have occurred since early primitive Germanic times.

And to come immediately to the point, the one undisputed fact of Germanic speech is that it now shows, and has from the earliest times shown, a tendency toward initial stress, toward a concentrating of the energy on the first root syllable to the gradual neglect of following syllables; and, in English at least, the natural continuation of this tendency has resulted in a further concentrating of the accent on the first part of a long vowel, to the neglect of its latter part. I believe that all the chief sound-changes of Germanic languages are merely the various manifestations of this old and persistent speech habit. I shall, however, limit my remarks to English and Primitive Germanic.

1. Long Vowel Shift in English. The vowel changes whereby OE *fēt* became *feet*, OE *fōd* became *food*, etc., are due to the diphthongal pronunciation of long vowels, which is the normal speech-habit of English. When we pronounce *e* in the normal English manner we stress only the first part of the vowel by contracting the jaw muscles and opening the mouth; on the latter part of the vowel we relax the tension of the jaw muscles and the mouth partially closes; this partial closing of the mouth on the last part of the *e*-sound narrows the space between the tongue and the palate just about up to the *i*-position; that is, the acoustic effect of the latter part of the vowel is that of an *i* rather than that of a pure *e*. Gradually this unstressed latter part of the vowel encroaches more and more on the stressed first part, until its quality predominates and becomes for the ear the characteristic element of the whole sound. Thus, slowly, imperceptibly, the long vowel *e* passes over into the long vowel *i*. In this way then, it seems to me, the Anglo-Saxon *fēt* became the modern English *feet*. (For further details see JEGPh, Vol. 20, pp. 208 ff.)

2. Quantity Changes in English. Both the shortening and the lengthening of vowels are the result of the operating of this tendency toward initial stress. Let us first examine such a case of shortening as that of *wisdom* from *wis-dōm*. In its present

form it consists of two sonority syllables pronounced, however, as one stress syllable; in its earlier form it consisted of two sonority syllables pronounced also as two stress syllables. The semantic merging of the two elements into one was accompanied by a reduction of the stress on the second element until its stress independence was lost by being drawn back into and incorporated in the descending stress of the first part. This incorporating of the second element in the first inevitably effected a cutting off, or shortening, of the diminishing stress of the first syllable, but the important point to be noted is not that the first vowel has been shortened before two consonants, but rather that two stress syllables have been merged into one on the principle of a decrescendo expenditure of the energy of speech; the final element has been so far reduced that it now finds its natural place in the descending stream of a preceding stress. The situation is not different in the case of such a form as *kept* from an older *kēp-ta*. In its earlier form the second syllable represented as independent stress, which, however, was gradually reduced until that syllable was more naturally incorporated enclitically in the preceding stress.

If now we examine vowel lengthenings from this same point of view, we see that they represent not an opposite linguistic tendency, but a further continuation of the same principle of initial stress. Let us begin with such a form as *child* from an older *chīld*. It is a well known fact of phonetics that consonants following short vowels are longer, that is, stronger, than those following long vowels; thus the *ld*-group is longer, that is, represents more speech energy, in the form *chīld* than in the form *child*. Hence if *chīld* becomes *child* are we not justified in inferring that the earlier form was felt to be slightly end-heavy, and that a part of the energy of *ld* has been drawn back toward the beginning of the word; the *ld* in its weakened form now finds its natural place farther down in the diminishing stream of the syllable stress. The situation is not different with such forms as *acre* from an older *acer*, *ladle* from *hladel*, or *bead* from *bede*. They all represent a moving of the final stress toward the beginning of the word, and the final element either disappears entirely or drops farther down in the diminishing stream of the stress. Vowel lengthening then is in reality merely a continuation of the principle which appeared above

as vowel shortening; both are manifestations of the tendency toward initial stress.

3. Umlaut. Umlaut is generally explained as an anticipation, in the accented vowel, of the tongue position of the following unaccented vowel. But does not this modification of the preceding vowel by the following vowel mean simply that the energy of the final syllable has been drawn back into and incorporated in the initial syllable of the word? The fact that the vowel which produced the umlaut has either weakened or disappeared in the oldest manuscripts leads me to believe that this weakening was not a later and separate phenomenon but was concurrent with the rise of umlaut. I would say then that the vowel of the final syllable tended to weaken and disappear just in proportion as its characteristic quality, or energy, was drawn back into and incorporated in the initial syllable; or conversely, that just in proportion as the tendency toward initial stress progressed the distinctive quality of the final syllable weakened. Umlaut thus viewed is not different in principle from the changes discussed above.

4. Primitive Germanic Consonant Shifts. I have treated this subject in detail in the *JEGPh*, Vol. 24, pp. 325 ff.

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THE METRICAL TECHNIQUE OF POPE'S ILLUSTRATIVE COUPLETS

'Tis not enough no harshness gives offense,
The sound must seem an echo to the sense.
Soft is the strain when Zephyr gently blows,
And the smooth stream in smoother numbers flows.
But when loud surges lash the sounding shore,
The hoarse rough verse should like the torrent roar.
When Ajax strives some rock's vast weight to throw,
The line too labors and the words move slow;
Not so, when swift Camilla scours the plain,
Flies o'er th' unbending corn, and skims along the main.

In this passage Alexander Pope lays down the principle that in good poetry the sound must seem an echo to the sense, and he then proceeds to illustrate his meaning by four clever couplets, all different but each perfect in its own way. Not a few scholars have been inclined to quote merely the dictum apart from the illustrative couplets and then to assume that Pope is primarily advocating the use of such simple imitative words as *splash*, *bang*, *buzz*, *murmur*, and the like; naturally, therefore, his teaching has received its full share of unfavorable criticism and even of ridicule. A closer examination of the couplets would seem to indicate, however, that he is referring chiefly to the metrical movement of the whole line, and that single sounds and combinations of sounds are important not because of any particular imitative quality, although this does appear sporadically, but because they modify the manner of the movement of the lines. When Pope then speaks of the sound, he means primarily the *rhythmical flow* of the sounds of the line, and this rhythmical flow is in its ultimate analysis merely the manner of our own inner activity, the movement of our own mind, the set of our own nerve and muscle systems, as we read the line; in short, it is our feeling, our mood. This movement may take on different forms; it may be regular and smooth and gentle, or it may be irregular either in the direction of greater effort, heaviness, and slowness, or of greater ease, lightness, and rapidity. Pope means to say then that the form of the rhythmical movement, that is, the mood of the rhythm, must be appropriate to the sense of the line. But the term

“sense” also calls for further comment. It does not refer merely to the intellectual aspect of perceiving or imaging. Every such act is accompanied by some sort of feeling and this feeling passes over us as a movement of some kind. For example, to return to Pope’s couplets, the mental picture of a gentle zephyr or a smooth stream gives us a feeling of soft and regular movement, the image of the striving Ajax is accompanied by a feeling within us of a slow, heavy, strong, irregular, effortful movement, and the picture of the swift Camilla produces in us a feeling of rapid, easy, light, powerful, sustained movement. The statement that the sound must seem an echo to the sense, means, therefore, that the rhythmical movement of our own mental activity as we progress through the line must coincide exactly with the movement of the feeling which accompanies our perception of the meaning of the line. Only in this way can the sound be a true echo to the sense. Let us look briefly at the rhythmical movement of the four couplets. Each one contains some irregularity, some departure from the normal pattern of regularly alternating unstressed and stressed syllables, and the characteristic quality of each movement depends upon the nature of its departure from this normal iambic pentameter. Thus, in the first couplet,

Soft is the strain when Zephyr gently blows,
And the smooth stream in smoother numbers flows

the effect of a soft and smooth metrical movement is due to the fact that at the beginning of each line one of the stresses has been removed from its normal position, thus bringing together two soft unstressed syllables. This arrangement produces an incipient triple time, which effects a slight increase of rapidity, but this more rapid movement is immediately checked by the return to the regular alternation of unstressed and stressed syllables in the remainder of each line. It is this transition from irregularity and incipient rapidity to regularity and slowness that enhances the effect of the soft smooth movement of this couplet. We always feel more intensely the regularity and smoothness of a movement when we return to it after having departed from it. The phenomenon is parallel to our more intense feeling of the calm after the storm, or of musical harmony that emerges from slight discord, or of the restored equilibrium at the end of a dramatic conflict.

But when loud surges lash the sounding shore,
The hoarse, rough verse should like the torrent roar.

Here the effect of a slow, strong, loud, rough movement results chiefly from the increasing and the grouping of the stresses in the second line, and also from the deliberately awkward arrangement of the sounds *s*, *sh*, *g*, *f*, *v*, which can only be pronounced rather slowly and with a certain degree of effort. There are also logical pauses after *should* and *torrent*. The irregularity of the movement and the enforced pauses after stressed syllables give us the feeling of roughness, largeness, loudness, and strength.

But let us pass on to the third couplet:

When Ajax strives some rock's vast weight to throw,
The line too labors and the words move slow.

Here the slow, interrupted, effortful, strong movement is due to the fact that the stresses are increased from five to six, and are grouped; the slowness and strength and effort of the movement are further intensified by some awkward sound sequences, especially those in which the same consonant stands at the end of one word and at the beginning of the next.

The last couplet is in every way the opposite of the three preceding ones:

Not so, when swift Camilla scours the plain,
Flies o'er th' unbending corn, and skims along the main.

The sound elements are small and the movement is fast, uninterrupted, strong, easy, and sustained. The short vowel in *not* is rendered still shorter by the following short sound *t*; the vowel in *so* is cut short by the pause; the vowels in *when swift Camilla* are short, the *f* in *swift* is cut short by the following *t*; the *l*-sound in *Camilla*, standing between two short vowels, is necessarily short; the *k*-sound in *Camilla*, *corn*, *scours*, *skims* is short, and in the two latter words it also cuts short the preceding *s*. On the other hand, most of the sounds in the latter part of both lines, namely, *scours*, *plain*, *skims*, *along*, *main*, are long and prolongable. This arrangement of short sounds in the first part of the line followed by prolongable sounds in the latter part of the line, gives us a rapid and sustained movement, because we naturally prolong that type of movement with

which we began. The rhythmical irregularity at the beginning of the second line, *flies o'er th' unbending* effects an increase both of rapidity and of force. The impulsive initial stress, followed by two relatively unstressed syllables constitutes a measure of triple time, and this means greater rapidity. And looked at from the point of view of energy, or force, the arrangement has the following significance: The movement of the first line has been gaining steadily in force, or momentum, from the beginning to the end, and this energy has not been allowed to expend itself in an unstressed syllable either at the end of the first line or at the beginning of the second, but on the contrary still more energy has been accumulated by the initial stress of the second line; this excess of energy then is carried over into the two following syllables, making them somewhat stronger than they otherwise would be, and Pope, with his fine sense of fitness, has placed here the physically large and logically not unimportant syllables *o'er th' un*. Thus the force of the movement is sustained through what would normally be weak elements, and we get the feeling of moving rapidly through relatively strong elements. But this is not all. The movement has gained such an excess of energy that it not only overflows slightly into these two syllables, but also prolongs itself irresistibly throughout an additional foot. Furthermore, this line of six feet naturally divides itself into two parts, that is, the longer unit breaks up into two balanced halves, thereby increasing the sustained rapidity of the movement.

Pope's dictum then regarding the sound and the sense means primarily that the poet must vary the rhythmical movement of his lines in accordance with the varying moods which accompany the different thoughts and images that he presents; and this is, of course, the instinctive practice of every real poet.

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UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF EMERSON

Recent biographies and studies of Emerson are as thorough as any critical work done on American writers but it is evident that no really exhaustive life-record of Emerson exists. What is more discouraging is the possibility that none may exist, if reports are true about withheld material. Yet small collections of his manuscript letters must be extant. Fugitive letters are frequently recorded in booksellers' lists, and occasionally single letters are published. This giving to the world all information about Emerson, however slight, is highly desirable, if we are sometime to have the biography; if we are not, then it becomes more than desirable; it is imperative. Even now Emerson is being "interpreted" in a popular magazine. Meanwhile, minor facts have value.

With such convictions in mind this sheaf of Emerson letters is made accessible. All evidence indicates that none of these nine letters has hitherto been published, though the American habit of printing valuable letters in newspapers must still leave concerning this point some uncertainty. A thorough canvass has been made of possible places of appearance, and since the letters come from various and unconnected individuals, the assumption is that not all can have been printed, even in obscure places. The editor has made no attempt to set down the history of each particular manuscript though such information can be readily obtained.¹ Since 1904, or about this date, these letters have been in the *Yale Collection of American Literature*, at Yale University, and they are herewith briefly documented and published for the guidance of students of Emerson.

For convenience, and for reasons of space, the letters have been divided into two groups. The first group thus arbitrarily created contains five letters, of relatively slight importance. Four of the five are brief notes, and have little value save

¹ These manuscripts were collected for Mr. Owen F. Aldis, of New York City, by Mr. Patrick K. Foley of Boston. Correspondence between Mr. Aldis and Mr. Foley, in the *Collection*, furnishes hints concerning the past ownership of some of these letters. It has seemed inadvisable to discuss here the history of each letter.

definitely establishing facts about Emerson on particular days. They convey miscellaneous and very insignificant information; they range in time from June 24, 1837 to February 17, 1877. They are reproduced solely with the premise that any fact about Emerson, of place or date or event, must ultimately have worth.

The second group consists of four letters written within the space of seven years, five months and eight days. Four letters written over so long a period can have little focus or unity, but coupled with the *Journals* they illumine two interests of Emerson. These are his lectures and his Oriental studies. Incidentally the four letters throw light on his relations with two important persons of his time who are not discussed in the *Journals*: The Reverend William Rounseville Alger, and Mrs. Lydia Maria Child. Yet the letters are placed together chiefly because in three of the four are allusions to the subject not yet thoroughly investigated—Emerson's deep concern during these years with Oriental themes.²

The first note is a request from Emerson to his friend, the clergyman and musical critic, John Sullivan Dwight (1813–1893) to preach for him:

Concord, 24 June, 1837.

My dear sir,

Will you oblige me so far as to supply the pulpit of East Lexington one Sunday more, the first sabbath in July. If you cannot go in person, can you send Mr. Peabody of Cincinnati,³ or, anyhow, the best man; for I hate to slight my cure. They liked Mr. Muzzey⁴ very well.

Your friend & servant,
R. W. Emerson

² Emerson published various studies in Orientalism: in the *Dial* for July, 1842; and April, 1844; and in the *Atlantic Monthly* for April, 1858, and July, 1864. His poem "Brahma" first appeared in the last-named magazine, for November, 1857. Such a list might be expanded. Although there is no adequate discussion of this interest, the reader may turn to Herambachandra Maitra, "Emerson from an Indian Point of View," in the *Harvard Theological Review* for October, 1911; and to W. T. Harris, "Emerson's Orientalism," in *The Genius and Character of Emerson*, edited by F. B. Sanborn, Boston, 1883, pp. 372–385.

³ Probably Ephraim Peabody (1807–1856) who was minister for four years in Cincinnati. He founded the Boston Providence Society, and was the author of *Christian Days and Thoughts* (1858).

⁴ Probably Artemas Bowers Muzzey (1802–1892), pastor of the Unitarian Church in Frothingham, Massachusetts, from 1830 to 1833. He published numerous tracts, essays, and books of a religious character.

The second note, dated 1860, is in substance an anecdote concerning Emerson as a successful lecturer:

Concord
Nov. 29, 1860.

Miss Bessie Pedder,

I enclose with much pleasure these cards, which, I doubt not, will serve your purpose.

Respectfully,
R. W. Emerson

Such a note is, at first glance, a mere autograph, but a type-written paragraph, unsigned, apparently the work of a previous owner of the letter, gives it somewhat more value: "Miss Pedder was a cultivated English lady who wished to hear Emerson lecture, but felt she could not afford it; Emerson's note of November 29, 1860 was sent to her, with cards of admission, in response to a letter received from her."⁵

The next two letters (the third and fourth of the first group) are concerned with a friendship undiscussed in studies of Emerson, that with Mrs. Vincenzo Botta, wife of Professor Vincenzo Botta. Mrs. Botta (1820-1891) was until her marriage in 1855 Anne Charlotte Lynch, a well-known "female poet" and moralist of a sentimental age.⁶ Emerson's acquaintance with Mrs. Botta began not later than 1865. On December 29 of that year he thanks her for her hospitality to him in New York.⁷ Later he congratulates her on having seen Sainte-Beuve in Paris.⁸ On May 28, 1866 he once more acknowledges the pleasure she has given him at her home in New York.⁹ Emerson wrote Mrs. Botta again on March 16, 1869, including an important reference to his reading in science: "I am glad you find Huxley interesting. He is an acknowledged master in England. As long as the Prince of Wales was here in Boston, Dr. Acland interested us in him. But I have read him less than

⁵ In Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Essays*, Second Series, Boston, 1844, in the *Yale Collection of American Literature*.

⁶ Among Mrs. Botta's writings were: *The Rhode Island Book*, Providence, 1841; *Poems*, New York and London, 1849; and a *Handbook of Universal Literature*, New York, 1860.

⁷ *Memoirs of Anne C. L. Botta, Written By Her Friends With Selections From Her Writings in Prose and Poetry*, New York, 1894, p. 177.

⁸ Letter, undated, *ibid.*, p. 178.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 341. On April 13, 1866, Mrs. Botta had written to Emerson. *Ibid.*, pp. 296-297.

his compeers—Owen, Tyndall, and Darwin. Natural science is the point of interest now, and I think it dimming and extinguishing a good deal that was called poetry. These sublime and all-reconciling revelations of nature will exact of poetry a correspondent height and scope, or put an end to it."¹⁰ On November 30, Emerson again praises Mrs. Botta's kindness: an invitation from her is "one of the happiest rainbows,"¹¹ and he adds "You were born under Hatem Yayi's own star, and, like him, are the genius of hospitality."¹² Again on December 8, 1870, he writes Mrs. Botta that he hopes soon to talk with her of poetry.¹³

With this perspective the new letters have interest. The less important letter is transcribed first:

Concord, 15 March 1871

My dear Mrs. Botta,

I obey you instantly, &, as you see, to the letter, by copying the first scrap you named in my book. Were I less absurdly busy, I should try to meet the occasion by by [*sic*] a fresher inspiration. I hope that May Day which your note so kindly offers me may not be long deferred.

Always yours,
R. W. Emerson

Mrs. A. C. L. Botta.

Concord
7 December, Friday [1865?]¹⁴

Dear Mrs. Botta,

I shall be only too contented to accept your invitation for a couple of days towards the end of this month, if that elastic house of yours shall not then be full. I was to have gone to your Mercantile Library, but they wished January & I could only come in December—so that fails. But in the belief that I was

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 178. Hatem Yayi was a famous Oriental whose house possessed sixteen doors.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 342.

¹⁴ This letter, which presents a problem in dating, is placed last, out of chronology, because it shows more fully and emphatically than any known letter the relations between Emerson and Mrs. Botta. A previous owner of this letter evidently ascribed to it (see original letter in *Yale Collection of American Literature*) the date 1875. But in 1875 Emerson had almost ceased to lecture, and "a little volume of Poems" which "Fields" had charge of would not describe justly the volume published by James R. Osgood and Company in 1876, assuming, as is plausible, that Fields eventually "let it be published." It is more reasonable to believe that Emerson alluded to *May-Day and Other*

to come, I made promises to Newark, and Paterson, & other of your neighbors, which still hold:—& I hope at least to see you before or after or between these visits. I shall probably be in the city on the 21st instant, & will not fail to report myself.

I am glad to hear what you tell me of Mr. Botta,¹⁵ that he is at home, that he has prospered so well in his enterprise in Italy; but it does not so fully accord with my notions of well-being, that his work-yard is so far from his house.

The bust of Mr. Butler¹⁶ I think very successful, though I am not intimately acquainted with his features. I like the front view best.

I should delight to show my daughter Ellen¹⁷ yourself, your family & your housekeeping, but I doubt it that can be. Her mother is too much an invalid to go with me, & just now to be left alone. But they both thank you for your friendly remembrances. I had hoped before this to send you a little volume of Poems,¹⁸ but though it is printed, Fields will not let it be published; for which no doubt, we ought both to thank him. With kind regards to Mr. Botta, Your affectionate servant,

R. W. Emerson

The last letter in the first group hints at the re-appearance during these years of Emerson's poetry in anthologies:

Concord, 17 Feb. 77

Dear Sir,

If your book is printed in the Country you shall have my leave to print the poems you have named, except the "Boston Hymn."

Respectfully,

R. W. Emerson

Mr. W. J. Linton

This correspondent was William James Linton (1812–1897) the engraver, illustrator, and creator of many biographies, transla-

Poems, published by Ticknor and Fields in 1867. The references to Newark and Paterson or to the illness of Mrs. Emerson find no echoes in the *Journals* or in biographies, but the date of Emerson's letter of thanks, to Mrs. Botta, December 29, 1865 makes it possible that this letter was written in anticipation of that visit—on December 7, 1865. This theory is not made less credible by the fact that Emerson did give Mrs. Botta a copy of *May-Day* in May, 1867. (See Mrs. Botta's copy with Emerson's autograph in the *Yale Collection of American Literature*.)

¹⁵ Vincenzo Botta (1818–1894) came to the United States in 1853 to investigate the public school systems of America. His writings include *A Discourse on the Life, Character, and Policy of Count Cavour*, New York, 1863; *Dante as Philosopher, Patriot, and Poet*, New York, 1865.

¹⁶ Charles Butler, of New York City, a life-long friend and adviser of Mrs. Botta. Several of her poems were inspired by this friendship. See *Memoirs of Anne C. L. Botta* (*op. cit.*), pp. 12, 13, 244, 448.

¹⁷ Emerson's first daughter and second child, born February 24, 1839.

¹⁸ See note 14 on date of this letter.

tions, anthologies, and poems. His anthology, *Poetry of America, Selections from One Hundred American Poets from 1776 to 1876, With an Introductory Review of Colonial Poetry, and Some Specimens of Negro Melody*, was published in 1878 in London. The book included of Emerson's poems: "The Poet," "To the Humble-Bee," "Song of Nature," "Brahma," "Friendship," "To Eva," and the "Boston Hymn." It is probable that Linton was considering the publication of his volume, or an imprint of it, in America.¹⁹

In the first letter of the second group, to H. G. O. Blake of Worcester, Massachusetts, is the suggestion confirmed by the *Journals*, of Emerson's reading, after his return from Europe in 1848, in Eastern literatures. On October 1, 1848, he wrote in the *Journals*: "I owed—my friend and I owed—a magnificent day to the *Bhagavat Geeta*. It was the first of books; it was as if an empire spake to us, nothing small or unworthy, but large, serene, consistent, its voice of an old intelligence which in another age and climate had pondered and thus disposed of the same questions which exercise us. Let us not now go back and apply a minute criticism to it, but cherish the venerable oracle."²⁰ Possibly Blake was the friend, Harrison Gray Otis Blake, Thoreau's admirer, and editor of some of his writings. Emerson had known Blake for some time. On November 13, 1838, he notes in the *Journals*: "Yesterday H. G. O. Blake spent with me; and parted this morning. We walked in the woods to the Cliff, to the spring, and had social music."²¹ Blake, say the editors of the *Journals*, "was a man of great

¹⁹ Linton speaks of his book as designed for English readers: "I claim precedence for it as the first fair and comprehensive sample of American Poetry given to the old country." *Poetry of America*, Preface, ix.

I can find no evidence that an American edition of Linton's anthology was ever published. Emerson's reasons for excluding the republication of the "Boston Hymn" in America cannot be determined. This poem first appeared in Dwight's *Journal of Music*, January 24, 1863. It was printed also in the *Atlantic Monthly* for February, 1863, and in *May-Day and Other Poems*, 1867 (pp. 75-80). Perhaps copyright difficulties existed in the case of this particular poem, or, more probably, the reason for the exception may have been merely personal.

²⁰ *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson, with Annotations*, edited by Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes, ten volumes, Boston, 1909-1914, VII, 511.

²¹ *Ibid.*, V, 133.

serenity, modesty, refinement, and personal charm."²³ The letter follows:

Concord, 11 May, 1849

Thanks, my dear friend, for your persistent kindness & care of ungrateful me. Your note found me on the way to some dismal affairs,²⁴ which have kept me in Boston for many days—irrecoverable days—but I was glad to have a ray of sunnier light in this very thicket. I hoped to use the occasion to write the letter long due but can only write new promises. Perhaps you will send me in a day or two some hint of your experiences in Bhagavat Geeta, that will be a text, & will find me in better leisure. As it is I have only space to thank you & greet you affectionately.

Yours,
R. W. Emerson

The second letter shows Emerson at his business of lecturing. Various accounts of him as a lecturer may, of course, be found in biographies,²⁴ yet no study exists of Emerson's relation to the American Lyceum. Echoes of this particular lecture tour may be found in the *Journals*, for the year 1851.²⁵ The significant fact in the letter to "A. W. Harvey, Chairman"²⁶ is, perhaps, Emerson's methods of negotiation for these tours:

Concord, 22 December, 1850.

Dear Sir,

I have received your courteous invitation, & a little earlier a similar one from Rochester promising that yours should come. I have read the Lecture²⁷ you speak of many times & thought the public pretty well acquainted with it

²³ *Ibid.*, V, 133, footnote. Among other references in the *Journals* to Emerson's Oriental studies see particularly VII, 68, June 7, 1845; and X, 187, February 13, 1867.

²⁴ Nothing can be found in the biographies of Emerson to explain fully the phrase "dismal affairs." It was a habit of Emerson's to speak in this fashion of days spent on matters of business. Cf.: "I go to Boston or New York, and run up and down on my affairs; they are sped, but so is the day. I am vexed by the recollection of this price I have paid for a trifling advantage." See *Representative Men, Seven Lectures*, Boston, 1850, p. 26.

²⁵ See especially George William Curtis, "Emerson Lecturing," in *From the Easy Chair*, New York, 1892-1894; Bliss Perry, "Emerson's Most Famous Speech," in *The Praise of Folly and Other Papers*, Boston, 1923; and James Russell Lowell, *My Study Windows*, Boston, 1871, pp. 375-384.

²⁶ *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson (op. cit.)*, VIII, 161 ff.

²⁷ I have been unable to identify Mr. A. W. Harvey.

²⁸ This lecture may have been on "Man the Reformer," "The Times," or another of the oft-repeated lectures of Emerson. See James Elliott Cabot, *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Boston, 1887, "Appendix F," II, 710-754.

through the newspapers.—But I can I doubt not with a little revision make it better worth your having.

For the time, I shall not be able to come in January, & should prefer the last of February, or the beginning of March. For the terms, which you ask me to fix, it seems rather a costly plan to invite me to go so far to read one lecture. But I am content to come to Rochester & Buffalo, & read a lecture in each place for a hundred dollars & my expenses: that is to say, each Lyceum shall pay me \$50 and half the cost of my going and returning. But, if it is desired, I will without additional charge read another lecture in each place, provided you will permit me to read it on the following evening, so that I may not be absent from home more than eight days.

Yours respectfully,
R. W. Emerson

A. W. Harvey, Chairman.

The next letter, written almost five years later, to Lydia Maria Child (1802–1880) was occasioned, as may be deduced from the date and contents, by Mrs. Child's gift to Emerson of her *Progress of Religious Ideas* (1855). This was the most ambitious of this writer's moral books. Mrs. Child's reputation had been won chiefly by the novel, *Hobomok* (1824); *An Appeal in Favor of that Class of Americans Called Africans* (1833); and the classical romance *Philothea* (1836). With Mrs. Child, as with Mrs. Botta, Emerson had had some correspondence. "Emerson has sent me," Mrs. Child wrote to Augusta Kay on October 30, 1844, "his new volume. . . . As usual, it is full of deep and original sayings, and touches of exceeding beauty but as usual, it takes away my strength. . . . What is the use of telling us that everything is landscape painting and counterfeit! that nothing is real, that everything eludes us. . . ." ²⁸ The bond between Emerson and Mrs. Child seems to have been the interest in Eastern studies:

Concord, 11 Novr. 1855.

My dear Mrs. Child,

It is a very slow [?] acknowledgment of your great gift to say that it has only come to me on Friday night, and I have only taken a survey & a few soundings here & there. But, as neither now, nor tomorrow, nor for three days, to come, during which I am to be a traveller, can I take any right possession of it, I will not wait longer to say that the Books are here, with all the wealth

²⁸ *Letters of Lydia Maria Child*, With a Biographical Introduction by John G. Whittier and an Appendix by Wendell Phillips, Boston, 1887, pp. 56–57. See also pp. 34, 149, 247.

that their "Contents" & my dippings into the Indian portion²⁹ assure me, and that I am deeply beholden to you for a present which, I see plainly, was not made in a month or a year, but which cost many summers to ripen. Well, it is a noble piece of work to spend summers on, and I shall see Wayland,³⁰ as often I do see it from our hills, with new esteem & reverence. I give you joy & honor in your high tasks, which cannot but bring a present reward with them in advance of the good fame, which, I doubt not, is to bring you its glad certificates.

I do not see before me presently any free days. I am absurdly enslaved for days & weeks to come, but I shall use my earliest leisure to study this book, whose topics have the strongest attraction for me, and I shall not fail to write you what fortunes I shall find. Meantime, accept my serious thanks for a noble gift.

With great respect & with best wishes,

Yours,

R. W. Emerson

Mrs. Child.

The fourth letter in the second group, and the last in this sheaf of nine letters, is the most important, dealing, as it does specifically, with certain convictions of Emerson about the publication of Indian literature. The correspondent, William Rounseville Alger (1822-1905) was graduated from the Harvard theological school in 1847. He was pastor of churches in Roxbury, Boston, New York, and other cities, and was known not only as a clergyman, but as a writer of some distinction.³¹ The book which Emerson discusses is apparently Alger's *The Poetry of the East*, Boston and Cambridge, 1856³²:

Concord, 19 Oct. 1856

My dear Sir,

I have delayed thanking you for the gift of your Book, till I could look a little into it: And though I have not yet nearly done with it, I have made some eager search into the heart of it. The enterprize is very welcome to me, this brave sally into Orientalism, & the attempt to popularize some of its richest jewels. And yet I own to some caprices or alternation of feeling on that subject.

²⁹ By "the Indian portion" Emerson must have meant such chapters in Mrs. Child's book as: "Hindustan," "Egypt," "China," "Chaldea," and "Persia." See *ibid.*, pp. 1-283.

³⁰ On the highway from Worcester to Boston. The hill-tops of Wayland are visible from points about Concord.

³¹ Among Alger's writings were: *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, Philadelphia, 1864; *Life of Edwin Forest*, Philadelphia, 1877; and *The School of Life*, Boston, 1881. Alger refers frequently in his writings to Emerson. See the *Christian Examiner*, May, 1868.

³² Emerson must, from the date of this letter, have received the first edition. The title was altered in later editions. See *The Poetry of the Orient*, Boston, 1865.

When it was proposed to me once to reprint "the Bhagvat" [*sic*] in Boston, I shrank back & asked time, thinking it not only some desecration to publish our prayers in the "Daily Herald," but also that those students who were ripe for it would rather take a little pains, & search for it, than find it on the pavement. It would however be as neglected a book, if the Harpers published it, as it is now in the libraries. Well, now we shall see the result of this middle course of yours, of collecting gems from so many mines & exhibiting them in the public square. In the universal reading of our people, I have no doubt some extraordinary passages will go to extraordinary readers; and I think the carrying a poem to an imaginative mind in the right moment is worth living for. Your introductory Chapter²³ is rich & interesting, and every taste will find something to thank you for in your collections. For the new versions [?] you have more courage than I and value fidelity far above music. I am terribly severe on this head with other people, and if I can meet with you at leisure mean to call you to strict account for the carelessness of your verse. But today I have only to send my thanks.

Yours with great regards,
R. W. Emerson

Rev. Mr. Alger

STANLEY T. WILLIAMS

Yale University

²³ See W. R. Alger, *The Poetry of the East*, Boston, 1856, "Historical Dissertation," pp. 4-30. This study is concerned with a summary of the great works of Oriental literature, scholarship in this field, and an analysis of a few representative writers.

BROWNING'S "CLEON"

Browning's insistence that his poems are so many dramatic utterances, not his own, and his well-known dislike of revealing himself, have combined to prevent any very persistent attempt to relate his poems to his own life, or to contemporary thought and events. It is possible, nevertheless, at times, to discover facts from other sources that enable us to penetrate beyond the dramatic form and the mere text of the poems, and to learn the occasions and circumstances of some of the poems. "Cleon," I venture to say, is one of these poems, and the apparent circumstances add much significance to the poem.

None of the biographers or commentators has been able to give us the occasion of "Cleon." It has stood in solitary grandeur, unrelated to any of Browning's other works, or to any contemporary literature, or to any event of his life or times. Kenyon says, "The poem is a sort of pendant to the *Epistle of Karshish*, being a dramatic contrast, put into the mouth of a highly cultured Greek man of letters, between the spiritual exhaustion of Hellenism in the first century of our era and the Christianity of St. Paul."¹ This is an interesting contrast, but we are no nearer the occasion of the poem.

It has occurred to me, however, that the real occasion of the poem was the publication of Arnold's "Empedocles on Etna," and that Browning was endeavoring to present a picture somewhat complementary to that sketched by Arnold. The basis of this conviction is found in the meagre but significant facts we know of the history of the two poems and of the poets at this period. A comparison of the two poems adds to the force of this conviction, and appears to make the connection highly probable.

Arnold's "Empedocles" was first published in 1852, as the chief poem in his volume entitled *Empedocles on Etna and Other Poems*. In the following year, 1853, Arnold republished his best work, under the title, *Poems by Matthew Arnold, a New Edition*, but omitting "Empedocles." In his Preface to this 1853 edition, Arnold said: "I have, in the present collection, omitted the poem from which the volume published in 1852

¹ Introduction to "Cleon" in *Works of Browning*, IV, xx.

took its title." He had come to believe that the poem does not produce any poetic enjoyment, and says that such poems "are those in which the suffering finds no vent in action; in which a continuous state of mental distress is prolonged, unrelieved by incident, hope, or resistance; in which there is everything to be endured, nothing to be done." In other words, Arnold withdrew "Empedocles" from his works because it delineated a condition of utter despair, with no possible avenue of escape for the distressed spirit.

The poem, however, had already fallen into many hands, and Browning apparently had procured a copy. He seems to have read it with interest and discernment, and is reported to have greatly favored the poem.³ He could scarcely fail to be attracted by a dramatic performance of such literary excellence. Indeed, it rivalled much of his own work in the dramatic form, and the verse-form of the "Chant of Empedocles" probably furnished the suggestion for the verse-form of his own "Rabbi Ben Ezra." Browning's interest in the poem was well known to Arnold, for in his letter to his brother, Rev. E. P. Arnold, on republishing the poem in 1867, Arnold said that "'Empedocles' takes up much room, but Browning's desire that I should reprint 'Empedocles' was really the cause of the volume appearing at all."³ Arnold showed his gratitude by dedicating the volume to Browning, as stated by E. L. Cary, "because it had found favor in his eyes."⁴

In "Empedocles" Arnold gave beautiful and effective expression to "the immeasurable melancholy" of the Greek philosopher, and no doubt at the same time to his own profound scepticism. Arnold had been greatly troubled by his doubts of Christianity. He had lost faith in his father's religion, and was soon to give expression to his rather sweeping criticism of Hebraism in general. Nor did he find much consolation elsewhere. Even Hellenism, as depicted in this poem, landed only in the darkest despair and the utmost confusion of thought.

Empedocles, pictured by Arnold as tortured by doubt and fear, finds no consolation, for as he says "The gods laugh in their sleeve." He is impressed with the conviction that

³ *Browning, Poet and Man*, by E. L. Cary, page 127.

³ *Letters of Arnold*, Vol. I, p. 431, July 23, 1867.

⁴ *Browning, Poet and Man*, p. 127.

The world hath failed to impart
The joy our youth forbodes.

In utter despair for this life, and with no hope for any other, Empedocles disconsolately casts himself into the crater of Mount Etna. With his philosophy ending in profound pessimism, he takes what he thinks the best way to end the unequal and hopeless struggle.

Browning seems to have taken up the subject of "Cleon" almost immediately after the appearance of Arnold's poem in 1852, for his poem was published in his very next volume, *Men and Women*, 1855. Here as everywhere Browning issued his poem without note or comment, and left the bare text to speak for itself, with no intimation that the poem was inspired by Arnold's work. Browning's poem offers no criticism, but presents a companion picture and a supplement to Arnold's.

In "Cleon" Browning takes a fictitious Greek philosopher, and draws a most vivid picture of Greek culture in its latest and best period, as Arnold's picture of "Empedocles" revealed Greek philosophy at an early period. Cleon is an imaginary character of the second quarter of the first century, contemporary with St. Paul, and is represented by Browning as embodying in himself all the fruits of Greek culture, and is made to recount his achievements in the various arts, ending with the avowal:

In brief, all arts are mine;
Thus much the people know and recognize
Throughout our seventeen islands.

In him all the art and philosophy and culture of ancient Greece converge. He must then

be accounted to attain
The very crown and proper end of life.

He, surely, must have reached the true happiness of men, and must be rid of the fears that haunt the less cultured. As the true wise man of Greece he must know much that is hidden from the unlearned.

It is to this Cleon that Protus, his sovereign, has sent in his old age to inquire whether he has found the secret of happiness, and whether or not he has learned to have no fear of death. Protus has come near the end of his life, and now

anxiously inquires whether Greek culture can give the consolation he longs for at this time. Cleon thus repeats the query of Protus:

Thou askest if (my soul thus in men's hearts)
I must not be accounted to attain
The very crown and proper end of life.
Inquiring thence how, now life closeth up,
I face death with success in my right hand:
Whether I fear death less than dost thyself
The fortunate of men.

The poem is Browning's conception of the answer to be given by Greek culture to this greatest of all questions. Cleon traces briefly the development of the mind and spirit of man through its cultural achievements, and is forced to admit,

But alas,
The soul now climbs it just to perish there.

Man, he thinks, attains to great heights of wisdom and culture, only to perish like the brutes. This only makes the failure the greater, for after all

Who seest the wider but to sigh the more.
Most progress is most failure!

The only thing that would give comfort is a hope for "some future state revealed to us by Zeus." But as there is no such revelation, the final state of mind is "profound discouragement."

Arnold has his Empedocles express his scorn of the idea

That we must feign a bliss
Of doubtful future date,

and he has entire scepticism of any such future life. But Browning has his Cleon express a profound desire that there might be such a state, where

Freed by the throbbing impulse we call death
We burst there as the worm into the fly,
Who, while a worm still, wants his wings. But, no!
Zeus has not yet revealed it; and, alas!
He must have done so—were it possible!

Protus, however, has heard of the new doctrine of a future life, preached at Athens and elsewhere by Paulus, or Christus, he knows not which, "Indeed, if Christus be not one with

him," and has sent a message to Cleon to be forwarded to Paulus. But Cleon in the pride and arrogance of his Greek culture gives the new doctrine scarcely a passing thought, and replies to Protus,

Thou canst not think a mere barbarian Jew,
As Paulus proves to be, one circumcised,
Hath access to a secret shut from us?

He intimates to Protus that it is beneath him as a Greek to pay any attention to such as Paulus, or Christus, and their doctrines:

Thou wrongest our philosophy, O king,
In stooping to inquire of such an one,
As if his answer could impose at all.

Cleon ends his reply to Protus by arrogantly exclaiming that "Their doctrines could be held by no sane man." Unlike Karshish, the Arab, the Greek mind of Cleon is not attracted by the new doctrine of Christianity.

Browning depicts in Cleon a full consciousness of the failure of Greek culture to satisfy the longings and aspirations of the human spirit, and yet too arrogant to receive a new doctrine from an alien source. Without the prospect of a future life there is no consolation either for Protus or for Cleon, but only growing despair, and a "profound discouragement." Greek culture is shown to fail in that it cannot offer any hope for a continued, or after life. But here, by contrast, Browning depicts the triumph of Christianity, for he was deeply convinced that the hope of immortality was the central doctrine and the glory of Christianity.

By bringing his imaginary Cleon in contact with the new doctrine of Christianity, Browning is enabled to put the Greek view of the world and of man that regarded all as finite, in contrast with the Christian view that looks upon man as an immortal spirit. In "Old Pictures in Florence," which Browning published in the same volume, he depicts Greek art, also, as treating man as a finite being, in contrast with Italian, or Christian art, which treats man as spiritual and infinite.

"Cleon," then, seems to be meant as a sort of companion poem or supplement to Arnold's "Empedocles," and furnished Browning an opportunity to show that Greek culture, at the

end as at the beginning, can offer nothing but despair to the longing and inquiring human spirit. By making his imaginary Cleon a contemporary of the Apostle Paul, Browning is enabled to make a very striking contrast between the collapse of Greek culture and the new, rising Christian culture, with its hopefulness and its clear doctrine of a future life.

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STUDIES IN THE SOURCES OF GOWER

I

The Latin and French Versions of "Barlaam and Josaphat," and of the Legendary History of Alexander the Great

Between 1899 and 1902 Professor G. C. Macaulay published the first complete, annotated edition of the works of the English poet, John Gower. It was a notable publication, because it not only contained critical texts of the known works, based on the study of all accessible manuscripts, but also an edition of the long-lost French work, the *Mirour de l'omme*, which the editor had the fortune to identify in a recently acquired manuscript of the Cambridge University Library. It is true that exceptions must be taken, now and then, to the critical construction of the text, and the linguistic and metrical introduction, and certain interpretations of the text, in the first volume, which contains the French works, reveal the hand of a novice, dealing with most difficult subjects. But, on the other hand, he has made most important additions to our knowledge of Gower's sources, and the way the poet made use of them. Since the publication of the edition, only a few studies have been published to supplement this information, and it is now possible to make further additions on account of the publication of more recent studies on these sources, and of new sources.

The longest account given by Gower of the Greek hero, Hercules, is to be found in the passage of the fifth book of the *Confessio Amantis*, a very free and much expanded translation of the attack on the pagan gods, in the ascetic romance, *Barlaam and Josaphat*, that curious and long-lived Christian transformation of the account of one of the reincarnations of Buddha.¹ From the Latin translation, attributed to Anastasius Bibliothec-

¹ J. Rendel Harris, "The Sources of Barlaam and Joasaph," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, IX (1925), 119-126, has reviewed the old, and added new evidence as to the sources of the Greek version, and has presented cogent arguments for considering it as the work of John of Damascus (d. before 754); cf. J. Armitage Robinson, "The Passion of St. Catherine and the Romance of Barlaam and Joasaph," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXV (1924) 247, 253; H. Delehaye, *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLV (1927) 152-3.

arius (*d.* 897)²; and from its French verse translation made by Gui de Cambrai *ca.* 1220,³ the latter of which he may have used in a copy in the library of one of his royal patrons, and maybe friend, Thomas, Duke of Gloucester⁴ the English poet only took the main argument, which is the basis of the whole attack, that Hercules was not a god, but a sinful man.⁵ This he did at the beginning, and at the end of his account:

An other god of Hercules
Thei made, which was natheles
A man
Wherof so gret a pris he nam,
That thei him clepe amonges alle
The god of strengthe, and to him call.
And yit ther is no reson inne,
For he a man was full of sinne,
Which proved was upon his ende,
For in a rage himself he brende:
And such a cruel mannes dede
Accordeth nothing with godhede.⁶

With the exception of the self-immolation of the hero, he has summed up the charges against him in the phrase "he a man was full of sinne," from those noted in the Latin original:

² E. Kuhn, "Barlaam und Joasaph. Eine bibliographisch-literargeschichtliche Studie," *Abhandl. d. Philos.-philol. Classe d. Kgl. Bayerisch. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, XX (1897), 53-54. Kuhn's article was published separately in 1893. M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I (1911), 681-84, 687-88, has not included it among the translations of Anastasius, but he has also failed to mention the *Barlaam* in the two volumes of his work.

³ E. C. Armstrong, *The French Metrical Versions of Barlaam and Josaphat with especial Reference to the Termination in Gui de Cambrai* (Elliott Monographs in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 10) 1922, 40-41.

⁴ In the "Inventory of the Goods and Chastells Belonging to Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, and seized in his Castle at Pleshey, Co. Essex, 21 Richard II (1397); With their Values as shown in the Escheator's Accounts," published by Viscount Dillon and W. H. St. John Hope, *Archaeological Journal*, LIV (1897), 303, is the item: "Item j rouge livre de Barlaham et Josephath ove j claspe de latoñ p's . . . vid.," I have already noted the mention of Brunetto Latini's *Trésor*, in the same inventory, incidental to the connection between its former owner and Gower, "Some Sources of the Seventh Book of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*," *Mod. Philol.*, IX (1912), 341, n. 7.

⁵ For the prominence given this point of attack in early Christian apologetic literature, Harris, *art. cit.*, 127-28.

⁶ *C.A.*, V, 1083-85, 1094-1102, *ed.*, G. Macaulay, *Works of Gower*, 1899-1902.

Herculem vero inducunt ebriosum fuisse & insanum, & suos occidisse, & ad ultimum igne consumptum interiisse. Sed quomodo deus erat ebriosus, & interfector filiorum, & combustus? Aut qua ratione alios adiuuabit, qui sibimet ipsi auxilium praeberere non potuit?⁷

and in the French translation:

Et d'Ercules redist Nachor,
Que li Gryu ont en grant tresor,
C'om ne le doit por diu tenir,
Por ke raison voellent jehir.
"Car uns lechiere fu aussi
Comme li autre que jou di.
Molt fu crueus; les sons ocist,
Si com l'estoire le nous dist
En feu fu ars à daerrains;
Et cis dex fu fols et vilains
Ki se soffri si à ardoir."⁸

If the Latin version alone supplied the hint for the phrase: "and to him call" in its question: "Aut qua ratione etc.," the French text was the source of the verse: "And yit ther is no reson inne," and its description of the hero; "Molt fu crueus," passed into Gower's phrase: "such a cruel mannes dede." It is not surprising that the English poet made use of both the Latin work, and of its French translation, as both Chaucer⁹ and he¹⁰ made use of both the *Roman de Troie* and the *Historia Trojana*,¹¹ which told the same story—if it is true that neither recognized

⁷ *S. Ioanis Damasceni Historia de vitis et rebus gestis Sanctorum Barlaam Eremitae, et Iosaphat Regis Indorum, Georgio Trapesuntio interprete*, Antverpiae, apud Ioannem Bellerum sub Aquila Aurea, n.d., 238. This edition was published between 1564 and 1575, Armstrong, *op. cit.*, 57, n. 1; as a copy, now in the library of the University of Munich, was already in the Jesuit college of Ingolstadt in 1575, Kuhn, *art. cit.*, 86. I am indebted to Professor Armstrong for the use of his copy of this rare book.

⁸ Guy von Cambrai, *Barlaham und Josaphas*, ed., C. Appel, 1907, vv. 7259-69.

⁹ The indebtedness of Chaucer to both works is summed up by K. Young, *The Origin and Development of the Story of Troilus and Criseyde* (Chaucer Soc. Publ.; Ser. II, 40), 105-139.

¹⁰ See Macaulay, *ed. cit.*, II, 468, 471, 496, 499-501; III, 497-99, 509, 516-19; Hamilton, "Gower's Use of the Enlarged *Roman de Troie*," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XX (1905), 179-196.

¹¹ For the history of scholarly researches on this question, Hamilton, *The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde to Guido delle Colonne's Historia Trojana*, 1903, 31-50.

that the second work was only a plagiarism of the first—and of the Latin text of Ovid and of the *Ovide moralisé*.¹³ As was the case with other medieval writers in the vernacular, they knew their Latin originals through the aid of translations.¹³

At first sight it would seem that the description of the deeds of Hercules, which explains why he was regarded as a god:

bot that he was so strong,
In al this world that brod and long
So myhti was noman as he.
Merveiles tuelve in his degre,
As it was couth in sondri londes,
He dede with hise oghne hondes
Ayein geantz and Monstres bothe,
The which horrible were and lothe,
Bot he with strengthe hem overcam,¹⁴

was based upon a passage in the *Historia Trojana* of Guido delle Colonne developed from a much briefer account in the *Roman de Troie*¹⁵:

Hic est ille hercules de cujus incredibilibus actibus per multas partes sermo dirigitur. Qui sua potentia infinitos gigantes suis temporibus interemit . . . ista de eo sufficienter tetigisse cum et rei veritas in tantum de sua victoria acta per mundum miraculose divulget,¹⁶

if an even closer parallel could not be quoted. There is no doubt but that Gower in his account of the youth of Achilles made use of an enlarged redaction of the *Roman de Troie*, the

¹³ For Chaucer's use of both these sources, J. L. Lowes, "Chaucer and the *Ovide moralisé*," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XXXIII (1918), 302-325. I shall have occasion to point out Gower's similar procedure in a future article: "Studies in the Sources of Gower. IV. The *Ovide moralisé*."

¹⁴ Cf. Lowes, *art. cit.*, 319. I shall have occasion to note below the way in which Gower combined the Latin and French versions of the legend of Alexander.

¹⁵ *C.A.*, V, 1085-93.

¹⁶ *Ed.*, L. Constans (Soc. d. anc. Textes français) vv, 805-8, 811-12.

¹⁷ *Ed.*, Strasbourg, 1486. fol. a 3 recto, col. 1. This edition, Hain-Copinger *5509; Pellechet 3873; Proctor 605; *Catalogue of the Books printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum*, I (1908), 134, from the press of the printer on the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg, has been shown to be Georg Husner. E. Voullième, "Zur ältesten Buchdruckergeschichte Strassburgs. L. Georg Husner, der Drucker des Jordanus von Quedlinburg," *Zentralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen*, XXXII (1915), 309-20, especially 319. I have had occasion to cite the passage in question at greater length, *op. cit.*, 56-57.

direct source of the Middle-High German *Trojanische Krieg*, of Konrad von Würzburg (d. 1287)¹⁷, and of the fourteenth century Middle English *Seege of Troye*.¹⁸ In the account of this episode in the German poem, Thetis persuades Achilles to disguise himself as a maiden at the court of King Lycomedes, by citing the examples of gods and men, who had done the same thing. Among these was Hercules, whose action was summed up in less than two lines in the *Achilleis* of Statius:

Si Lydia dura
pensa manu mollesque tulit Tiryntius hastas,¹⁹

which have been expanded to sixteen lines in Konrad's work:

sun. lieber unde guoter,
man seit uns ouch, daz Hercules
sich niht schamen wolte des,
daz er trüege frouwen cleit.
er het ez ouch an sich geleit
und wart gebildet als ein maget.
der selbe ritter unverzaget
hât vrecheit mē begangen
an risen und an slangen,
denn ieman ûf der erden.
gelich moht im nie werden
an kreften weder wîp noch man.
er gât sô vremdez wunder an
mit kampfē und ouch mit strîte grôz,
daz niendert lebte sin genôz
noch lhhte niemer wirt geborn.²⁰

Here we find what is failing in the passage of Guido,²¹ a reference to the monsters as well as to the giants killed by the hero, and

¹⁷ F. Vogt und M. Koch, *Gesch. d. deutschen Litteratur*, 2d ed., 1897, I, 241, 243.

¹⁸ Hamilton, *art. cit.*, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XX, 180-196.

¹⁹ I, 260-61, ed., A. Klotz.

²⁰ *Ed.*, A. von Keller (Bibl. d. lit. Vereins z. Stuttgart, XLIV) 1868, vv. 14, 384, 403. The reading "lebet" for "lebte," 14, 402, the present instead of the past tense, is a variant accepted as correct by K. Bartsch, *Anmerkungen zum trojanischen Kriegen* (Bibl. d. lit. Ver., cxxxiii) 1877. Konrad had already made use of the same passage earlier in the poem, vv. 6868-83, of his original, as was his common usage, cf. Hamilton, *art. cit.*, 186.

²¹ Cf. *Rom. de Troie*, *ed. cit.*; 807-8, 811-12, where it is said of Hercules:

E mainte grant merveille fist
E maint felon jaiant ocist

the superiority of his strength to that of others, as in Gower's account.

If Gower's account of Hercules is a dovetailing of phrases from the Latin and French versions of *Barlaam*, the enlarged *Roman de Troie*, and maybe, from the *Historia Trojana*, there are two details not found in any of those works, the number of Hercules' "merveilles," and his appearance as the god of strength, "deus fortitudinis," as Gower's Latin gloss has it. Of these the first was taken from a phrase in redaction J³ of the *Historia de preliis* of Archpresbyter Leo, made at least as early as the eleventh century.²² In his own continuation of the attack on paganism, based on *Barlaam*, he translated a passage from the correspondence between Alexander and Dindimus, leader of the Brahmins,²³ which was inserted at length into some of the manuscripts of that redaction of Leo's work.²⁴ In the passage in question Dindimus attacked the custom of the Greeks of making a deity the sponsor for some particular part of the body. That Gower made use of redaction J³, and not of J², as represented by the Strassburg edition of 1489,²⁵ cited by Gower's editor, is evident from a comparison of the two redactions and Gower's translation.²⁶ In the introductory general statement of J³:

Ses granz merveilles e si fait
Seront a toz jorz mais retrait.

²² As I have pointed out in "Quelques notes sur l'histoire de la légende d'Alexandre le Grant en Angleterre au moyen-âge," *Mélanges de philologie et d'histoire offerts à M. Antoine Thomas par ses élèves et ses amis*, 1927, 201-2.

²³ On its Greek source, of which Arrianus may have been the author, F. Pfister, "Die Brahmanen in der Alexandersage," *Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1921, 569-575.

²⁴ A. Hilka, *Der altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman nach der Berliner Bilderhandschrift nebst dem Lateinischen Original des Historia de preliis (Redaction J³)*, 1920, 186-200. The greater part of it is omitted in a number of the manuscripts, and in the French prose translation, *Ib.*, 189 n. *; cf. 279, so that the letter could not have been Gower's source, even if it had been accessible to him in the Duke of Gloucester's library, in what may have been a copy of it, as noted below in n. 73.

²⁵ F. Pfister, "Die *Historia de preliis* und das Alexanderepos des Quilichinus von Spoleto," *Münchener Museum f. Philologie des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, I (1912), 253.

²⁶ *Works of Gower*, II, 517.

Vos tantos deos colitis quanta membra habetis in corpore . . . et uni cuique deorum partes corporis vestri *dividitis et pro membris* singulis victimas occiditis,²⁷

one finds the source of the details in the English poet's verses:

thei for every membre hadden
A sondri god, to whom thei spradden
Here armes, and of help besoghten,²⁸

which are not found in J²:

Tot deos colis quot in tuo corpore membra portas.²⁹

Again in J², there is no mention of Minerva,³⁰ who heads the list in J²:

Minervam pro eo quod fuit inventrix multorum operum, dicitis eam de capite ovis natam et tenere sapientiam, et pro eo dicitis eam tenere summitatem corporis.³¹

a phrase which has been very freely translated by Gower:

Minerve for the hed their soghten,
For sche was wys, and of a man
The wit and reson which he can
Is in the celles of the brayn,
Wherof thei made hire soverain.³²

Again, the brief statement of J²:

Bachum deum gutturis esse putas, eo quod ebrietatem primus inuenit.³³

could not have been the source of the fuller statement:

For Bachus was a glotoun eke,
Him for the throte thei beseke,
That he it wolde waissshen ofte
With swote drinkes and with softte.³⁴

²⁷ Hilka, *op. cit.*, 194, 11-16. The words in italics are additions made in J² to the text of J¹.

²⁸ *C.A.*, V, 1456-59.

²⁹ As cited by Macaulay, *l.c.*

³⁰ As is noted by Macaulay, *l.c.*, who also points out the same omission in the Middle-English *Wars of Alexander*, ed., W. W. Skeat, vv. 4494 ff. This was due to the fact that that work was a translation of a redaction of J¹, which I have named J^{2a}, in an article, in which I have undertaken to prove the existence of such a redaction, "A new redaction (J^{2a}) of the *Historia de preliis* and the date of redaction J²," *Speculum*, II (1927) 113-146.

³¹ *Ed. cit.*, 194, 16-19.

³² *C.A.*, V, 1460-64.

³³ *Ib.*, 1469-72.

³⁴ *Ed. cit.*, 194, 24-27.

which is found in J²:

Bachum pro eo quod fuit inventor ebrietatis, dicitis illum esse deum gutturis et sic stare supra guttur hominis quomodo si stetisset supra cellam de vino plenam.³⁶

Again J² does not contain the phrase descriptive of the "iecoris ubi habitat pars ignis corpore," which supplied Gower with the phrase:

Of the Stomak, which builleth evere.³⁶

in the account of Cupid, just as he could only find the source of the verses:

To the goddesse Cereres,
Which of the corn yaf hire increas.³⁷

in the phrase:

Cererem pro eo quod fuit inventrix frumenti.³⁸

In the same way it is evident that the account of Hercules in J²:

Herculem vero pro quod duodecim mirabiles virtutes fecit, dicitis illum esse deum brachiorum.³⁹

and not in J²:

Herculeum deum brachiorum, eo quod duodecim virtutes exercuit preliando.⁴⁰

was the source, not only of the lines:

The god of schuldres and of armes
Was Hercules; for in armes
The myhtieste was to fihte,
To him the Limes they behihte.⁴¹

³⁶ *Ib.*, 194, 29-30.

³⁶ *C.A.*, V, 1487.

³⁷ *C.A.*, V, 1489-90.

³⁸ *Ed. cit.*, 194, 30-31.

³⁹ *Ib.*, 194, 23-24. The Northern English *Prose Life of Alexander from the Thornton MS.*, ed., J. S. Westlake (E. E. T. Soc. Publ., 143) 1913, a translation of the postulated redaction J^{2a} of the *Historia de preliis*, cf. above, p. 503, n. 30, rendered "virtutes" by "labors": "Hercules ꝛe trowe be godd of þe armes, Bi-cause he did twelfe passande dedes of armes," *ed. cit.*, 33, 18-19.

⁴⁰ As cited by Macaulay, *l.c.*

⁴¹ *C.A.*, V, 1473-76. "armes," *ed.*, J. S. Westlake (E. E. T. Soc. Publ., 143) 1913.

but of those in the earlier account of Hercules:

Merveiles tuelve in his degre . . .
He dede with his oghne hondes.⁴³

However, if the *Historia de preliis* supplied the number of Hercules "merviles,"⁴³ and the *Barlaam* the account of the manner of the hero's death, was not the contrast between the glory of the one, and the ignominy of the other, so emphasized by Gower, inspired by a phrase of a passage in another work, one of his sources of information.⁴⁴ This was the *Dissuasio Valerii ad Ruffinum philosophum ne uxorem ducat*, a youthful

⁴³ *Ib.*, V, 1088, 1090. The passage in *Barlaam* would also seem to have suggested to the English poet the use of the concrete term, "his ogne hondes," instead of the abstract "sua potentia," of the *Historia Trojana*. In the other passages where Gower made use of the *Historia de preliis*, it is not possible to show the use of J² instead of J¹: cf. the account of Alexander's visit to the cave of the Egyptian gods, an episode not found in the *Roman de toute chevalerie* of Thomas of Kent, cf. J. Weynand, *Der Roman de toute chevalerie des Thomas von Kent in seinem Quellen* (Bonn Dissertation) 1911, 32; *Kyng Alisaunder, 7772-79*, in H. Weber, *Metrical Romances*, I (1810), 316—C.A., V, 1579-85; Hilka, 220-21; *Historia de preliis, s.l.*, 16 Nov., 1490, fol.k.i; the reference to the gifts of Candace C.A., V, 2543-46; Hilka, 208-9; *Historia*, fol. i, iv *Ledo recto*. For bibliographical information on edition on *Historia* cited, *art. cit.*, *Speculum*, II, 118, n. 2.

⁴⁴ Gower's information in regard to the twelve labors of Hercules was by no means confined to the allusions to them in the *Historia de preliis* and *Dissuasio*, as they are mentioned and discussed in the chapter on Hercules in the *Poetarius* of Albericus of London, cited below, *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini tres Romae nuper reperti*, ed., G. H. Bode, 1834, 248-49. A chapter of the *Mythologia* of Hyginus is entitled: "Hercules athla XII ab Eurystheo imperata" but it is more than doubtful, whether Gower was acquainted with that work, as has been suggested by Macaulay, *ed. cit.*, II, 489, 496, 507, 515; III, 500, 503, 507, 512, and by E. Stollreither, *Quellen-Nachweise zu John Gower's Confessio Amantis* (Munich Diss.), 1901, 46-47. It has been noted that while Hyginus' astronomical work appears quite frequently in medieval library catalogues. the *Mythologia* is only mentioned once, in the *Biblionomia* of Richard de Fournival (c. 1250). M. Manitius, "Philologosches aus alten Bibliothekskatalogen bis 1300," *Rh. Mus.*, XLVII, *Ergänzungsheft*, 1892, 40-42, to which other negative evidence may be added, e.g., M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, 1903, 11 (cf. Manitius, 40), 326, 329; "The Catalogue of the Library of the Augustinian Friars at York," 1372, in *Fasciculus Joanni Willis Clark dicatus*, 1909, 34, 59; R. Raschke, *De Alberico mythologo* (Breslauer philol. Abhandlungen, 45), 1913, 7, 10.

⁴⁴ For this indebtedness, see my article, "Studies in the Sources of Gower. II. The Anglo-Norman Prototype, and other sources of the *Confessio Amantis*."

work of the celebrated Walter Map, Archdeacon of Oxford, who later incorporated it into his *De Nugis Curialium*,⁴⁶ written between 1181 and 1192-93.⁴⁶ In the violent attack on woman in the *Dissuasio*, a passage is devoted to the death of Hercules through the fatal gift of Deianira, which ends with the statement:

Duodecim inhumanos labores consumavit Hercules: a terciodecimo, qui inhumanitatem excessit, consumptus est.⁴⁷

in which the contrast between the hero's great deeds, and his wretched end is brought out, as in Gower's verses.

Gower's Latin note to the passage on Hercules, suggested by the *Barlaam*, "Hercules deus fortitudinis," was not the translation, but the source, of the English verses:

thei him clepe amonges alle
The god of strengthe, and to him calle.⁴⁸

Like the twenty-four other Latin notes, descriptive of the functions of the various divinities, found in the same book of the *Confessio*, it was a phrase taken from one of the sources, from which he derived his information in regard to pagan mythology. Its source was not the *Barlaam* which was the source of only one of Gower's notes: "Esculapius deus medicine," which he translated:

⁴⁶ *Ed.*, M. R. James (*Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Series, Part XIV*), 1914, 142, 158; cf. xxvii, xxviii, xxix, xxx: J. Hinton, "Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*; Its Plan and Composition," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XXXII (1917), 85, 109. The earliest MS. of the *Dissuasio* may have been written as early as the last years of the twelfth century, *op. cit.*, xxx.

⁴⁶ *Ed. cit.*, xxvii; Hinton, *art. cit.*, 120-21, 123-24. For the possibility that it may have been written later than 1193, H. Bradley, "Notes on Walter Map's 'De Nugis Curialium'," *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, XXXII (1917), 397.

⁴⁷ *Ed. cit.*, 154, 12-14. One finds the same sentiment expressed in Gower's comment on the hero's death, as related by him in a much abridged form after Ovid, *Metam.*, IX, 101 ff., cf. Macaulay, *ed. cit.*, II, 489; in referring to Deianira; *C.A.*, II, 2289-90; cf. 2281:

That whan sche wende best have wonne,
Sche lost al that sche hath begonne,

and in Map's allusion to her: "sibique processit ad lacrimas quod ad leticiam machinata est," *Ed. cit.*, 154, 5-6.

⁴⁸ *C.A.*, V 1095-96.

And thei upon him thanne leide
His name, and god of medicine
He hatte after that ilke line.⁴⁹

an expansion of the statement in the earlier work that Aesculapius was "deum medicum."⁵⁰ At least the English poet understood the meaning of the Latin phrase, if he quite misinterpreted the account of the demi-god's death, as given both in the Latin original:

Novissime vero fulmine ictus a Ioue, propter Darij Lacedaemonij filium, interiit.⁵¹

and in the French verse translation:

En la fin Jupiter l'ocist,
Ki .i. esfoudre li tramist
Por le fil Dayre, k'il ot mort,
De Lacedemonie.⁵²

in his verses:

Bot for the lust of lecherie,
That he to Daires dowhter drowh,
It fell that Jupiter him slowh.⁵³

The source of the notes on Hercules and on Apollo: "Apollo deus Sapiencie," the latter of which he rendered:

He hath deificacion
And cleped is the god of wit
To suche as be the foles yit.⁵⁴

was a phrase in one of his chief authorities on classical mythology,⁵⁵ the *Poetarius* of Albericus of London, written probably

⁴⁹ *C.A.*, V, 1080-82.

⁵⁰ *Ed. cit.*, 237.

⁵¹ *Ib.*, 237. Macaulay, *ed. cit.*, II, 516, who accepted as the Latin source of the passage in Gower the version published in 1577, by Jacques de Billy, in the first volume of his translation of the works of John of Damascus, reprinted in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, LXXIII, 445-604, cf. Kuhn, *op. cit.*, 56-57, had reason to state: "Gower has here mistaken his authority which says 'post autem cum propter Tyndarei Lacedaemonii filium a Jove fulmine percussus interiisse narrat'."

⁵² *Ed. cit.*, 7197-7200.

⁵³ *C.A.*, V, 1062-65.

⁵⁴ *Ib.*, 934-36.

⁵⁵ I shall point out these sources in an article entitled: "Studies in the Sources of Gower. III. The Latin Mythological Treatises." ✓

in the early part of the thirteenth century.⁶⁶ The purpose of this mythographical work was to present an allegorical interpretation of the myths of Greece and Rome, following the method employed in the *Mythologiae*, the *Expositio Virgilianae, continentiae secundum philosophos moralis*, and the *Expositio sermonum antiquorum* of Fulgentius, three of his principal sources.⁶⁷ In a passage of the chapter devoted to Hercules, based on one in the *Mythologiae*,⁶⁸ the incident in the story of Admetus, in which he gains the consent of the father of Alcestis to wed her, by driving a chariot with a lion and boar yoked together, through the aid of Apollo and Hercules, is interpreted:

Mens igitur timida praesumptionem, id est animositatem, sibi necessariam videns videns, ejus conjunctionem desiderat; sed ut eam assequatur, duas feras diversas necesse est curru suo adjungat, id est vitae suae duas virtutes, animi videlicet et corporis, asciscat. Subigit leonem, id est virtutem animi, et aprum id est virtutem corporis. Denique et Apollinem Herculemque propitiat, id est sapientiam et virtutem.⁶⁹

This passage not only supplied Gower with the Latin notes on the two divinities, but suggested to him, or confirmed him in, his translation of "fortitudo" by strength. The Latin word in medieval, as well as classical Latin denoted moral courage, and was accounted one of the cardinal virtues as in Gower's enumeration and description of them in the *Vox Clamantis*, where he describes as first in order⁷⁰:

Fortitudo quidem virtus, licet exteriora
Perdidit, affirmat interiora deo,

after which follows "temperies" instead of the generally used "temperantia"; "sapiencia" instead of "prudencia"⁷¹, and

⁶⁶ I shall discuss the name, author and date of this work in an article on "The *Poetarius* of Albericus of London."

⁶⁷ R. Raschke, *op. cit.*, 2-3, 12-132, *passim*.

⁶⁸ *Ed.*, R. Helm, 34, 22-85: cf. Raschke, *op. cit.*, 126. That it is not necessary to assume that Gower was acquainted with Fulgentius at first hand, as suggested by Macaulay, *ed. cit.*, II, 515, 517; III, 524, I shall show in the article mentioned above, note 55.

⁶⁹ *Ed. cit.*, 247, 42-248, 2.

⁷⁰ I, 1095-1102.

⁷¹ Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou Tresors*, ed. P. Chabaille, 1863, 345, "Vertus moral est devisee en. iiij. membres; ce sont: Prudence, atemperance force et justice; mais qui bien considere la verité, il trovera que prudence est li

"justicia." In the medieval allegorical treatises on the virtues and vices, this category of the distinctly pagan virtues was only adopted as far as it could be assimilated with the Christian ascetic category of the seven virtues. A French treatise of this character was the chief source of the category of virtues, found in the *Mirour de l'omme* and the *Confessio* of Gower.⁶² In the first of these, as in other French treatises, closely related to its source, the allegorical figure of the fourth virtue, "Prouesce,"⁶³ appears as the equivalent of "Fortitudo," in the similar Latin treatise the *Summa virtutum*.⁶⁴ Elsewhere in his works, both French and English, Gower has used the word with the meaning of "prowess," or "bravery."⁶⁵ The introduction of "Justice" in his French original, in the subordinate position of the oldest daughter of the fifth virtue, "Franchise,"⁶⁶ inspired the English poet, on the authority of the *Trésor* of Brunetto Latini,⁶⁷ to add as her associates the three other pagan cardinal virtues, "Prudence, Force et Attemprance," setting forth their attributes. In so doing, he all unwittingly duplicated, under other names the virtues "Prouesce"⁶⁸ and "Mesure,"⁶⁹ to whom he gave a full measure of treatment in following his principal source. But that "Force" was under-

fondemens des autres; car sanz sens et sanz sapience ne por roit nus bien vivre ne à Dieu ne au monde"; *Ib.*, 346, "Ceste vertus, ce est prudence, n'est pas autre chose que sens et sapience."

⁶² Cf. Fowler, *op. cit.*, 32-35, 79-80; Hope E. Allen, "The *Speculum Vitae*: Addendum," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XXXII (1917), 146-47, 161. It is to be noted that the library of Thomas of Gloucester contained copies of both the Latin and French works: "Item j. large livre de vices et vertues en latyn ove claspes de latof p's...ijss" "Item j. livre fait de vices et vertues nient esluminez p's....xijd," Dillon and Hope, *art. cit.*, 303, 302.

⁶³ Vv. 10136-7, 14101-15180.

⁶⁴ Fowler, *op. cit.*, 67-69, 104-07.

⁶⁵ *Mirour*, 3738; *Ballades*, XLIV, 9, XLVI, 9; *C.A.*, Prol., 98; I, 1083; II, 2589; IV, 2302.

⁶⁶ Vv. 10138-9, 15181-15348. For the subordinate part Justice plays in other moral treatises, see Fowler, *op. cit.*, 108-9.

⁶⁷ *Ed. cit.*, 369-70. But Latini gives them the order: "Prudence, Atempérance, Force, Justice," *ed. cit.*, 256, 345 (as cited in n. 139). For Gower's use of the *Trésor*, cf. *Works*, II, clxxiv; II, 522-24, 527, 529, 531-32; Hamilton, *art. cit.*, *Mod. Phil.* IX, 371-72.

⁶⁸ *Mirour*, 10141-43, 16313-16572.

⁶⁹ Vv. 15289-15300. I shall not take the occasion to point out here the indebtedness of the whole passage for details to the *Trésor*.

stood by him as a rendering of "Fortitudo," is shown by the fact that the longer account of the former's attributes is only an expansion of the account of the two Latin verses. Elsewhere⁷⁰ in his French works, "force" is only used with the meaning of physical strength, or violence, so that it is not surprising that he should have rendered the Latin word "fortitudo" by "strength" in the *Confessio*.⁷¹

It is not surprising that Gower should have garnered some information in regard to Hercules and his fellow gods in the *Historia de preliis*, as it was one of his two primary sources for the legendary history of Alexander, the other being the Anglo-Norman *Roman de toute chevalerie* of Thomas of Kent, written in the second half of the twelfth century.⁷² If the beginning of the latter work was the chief source of Gower's story in the sixth book of the *Confessio*, of the seduction through magical means of Olympias, wife of Philip of Macedon, by "Nectanabus"—a form of the name derived from the same source⁷³—he drew hints from the version of the same story with which the *Historia* begins. Take for instance the statement of the *Roman* in regard to Nectanabus' knowledge of astronomy and magic:

Le plus sage de tuz Nectanabus od noun,
 Qi le curs as planetes esprova par raison.
 Tut li quarte element lui furent à bandon,

⁷⁰ *Mirour*, 1086, 9063; *Ballades*, XXV, 18.

⁷¹ Dan Michel in his *Ayenbite of Inwyt* (1340), a translation of the *Somme le Roi* of Frère Lorens (1279), cf. Fowler, *op. cit.*, 19–20; Allen, *art. cit.*, 144, n. 26, translates "prouesse" of his French original by "strength," "virtues," and "prowess," *ed. R. Morris* (E. E. T. Publ., XXIII), 1865, 161, 165.

⁷² For author, Weynand, *op. cit.*, 3–4; for date, H. Schneegans, "Die Sprache des Alexanderromans des Eustache von Kent (Betonter und betonter Vocalismus)" *Zeitschr. f. fr. SXpr. und Lit.*, XXXI, i (1907), 29, and for a summing up of the evidence on both points, Hamilton, *Mélanges A. Thomas*, 195–6.

⁷³ Macaulay, *ed. cit.*, III, 510–21, has noted this special, as well as general indebtedness to the *Roman*. Did Gower use what would seem to have been a copy of the work noted in the library of Thomas of Gloucester, Dillon and Hope, *art. cit.*, 302. "Item j large livre esluminez de la vie de Alex cov' e3 de quyr ove ij claspes darġ enamaillez p's...iiijš iiijđ," which may be either Paris, *Bibl. nat. fr.* 24364, which has still an old leather binding, or Durham Cathedral, Library of the Chapter, C, iv, 27b, which has a modern binding, H. Schneegans, "Die handschriftliche Gestaltung des Alexander-Romans von Eustache von Kent," *Zeitschr. f. frans. Sprache und Lit.* XXX (1900), 40–42?

Quant altre rei conquist à force d'esperon
 Dunt se combateit cist par estellacion;
 Ne voulet guerreier se par artimage non.⁷⁴

This description, and the subsequent account of his magic arts to foretell the future,⁷⁵ were summed up by the English poet at the beginning of his version of the story:

Whan that the king Nectanabus,
 Which hadde Egipte forto lede,
 Bot for he sih tofor the dede
 Thurgh magique of his Sorcerie,
 Wherof he couth a gret partie,
 Hise enemys to him commende,
 Fro whom he mihte him noight defende,
 Out of oghne lond he fiedde.⁷⁶

But nowhere in the *Roman*, by a strange lapse in that work,⁷⁷ did he find any authority for his statement concerning:

the king Nectanabus,
 Which hadde Egipte forto lede.⁷⁸

which he repeats in the summing up of the story in his later *Traité*:

Nectanabus, qui vint in Macedoine
 D'Egipte, u qu'il devant ot rois esté.⁷⁹

and in his Latin note on that summary: "Nectanabus rex, Egipti," but he did find it in the first sentences of the *Historia*:

Sapientissimi namque Egiptii scientes mensuram terre atque undis maris dominantes et celestia cognoscentes, id est stellarum cursum computantes. tradiderunt ea universo mundo per altitudinem doctrine et per magicas virtutes. Dicunt autem de Nectanebo rege eorum quod fuisset homo ingeniosus et peritus in astrologia et mathematica et *magicis virtutibus plenus*.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ P. Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française du moyen âge* I (1886), 197, vv. 49-54.

⁷⁵ *Ib.*, vv. 55-87.

⁷⁶ *C.A.*, VI, 1796-1803.

⁷⁷ The title of the chapter in which it is introduced is: "De Nectanebus roy de Libie," in the Durham manuscript, of which the variant in the Paris manuscript is: "De Nectanabus le rei de Lydie," Meyer, *op. cit.*, 177, 197.

⁷⁸ *C.A.*, VI, 1796-97.

⁷⁹ *Traité*, VI, 1-3.

⁸⁰ The last three words, a variant of part of a phrase interpolated into redaction J¹ of the *Historia*, ed., Zingerle: "de magicis virtutibus plenus" into the original text, ed., Pfister, 47, 5, is omitted in J², where the phrase reads: "in astrologia et mathematica eruditus," *ed. cit.*, fol. a ii: cf. Pfister, *art. cit.*, 283.

This information was confirmed for Gower by a passage in an account of the Egyptian kings, in the *Trésor* of Brunetto Latini, which states that there were such:

jusques au tens Cambyses, fil Cyrus, le roi de Perse, qui premierement print Egypte et la sousmist à sa seignorie et en chaca hors le roi Natanbum,⁸¹ qui puis fu peres et maistres Alixandre le Grant.⁸²

But the passage of the *Historia* also emphasized the role of Nectanabus as a magician: "peritus in astrologia et mathematica et magicis virtutibus plenus,"⁸³ a phrase repeated with a variant in the later account of his flight from Egypt, in which he carries away with him: "eaque illi necessaria erant ad astrologiam et mathematicam seu magicam artem," while the French poem only mentions a specific case of his magical powers:

Ne voulet guerreier se par artimage.⁸⁴

So it was to the former work that Gower was indebted for his general statement:

Thurgh magique of his Sorcerie,
Wherof he couth a gret partie.⁸⁵

which he repeats in another reference to Nectanabus, in the seventh book:

Nectanabus in special,
Which was an Astronomien
And ek a gret Magicien,
And undertake hath thilke emprise

⁸¹ The form "Nattanabo" is found in the translation of the passage in *Il Tesoro di Brunetto Latini volgarizzato da Bono Giamboni*, ed., L. Gaiter, I (1878), 75, and in one of the Italian redactions of the *Trésor*, in interpolating the story of Olympias' seduction from one of the redactions of the *Historia*, has the form "Natanabo," as well as "Nectanabo" and "Nactanabo," A. D'Ancona, "Il Tesoro di Brunetto Latini versificato," *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, stor. e filol., Memorie*, Ser. IV, vol. iv, 135.

⁸² *Ed. cit.*, 36. Nectanebus II was the last king of Egyptian of the Egyptian dynasty, but the date, the Egyptian form of the name "Necht-neb-f, of his predecessor Nectanebus I, points to the fact that it was the latter who at an early date was supposed to be incarnated in Alexander, a first step in the development of the Alexander legend, A. Wiedemann, "Nectanebus und der Alexandersage," *Wochenschr. f. klass. Philol.*, XXXIV (1917), 591-95.

⁸³ *Ed. cit.*, 12, 3-6.

⁸⁴ *Ed. cit.*, v. 54.

⁸⁵ *C.A.*, VI, 1800-1.

To Alisandre in his aprise
As of Magique naturel
To knowe.⁸⁶

Another reminiscence of the same passage is found already in a passage of the fifth book, where the poet speaks in his own person:

And thanne I wisse that I were
Als wys as was Nectanabus
Or elles as was Protheis,
That couthen bothe of nigomaunce
In what liknesse, in what semblaunce,
Riht as hem liste, hemself transforme.⁸⁷

The allusion to the magical and metamorphic powers of Nectanabus as told in his own version of the story,⁸⁸ is supplemented by an allusion to the metamorphoses of Proteus, for which he was indebted to the *Roman de la Rose*:

Car Protheis, qui se souloit
Muer en tout quanqu'il vouloit.⁸⁹

If he adopted the French word for "magic arts" in his translation:

And thurgh the craft of Artemage . . .
He loketh the conjunccions.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ C.A., VII, 1296-1303. But the designation, "astronmien," is found in a later passage of the *Roman*, *ed. cit.*, vv. 170-71, in which Olympias addresses the magician:

Olimpias li dist: "De vus ai tant enquis
"Q'astronomiens estes & des ars poestis."

⁸⁷ C.A., V, 6670-5.

⁸⁸ C.A., VI, 2061-80, where he misunderstood the French text, *ed. cit.*, vv. 270-280, in which Nectanabus only disguised himself, partly as a dragon, partly as a ram, as it is correctly translated in the Middle-English *King Alisaunder*, H. Weber, *Metrical Romances*, I (1810), 21, vv. 384-391, but in the *Historia*, 24, the magician actually changes his form to that of a dragon: "cepit Nectanebus per magicas incantationes transfigurare se in figuram draconis." But C.A., VI, 2179-2209, is a rendering of the narrative of the *Roman*, vv. 351-376.

⁸⁹ *Ed.*, E. Langlois (Soc. d. anc. Textes fr.) 11181-2. I have already noted this indebtedness in *art. cit.*, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XX, 190, n. 1. A copy of the French poem is noted in the library of Thomas of Gloucester, Dillon and Hope, *art. cit.*, 300, "Item un livre de mesne volum de la Rimance [*sic*] de la Rose p's....vj.̄.viiij.̄d."

⁹⁰ C.A., VI, 1957, 1961. The astrological terms, "equacions," and "signe" in the same passage, which Macaulay, *ed. cit.*, III, 520, noted as of Gower's own invention, are found in the *Roman*, vv. 215-16.

of the verse:

Par artimage fist tele conjunction.⁸¹

Did the French word suggest the inverted form of the Latin combination, "arte magica," he used in the Latin summary of the story.⁸² He had already Anglicized this inverted form in a verse in his account of the adventures of Ulysses with Circe and Calypso:

Of Art magique Sorceresses.⁸³

taken from the phrase "magicis artibus," in his source for the story, the *Historia Trojana*.⁸⁴ Later, perhaps again through the influence of the French synonym, in citing this verse, he coined a new English word, by the combination of two:

Of Artmagique Sorceresses.⁸⁵

Gower's account of the extraordinary physical phenomena, which took place at Alexander's birth:

So that in due time is bore
This child, and forth with therupon
Ther felle wondres many on
Of terremote universiel:
The Sonne tok colour of stiel
And loste his lyht, the wyndes blewe,
And many strengthes overthrewe;
The See his propre kinde changeth,
And al the world his forme strangeth;
The thonder qith his fyri leve
So cruel was upon the hevene,
That every ertthli creature
Tho thoghte his life in aventure.
The tempeste ate laste cesseth.⁸⁶

had as its source the account of the *Roman*:

Al na[i]stre de l'emfant avint grant aventure:
Toute terre crolla, mer mua sa figure,
Li soleil sa clarté, la lune sa nature;
Fist escliz e toncire e vent à deamesure;

⁸¹ *Ed. cit.*, v. 275.

⁸² *Ed. cit.*, III, 215.

⁸³ *C.A.*, VI, 1434.

⁸⁴ *Ed. cit.*, fol. o 2, recto, col. 1.

⁸⁵ *C.A.*, VIII, 2602.

⁸⁶ *C.A.*, VI, 2258-2271.

Tenercle fut le jor com(e) coe⁹⁷ fu[s]t nuit obscure,
 Mult s'en espo[e]nta chascune creature,
 Li peisson la mere, bestes en la pasture . . .
 Li tenz s'en est tourne e parti la leidure.⁹⁸

But the use of the word "terremote" with the meaning "confusion," was evidently suggested by the phrase in the *Historia*: "Statim factus est terremotus,"⁹⁹ as it suggested the use of the English word in its proper meaning "earthquake," found in an addition of Gower to his rendering of another episode in the Roman,¹⁰⁰ in which Nectanabus appears as an eagle to Philip:

And after that himself he schok,
 Wherof that al the halle quok,
 As it a terremote it was.¹⁰¹

Only in the *Historia* is there found an equivalent for the line:

And Alisandre his name is hote.¹⁰²

in the command of Philip at his birth: "et imponatur illi nomen Alexander."¹⁰³ It alone mentions the names of Alexander's teachers: "didicerat enim plen iter liberales artes ab Aristotile et Callistene,"¹⁰⁴ the source of the verses:

To whom Calistre and Aristote
 To techen him Philosophie
 Entenden.¹⁰⁵

If he refused to accept the authority of the *Historia*, in an addition found only in redaction J², in regard to the third

⁹⁷ Gower's translation of this line, 2262, shows that he did not recognize the meaning of "coe," as was the case with that great scholar, P. Meyer, who failed to note it in his vocabulary, *op. cit.*, I, 311. It is derived from "vaua": "jackdaw," cf. W. Foerster, *Kristian von Troyes, Wörterbuch zu seinen sämtlichen Werken* (Rom. Bibl., XXI) 1914; 81, *s.v.* choe: A. Thomas, *Rom.* XLI (1912), 450.

⁹⁸ *Ed. cit.*, 426-31; 441.

⁹⁹ *Ed. cit.*, 28, 35-36.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Macaulay, *ed. cit.*, III, 521.

¹⁰¹ *C.A.*, VI, 2205-7.

¹⁰² *C.A.*, VI, 2273.

¹⁰³ *Ed. cit.*, 29, 22-23.

¹⁰⁴ *Ib.*, 35, 27-29. The *Roman*, vv. 447-462, 471-477, gives an account of his instruction under ten teachers, but only mentions Aristotle.

¹⁰⁵ *C.A.*, VI, 2274-6.

teacher, "et Anaximene,"¹⁰⁶ it was both because he accepted the authority of Brunetto Latini for both the number and the form of the names of the teachers, "il avoit por ses maistres Aristote et Calistere,"¹⁰⁷ for which the source in turn was redaction J³, one of Latini's sources of information in regard to Alexander.¹⁰⁸ The incunabula of that redaction offer a form of the name of the second teacher, one step further removed from the real name, as Latini found it, in his copy of the *Historia*, or as scribes distorted it in copying his own work: "Didicerat enim plene omnium liberalium artium disciplinas Aristotilis et castoriem."¹⁰⁹ The mention by Gower of "Calistre" as one of his authorities for the seventh book of the *Confessio*:

Forthi, my sone, unto thin Ere
Though it be noght in the registre
Of Venus, yit of that Calistre
And Aristotle whylom write
To Alisandre, thou schalt wite,¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ *L.c.*

¹⁰⁷ *Trésor*, 37. Although the editor has adopted the reading "Calistenes," which is historically correct, cf. Hamilton, *art. cit.*, *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 323, n. 2, six manuscripts have "Calistere," a reading confirmed by the thirteenth century Italian redaction of the *Trésor*, "Aristotile, Varone e Calistro," DIAncona, *art. cit.*, 136. However, the Italian translation ascribed to B. Giamboni, has "Calistene," *ed. cit.*, I, 81, which shows that he used a manuscript which had the same reading of the name, as the two, of which Chabaille adopted his reading.

¹⁰⁸ As is shown by the story of the basilick, *ed. cit.*, 193, only found in that redaction, *ed. cit.*, fol. i l verse—ii recto; cf. Pfister, *art. cit.*, 264. For the equivalent passage in other translations of the same redaction, cf. Hilka, *op. cit.*, 247-48; cf. 235; *Wars of Alexander*, 4836-56; *Prose Life of Alexander*, 91-92.

¹⁰⁹ *Ed. cit.*, fol. a vi recto: as; also Strassburg edition of 1489, which offers the text of J³, Pfister, *art. cit.*, 453, as cited by K. Kinzel, *Lamprechts Alexander*, 1884, 48, n. 318-323; cf. xxi. But the *Prose Life*, 8, 32, has "Calistene," which shows that some of the manuscripts of J³ had the correct reading. *The Wars of Alexander*, 623, the Italian translation, *ed.*, Grion, 16, and *Der Grosse Alexander aus der Wernigeroder Handschrift* (Deutsch Texte des Mittelalters, XIII), *ed.*, G. Guth, 1908, 298, a verse translation of the Alexander epic of Quilichinus, based on J³, Pfister, *art. cit.*, 286-87, only mention Aristotle. The Italian translator may have deliberately suppressed the name of the philosopher from fear that it might be confused with "Calistra," the form of the name he gives in his translation, 113-15, to Talistrida, queen of the Amazons, with whom Alexander had a correspondence, *ed.*, Hilka, 154-58.

¹¹⁰ *C.A.*, VII, 18-22.

is a gratuitous one.¹¹¹ But the introduction of the name may have been suggested not only by the earlier passage, but by another passage which may have been in the text of the *Historia*, used by Gower, which is found in the French translation of J². In the Latin text as published, Alexander sent a letter to Olympias and Aristotle, in which he narrates his victories¹¹²; in the translation he sent such a letter to Olympias and then, it is stated: "Et che meismes manda il a Aristote son mestre et Calistien et lor envoioit dou gaaing que il ot conquis."¹¹³ An answer of Aristotle to Alexander's letter is found in the *Historia*:¹¹⁴ the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum*, addressed to Alexander, was one of the principal sources of the seventh book of the *Confessio*¹¹⁵; what more was needed to suggest to Gower that "Calistre" had written to his pupil a letter and a treatise of the same informing nature?

Further, Gower found in the passage of the *Trésor*, which confirmed the statement of the *Historia* in regard to Nectanabus being king of Egypt,¹¹⁶ authority for considering him as the third teacher of Alexander, instead of Anaximenes:

and Astronomie,
With other thinges whiche he couthe
Also, to teche him in his youthe
Nectanabus tok in hand.

And as an astronomer, he cites him as an authority,¹¹⁷ the author of the astrological work, the *Liber Hermetis de xv stellis et de xv lapidibus et de xv herbis et xv figuris*, which he translated from the Latin or French¹¹⁸ version, in his account of Alexander's

¹¹¹ Cf. Hamilton, *art. cit.*, *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 323.

¹¹² *Ed. cit.*, 139, 19-28.

¹¹³ *Ib.*, 139, 19-29; cf. xi, 278, where the editor considers the phrase as an addition of the French translator.

¹¹⁴ *Ib.*, 243.

¹¹⁵ Hamilton, *art. cit.*, *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 324-343.

¹¹⁶ Cf. *above*, p. . . .

¹¹⁷ For the phrase of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum* of which Gower used both the Latin and French versions, which suggested to him the introduction of this astrological work, cf. Hamilton, *art. cit.*, *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 343; *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, Fasc. V, *Secretum Secretorum cum glossis et notulis*, ed., R. Steele, 1920, 114, 7-9.

¹¹⁸ For the French version, Hamilton, *l.c.*

education in the seventh book of the *Confessio*.¹¹⁰ He does this not only at the beginning of his translation:

And forto speke in this manere,
 Upon the hevене, as man mai finde,
 The sterres ben of sondri kinde
 And worchen manye sondri thinges
 To ous, that ben here underlinges.
 Among the whiche forth withal
 Nectanabus in special,
 Which was an Astronomien
 And ek a gret Magicien,
 And undertake hath thilke emprise
 To Alisandre in his aprise
 As of Magique naturel
 To knowe, enformeth him somdel
 Of certain sterres what thei mene;
 Of whiche, he seith, there ben fiftene
 And sondrily to ererich on
 A gras belongeth and a Ston,
 Wherof men worchen many a wonder
 To sette thing bothe up and under.

but also in his Latin summary of his translation¹²⁰:

Hic tractat super doctrina Nectanabi, du ipse iuuenem Alexandrum instruxit, de illis precipue xv. stellis vna cum earum lapidibus et herbis, que ad artis magice naturalis operacionem specialius conueniunt.¹²¹

¹¹⁰ The source was noted by Macaulay, *ed. cit.*, III, 526–27, who has cited illustrative passages from a Bodleian MS Ashmole 341. A manuscript of the *Bibl. nat.*, lat 7440 has the variant title: *Liber Hermetis de 15 stellis et tot lapidibus et de 15 herbis et de 15 imaginibus*, P. Meyer, “Les manuscrits français de Cambridge. III. Trinity College,” *Rom.*, XXXII. This work seems to have been suggested by another work of which a number of redactions are found in Greek, *De plantis duodecim signis et septem planetis attributis, Catalogus codicum astrologum Greacorum*, VII, *Codices Germanicos* descripsit F. Boll, 1908, 231–32; VIII, *Codicum Parisinorum um partem tertiam* descripsit P. Boudreaux, 1912, 151–53. The redaction of this work attributed to Alexander the Great (!), to judge from the fragment printed is the fullest, *Catalogue IV, Codices Italicos praeter Florentinos, Venetos, Mediolanenses, Romanos, descripserunt Bassi, Cumonto*, Martini, Olivieri, 1903, 135, n., cf. Boudreaux, *op. cit.*, 153. A Latin translation of this work was known to Ramon Lull, H. Haupt, “Zu den Kyraniden des Hermes Trismegistos,” *Philologus*, XLVIII (1889), 373.

¹²⁰ *C.A.*, VII, 1290–1308. Macaulay, *ed. cit.*, III, 1292, has noted the source of vv. 1291–4 in the Latin form of the work translated.

¹²¹ *Ed. cit.*, III, 267–68.

The *Roman de toute chevalerie* is as insistent on the role of Nectanabus as an astronomer, as the *Historia* is on his magical powers. Besides the general statement, already cited,¹²² in regard to his knowledge of astronomy, in the account of his flight from Egypt, it makes more specific the general statement of the Latin work, by telling:

A l'art d'astronomie qe il le plus saveit,
Un astralabe d'or od lui porté aveit,
La haltur en comprend des esteilles qu'il veit,¹²³

the second line of which Gower translated in his account of the magicians interview with Olympias:

With him his Astellabre he nom,
Which was of fin gold precious.¹²⁴

If Gower summed up in a few lines¹²⁵ the longer and more specific account of the queen's lesson in astronomy,¹²⁶ in the French work of which there are only hints in the *Historia*, he also found there authority for making Nectanabus an "Astronmien," in the queen's first greeting to him:

Olimpias li dist: "De vus ai tant enquis
"Q'astronomiens estes et des ars poestis."¹²⁷

The *Roman* was also the source of the passage, which precedes the translation of the work, which Gower attributed to Nectanabus, and where he appears as the teacher of Alexander in astronomy:

But nou to loken overmore,
Of othre sterres hou thei fare
I thenke hierafter to declare,
So as king Alisandre in youthe

¹²² Above, pp. 510-11.

¹²³ *Ed. cit.*, 93-95.

¹²⁴ *C.A.*, VI, 1890-91. But at the same time, the "cercles merveilleus," described as a part of it in the next line, was only mentioned in the equivalent passage of the *Historia*, 21, 3-13, where is mentioned the "tabulam continentem in se circulos tres, etc.

¹²⁵ *C.A.*, VI, 1890-99.

¹²⁶ *Ed. cit.*, 200-210.

¹²⁷ *C.A.*, VII, 348.

¹²⁸ *Ed. cit.*, 170-71.

Of him that suche thinges couthe
 Enformed was tofore his yhe
 Be nyhte upon the sterres hihe.¹²⁹

The French author develops into a course in astronomy the single occasion mentioned in the *Historia*,¹³⁰ when, at the request of Alexander, Nectanabus undertakes to point out the stars, which prophesy his own death at the hands of his son.

Par defors la cité, encoste d'une creille,
 Desur l'ur d'un fossé, en travers d'une reille,
 F[es]leit Nectanebus chascune nuit sa veilleç
 Alixandre avec li: il l'aprent sanz chandeille
 Del soleil, de la lune, conoistre meinte esteille,
 D[es] engins e des sorz, de charmes la merveille.¹³¹

It is only after he has got his full of this information that the pupil assassinates his teacher without any preliminaries when he is drowsing:

Quant assez sout de l'art li vallet s'apareille,
 Qu'il le voudra ocirre là ù à lui conseille:
 El fossé le trebuche com(e) li maistre someille,
 Mortel cop li dona amont par son l'oreille.¹³²

In his version of the story of Nectanabus,¹³³ Gower has rejected this crude version, which presents Alexander's act as particularly atrocious and treacherous, to follow the *Historia*, which at least states the cause, however trivial of the action,¹³⁴ Alexander's wish to belie the astrological prediction,¹³⁵ which is only mentioned by the magician, in his dying confession to Alexander, in the *Roman*.¹³⁶

If the principal source of the story of Nectanabus, and the allusions to his role as an astronomer, was the *Roman*, in his version of the story Gower followed the *Historia*, in emphasizing his role as a sorcerer. It is one of the "ensamples drede,"¹³⁷

¹²⁹ *C.A.*, VII, 1274-80.

¹³⁰ *Ed. cit.*, 30-32.

¹³¹ *Ed. cit.*, 496-505.

¹³² *Ib.*, 502-5.

¹³³ *C.A.*, VI, 2289-2346.

¹³⁴ Cf. Weynand, *op. cit.*, 14, for a characterization of the two versions.

¹³⁵ *Ed. cit.*, 31-32.

¹³⁶ *Ed. cit.*, 521-25.

¹³⁷ *C.A.*, VI, 2396.

he gives, in his attack on the magic arts,¹³⁸ the others being the death of Ulysses by the hands of Telegoneus, his son by the sorceress¹³⁹ Circe, the slaying of Zoroaster, the first magician,¹⁴⁰ and the evil consequences of Saul's consulting the witch of Endor.¹⁴¹ But in the moral which he draws from the story of Nectanabus:

And thus Nectanabus aboghte
The Sorcerie which he wroghte;
Thogh he upon the creatures
Thurgh his carectes and figures
The maistrie and the pouer hadde
Lo, what profit him is beleft.¹⁴²

he was indebted to the *Roman*. In his abridged account of the magician's conjurations,¹⁴³ the English poet omitted to translate the line:

Nectanabus idunc ses *karectes* fina,¹⁴⁴

from which he later took a word without attempting to translate it. Gower has interpreted in his own way:

And ek the hevenely figures
Wroght in a book ful of peintures
He tok this ladi forto schewe,
And tolde of ech of hem be rewte
The cours and the condicion.¹⁴⁵

the verses of the *Roman*:

En unes tables d'or une leçon li lit,
Les curs as .vii. planetes li at monstré e dit,
De quel color eles sunt li prof escrit
Les planetes del ciel es tables enseigna,
Chascune en sa color mult bien li devisa.¹⁴⁶

¹³⁸ *Ib.*, 1261 ff.

¹³⁹ *Ib.* 1391-1781; for source Macaulay, *ed. cit.*, III, 517-18.

¹⁴⁰ *Ib.* 2367-2384. Add to Pliny and St. Augustine, cited by Macaulay, III, 521, the references cited by H. Knust, *Gualteri Burlaei Liber de vita et moribus philosophorum* (Bibl. d. Litt. Ver. in Stuttgart, CLXXVII) 1886, 46-47; A. V. W. Jackson, *Zoroaster,*, 27, 244, 246, 286.

¹⁴¹ *Ib.*, 2384-90.

¹⁴² *Ib.*, 2337-41, 2346.

¹⁴³ *Ib.*, 2058 ff.

¹⁴⁴ *Ed. cit.*, 252.

¹⁴⁵ *C.A.*, VI, 1893-97.

¹⁴⁶ *Ed. cit.*, 200-2, 204-5. The editor has suggested the reading 202, "a prof li a descrit."

Were these "figures," pictures of the planets, in an astrological work, as he understood the French passage, those which he joined with the "carecetes" as something damnable? Or was he thinking of another verse in the account of Nectanabus's conjurations, in which he prepares an image of Olympias, in which the verb "figura" appeared:

E puis de virgine cire une ymage molla;
Le nom de la reine par lettre figura.¹⁴⁷

even if he already translated the verse, without giving the equivalent of the verb a sinister connotation:

Of wex he forgeth an ymage
The name of queene Olimpias
In thilke ymage write was
Amiddes in the front above?¹⁴⁸

The *Roman* was the source of two references by Gower to the pillar of Hercules, which have never been explained.¹⁴⁹ The story of the hero and Achelous, in the fourth book of the *Confessio*, is prefaced by the statement:

Riht so (i.e. "Iusti") was thanne a noble kniht,
To whom Mercurie fader was.
This kniht the tuo pilers of bras,
The whiche yit a man mai finde,
Sette up in the desert of Ynde;
That was the worthi Hercules,
Whos name schal ben endeles
For the merveilles which he wroghte.¹⁵⁰

of which he introduces a variant in his analysis of the story in his *Traitié*:

¹⁴⁷ *Ed. cit.*, 237-38. The reading of the Durham MS, Th. Hildenbrand, *Die altfranzösische Alexanderdichtung "Le roman de toute chevalerie" des Thomas von Kent und die mittelenglische Romanze "Kyng Alisaunder" in ihrem Verhältnis zu einander* (Bonn Dissertation), 1911, 58, is:

E de virge cire un ymage fet a;
Le non de la Royne par lettres figura.

¹⁴⁸ *C.A.*, VI, 1958, 1965-67.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Macaulay, *ed. cit.*, I, 471, III, 507-9. They have been noted without comment by G. L. Kittredge, "The Pillars of Hercules and Chaucer's 'Trophe'," *F. W. Putnam Anniversary Volume*, 1909, 547-57, in his array of references in classical and medieval writers to the Pillars.

¹⁵⁰ *C.A.*, IV, 2052-59.

El grant desert d'Ynde superiour
 Cil qui d'arein les deux pilers fichoit,
 Danz Hercules.¹⁵¹

Unfortunately, the passage of the French work, which supplied the English poet with this information, has not been published,¹⁵² but its contents can be established through the aid of the Middle-English metrical romance *Kyng Alisaunder*, a translation, made towards 1275,¹⁵³ of the original work of Thomas of Kent, and not of the enlarged later redaction, represented by the surviving manuscripts of the *Roman de toute chevalerie*.¹⁵⁴ In its account of Alexander's expedition "ouere all Ynde," accompanied by Porus as guide, is found a description of the bounds of Hercules, which is quite unique:

Hy passeden dales, hy passede pleynes,
 Wildernesse and mounteynes.
 Hy comen to the on werldes ende;
 And ther hy founden thing of mynde:
 Of pure golde two grete ymages
 In the cee stonden on brasen stages:
 After Ercules hy weren y-mad,
 And after his fader of golde sad
 He sette there ymages of moundes,
 That men clepeth Ercules boundes.¹⁵⁵

The original of the first two verses of this passage:

Passent les valçes et les puis aguz;
 Les destreiz, les guez, les deserz cremuz.¹⁵⁶

combined with the original of the phrase "ouere all Ynde," suggested Gower's phrase, "the desert of Ynde," where he locates the pillars. In the French poem, the images of Hercules and his father (!) are set up in the sea, due to the interpretation by its author of a passage in the original Latin version of the

¹⁵¹ VII, 1-3.

¹⁵² The passages in the Durham manuscript, 8575 ff., is summed up by Weynand, *op. cit.*, 56: "Alexander dringt bis zu den Bildsäulen des Hercules und seines Vaters Liber vor."

¹⁵³ For date, Hamilton, *Melanges A. Thomas*, 196, n. 5.

¹⁵⁴ *Ib.*, 196.

¹⁵⁵ *Ed. cit.*, p. 231, vv. 5580-87, 5592-93.

¹⁵⁶ Cited by Hildenbrand, *op. cit.*, 69.

Epistula Alexander ad Aristotelem,¹⁵⁷ one of his chief sources.¹⁵⁸ Here, Alexander relates how, after conquering Porus, the latter acted as his guide to the remotest shores of the East:

Ast et ad Herculis Liberique trophaea me deduxit in orientis ultimis oris:
aurea utraque deorum constituerat simulacra.¹⁵⁹

This passage the French author supplemented with information on the same subject derived from a passage of Solinus, another of his chief authorities¹⁶⁰:

hic enim locus est, in quo primum a Libero patre, post ab Hercule, deinde a Samiramide, postremo etiam a Cyro arae sunt consitutae.¹⁶¹

and mistaking the title of honor, "Pater," as an expression of relationship between the god Bacchus and Hercules, made "Liberus"¹⁶²—the wrong nominative form of the Latin name of his own coinage—the father of Hercules. Gower, in his turn, either misread "Liberus" as "Mercurius," or wrongly considered it as another name for that deity.¹⁶³

Gower accepted the statement of the *Roman* in regard to the material of the "two pilers," as supplementary to the reference to the pillars of Hercules he found in the *Historia Trojana*, where the Eastern pillars mentioned in the *Roman de Troie*,¹⁶⁴ were confused with the Western pillars of the same hero:

¹⁵⁷ Hamilton, *art. cit.*, 198, n. 4. and add F. Müller, "De *Epistula Alexandri ad Aristotelem* observatiunculae," *Mnemosyne*, LIII (1925), 268-72.

¹⁵⁸ Weynand, *op. cit.*, 34-50.

¹⁵⁹ *In Iuli Valeri Alexandri Polemi Res gesta Alexandri Macedonis*, ed., B. Kuebler, 1888, 204, 6-9.

¹⁶⁰ Weynand, *op. cit.*, 50-62.

¹⁶¹ *Ed.*, Th. Mommsen, 1895, 180, 7-9. The source was Pliny, *N.H.*, vi, 16(18), 49; cf. Mommsen, *ed. cit.*, 240, and Brunetto Latini, *Trésor*, 158, correctly translated the phrase from Solinus, his principal authority for his geography, T. Sundby, *Della vita e delle opere di Brunetto Latini*, trad., R. Renier, 1884, 99-109.

¹⁶² Hildenbrand, *op. cit.*, 77, citing v. 8631 of the French text.

¹⁶³ Weynand, *op. cit.*, 56, analyzing vv. 8575 ff. of the French text. Yet Gower in the *Poetarius* of Albericus of London, *ed. cit.*, 243, 21-28, could have found Liber as a name given to Bacchus, and its explanation.

¹⁶⁴ *Ed. cit.*, 809-10:

Et les bones iluec ficha,
Ou Alixandre les trova;

cf. Kittredge, *art. cit.*, 548.

Sed quod suorum (i.e., of Herculis) actuum longa narratio poetarum longa expectatione animos autiorum abstraxit, ista de eo sufficiant tetigisse, cum et rei veritas in tantum de sua victoria acta per mundum miraculose diuulget quod usque in hodiernum diem usquequo victor apparuit columne herculis testentur ad gades. Ad has columnas Macedonius Alexander, regis Philippi filiuscqui et ipse de stirpe regum thesalie, que macedonia similiter d'icitur fuit' productus, subiugando sibi mundum in manu forti legitur peruenisse.¹⁶⁶

But because there was no mention of statues¹⁶⁶ in this, or in other references to the pillars known to him, he did not accept the authority of the verses of the *Roman*, the source of the English verses:

Of pure golde two grete ymages
In the cee stonden on brasen stages.

Finally, the source of Gower's more specific location of the pillars according to the French poem:

El grant desert d'Ynde superiour.

had its source, evidently, in a later passage of the *Roman*, to his translation of which, the English translator adds his own comment:

The kyng thennes went forth,
Ayein into Ynde in the north,
That is y-cleped, als I fynde
In the book, the vpper Ynde.¹⁶⁷

Then again, it is not surprising to find that Gower prefaces his account of the divisions of the earth,¹⁶⁸ based upon a number of passages in Latini's *Trésor*,¹⁶⁹ with some verses on that division:

¹⁶⁶ *Ed. cit.*, a 5. recto; cf. Kittredge, *art. cit.*, 546, n. 2.

¹⁶⁷ Yet Gower could have found in Chaucer's *House of Fame*, 1419-1512, a description of the statues of a dozen authors, upon "many a pileer of metal" the latter varying according to their works.

¹⁶⁸ *Ed. cit.*, p. 235, 5688-5691.

¹⁶⁹ *C.A.*, VII, 521-600.

¹⁷⁰ *Ed. cit.*, 151-52, 158, 169. Only the first of these passages has been cited as a source by Macaulay, *ed. cit.*, III, 524. The *Trésor*, 152, has the same order: "Aisie, Aufrique et Europe," although it later describes them in the order, Asia, Europe, Africa," departing from the order of its source Solinus, as has been noted by Sundby, *op. cit.*, 100. For the division of these parts of the world among the sons of Noah, for which Gower got his information from the *Trésor*, 29, which Macaulay failed to note, there is a similar statement in the

Thus thinke I forto torne ayein
 And telle plenerly therfore
 Of therthe, wherof nou tofore
 I spak, and of the water eke,
 So as these olde clerkes spieke,
 And sette proprely the bounde
 After the forme of Mappemounde,
 Thurgh which the ground be pourparties
 Departed is in thre parties,
 That is Asie, Aufrique, Europe.¹⁷⁰

suggested by a few lines in the introduction to the *Roman*:

Li sage homme a[n]cien mesurerent le mounde,
 Cum le firmament turne e la terre est rounde;
 En treis la departirent sanz compas, sanz espounde,
 L'une partie est Asye, Affrike la secunde;
 Europe est la tierz, de toz biens, est fecunde.¹⁷¹

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Roman, where the names of the sons are omitted but where there is a reference to the "olde clerkes," *ed. cit.*, p. 223, 1-5:

Solun coe ke trovum as plus anciens diz,
 Moïses e Josephus le dient en lur escriz,
 K'aprouf le deluive aveit Noé treis filz:
 A eus treis fut li mondes entr'eus departis,
 E les noms des parties aprouf les lor sortiz.

4. *Corr. en treis pars d.?*

¹⁷⁰ *C.A.*, VII, 524-33.

¹⁷¹ *Ed. cit.*, 34-38. The variants of the passage of the Durham MS, printed by Hildenbrand, *op. cit.*, 67, are: 34 Ancienement l.s.m. 1. monde; 35 Cum l.f. cum l.t.; 36 En trois l. d. sans compas e desponde; 37 aufrike Asye est la secunde; 38 tierce; fecunde. For the ending *-ounde*, *-unde*, *onde*, as a criterium on the dialect of the author, cf. H. Schneegans, *art. cit.*, *Zeitschr. f. fr., Spr. und Lit.*, XXXI, 11. It is evident, to judge from the readings of verses 34 and 37, that Gower's manuscript had a text approaching that of the Paris, and not the Durham manuscript, the latter being carelessly written. Schneegans, "Die handschriftliche Gestaltung des Alexander-Romans," *Ib.*, XXX (1906), 248-51, 253, 254.

THE STRUCTURE OF HANS SACHS' FASTNACHT- SPIELE IN RELATION TO THEIR PLACE OF PERFORMANCE

In the present investigation, an attempt shall be made to ascertain whether there is a relation between the structure of Hans Sachs' Fastnachtspiele and their place of performance.

Critics have by no means reached anything like uniformity of opinion regarding the grouping of Hans Sachs' Fastnachtspiele nor even in establishing the line of demarcation between his Tragedies and Comedies on the one hand, and his Fastnachtspiele on the other.

Koester¹ says of Herrmann,² p. 102: "Und für die bürgerliche Schauspielkunst der Meistersinger macht er (Herrmann) eine grundsätzliche Scheidung zwischen dem *Fastnachtspiel* und dem grossen Drama, das für die auf diesen Blättern rekonstruierte Bühne bestimmt war."³ Im Fastnachtspiel habe, was man von jeher angenommen hat, und was auch durch den sprachlichen Ausdruck bestätigt wird, ein weitgehender Naturalismus geherrscht, mit grosser Beweglichkeit des einzelnen Darstellers und einer körperlichen Beredsamkeit, die der epischen Dichtung nahe stand. Die eigentliche meistersingerische Schauspielkunst aber, eine erlernte Kunst, die ihre Verwandtschaft mit der älteren Gewohnheit nicht verbergen könne, müsse sehr viel gebundener und zurückhaltender gewesen sein, lyrisch-pathetisch, antinaturalistisch, dem Alltag abgewandt, und von zeremonieller Feierlichkeit, zwar bewegungsreicher als die mittelalterliche Darstellungsart, aber doch noch so karg an Gebärden, so stilisiert, dass Herrmann sich anheischig macht, die wenigen zulässigen Gesten vollständig herzuzählen."

While granting that much can be said in favor of this view, Koester goes on to say p. 103: "*Zunächst sind die Unterschiede zwischen Fastnachtspiel und grossem Drama nicht so scharf gewesen, wie Herrmann voraussetzt. . . .* Dazu kommt, dass

¹ Koester: *Die Meistersingerbühne des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Halle, 1920.

² Herrmann: *Forschungen zur deutschen Theatergeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Berlin, 1914.

³ Italics are mine throughout.

die Grenzen zwischen grösserem Drama und Fastnachtspiel am Anfang wie am Ende von Hans Sachsens Laufbahn so flüssig gewesen sind, dass z. B. Edmund Goetze bei dem Neudruck Hans Sächsischer Dramen bisweilen in Zweifel war, ob das einzelne Stück den Komödien oder den Fastnachtspielen zuzurechnen sei. Und gehen wir zur Aufführung dieser Stücke über, so wissen wir, dass ein und derselbe Darsteller, z. B. der Schmidlein, den Herrmann S. 142 u. ö. erwähnt, bunt durch einander in Fastnachtspielen und grossen Dramen auftrat. Wie sollte so ein Handwerker die zwei Spiel- und Stilarten auseinander halten? Das würde ja selbst dem begabtesten Künstler von heute Schwierigkeiten bereiten."

Regarding the division of the Fastnachtspiele Kaulfusz-Diesch⁴ says p. 20: "Der Form nach schliesst er (Hans Sachs) sich eng an das alte Fastnachtspiel, namentlich an Folz an; wie sehr er dichterisch über seinen Vorbildern steht, braucht wohl nicht erst hervorgehoben zu werden. *Drei Gruppen lassen sich bei ihm unterscheiden, die zeitlich nebeneinander hergehen, so dass die Zugehörigkeit zu einer oder der anderen Gruppe nicht als Kriterium für das Alter der Spiele gelten kann.* Die erste Gruppe entspricht der alten Revueform. Die Stücke werden in Häusern oder auf der Strasse auf dem hierzu aufgeschlagenen Gerüst (Brücke) aufgeführt. . . . Diese Reihe beginnt mit dem ältesten Spiel von Hans Sachs, dem 'Hofgesindt Veneris' (1517). Auch das 'Narrenscheiden' gehört hierher, ebenso mehrere bei der etwas unsicheren Terminologie des Dichters als Tragödien oder Komödien bezeichneten Stücke: 'Caron,' 'Jupiter und Juno,' 'Venus und Pallas' und andere mehr. Über diesen Standpunkt sind jedoch schon die ältesten Spiele, in denen sich die Anfänge einer dramatischen Handlung zeigten, hinausgegangen. Bei Hans Sachs ist das erste derartiger Spiele das 'Fastnachtspiel vom schwangeren Bauern' (1544). Hier treten die Personen, der Handlung entsprechend, während des Stückes auf und ab. Es muss also neben dem Schauplatz noch ein Ort, entsprechend der Szene des Schuldramas, vorhanden sein, wo sich die Darsteller während der Pausen in ihrer Rolle aufhalten. Durch Vorhänge liessen sich derartige Räume leicht

⁴ C. H. Kaulfusz-Diesch: *Die Inszenierung des deutschen Dramas an der Wende des sechzehnten u. siebzehnten Jahrhunderts (Probefahrten, Bd. 7), Leipzig, 1905.*

herstellen. Das Charakteristische dieser Gruppe ist, dass während des ganzen Stückes eine strenge Einheit des Ortes festgehalten ist. . . . Von dieser Stufe ist nur ein Schritt zu der dritten und umfangreichsten Gruppe, die mit Szenenwechsel und daher mit der Neutralbühne und gelegentlich sogar mit Standorten arbeiten. . . . Diese Stücke unterscheiden sich von den Tragödien und Komödien nur durch ihren burlesken Inhalt und die Beschränkung auf einen Akt."

Peltzer,⁵ as we shall see below, divides the Fastnachtspiele solely on the basis of the evidence he finds in them regarding the place of their performance, if indeed they were intended to be performed.

If critics entertain such divergent views on the grouping of Hans Sachs' plays, which they actually possess and can study, it certainly cannot occasion any surprise to find that they differ just as radically concerning the place of performance, regarding which they possess next to no documentary evidence.

Herrmann and Koester again oppose each other here Herrmann is of the opinion that none of the Fastnachtspiele were presented on the so-called "Meistersingerbühne," which he assumes to have been in the Marthakirche. p. 20-21 Koester rejects this view, but he does not commit himself definitely as to whether he believes that all of the Fastnachtspiele or only some of them were performed on the so-called "Meistersingerbühne," which he assumes to have been in the "Rebenter im Predigerkloster," p. 14-15.

Kaulfusz-Diesch offers the following view, p. 15: "Wir müssen zwei Arten von Aufführungen unterscheiden; Aufführungen im Kreise der Meistersänger in den Singschulen, und öffentliche Aufführungen gegen Entgelt vor der Bürgerschaft. . . . In den Ratsprotokollen erscheint Hans Sachs als Spielunternehmer erst im Jahre 1551; vorher scheint er also seine Tätigkeit auf die nicht öffentlichen Aufführungen in den Singschulen beschränkt zu haben."

Schmidt⁶ says, p. 50: "Es ist klar, dass unter diesen Verhältnissen das Volksspiel im wesentlichen auf den Schauptz

⁵ Peltzer, J.: *Die Fastnachtspielbühne des Hans Sachs*, Frankfurt a. O., 1921.

⁶ Expeditus Schmidt O. F. M., *Die Bühnenverhältnisse des deutschen Schuldramas und seiner volkstümlichen Ableger im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*. (Forsch. z. neueren Literaturgesch., Berlin, 1903.)

im Freien angewiesen und damit vom Wetter abhängig blieb. Nur wo grossräumige Gebäude zur Verfügung standen, alte Kirchen etwa, und so zugleich Elemente der Schulbühne einschränkend wirkten, konnte sich's auch in geschützte Räume zurückziehen."

Hampe,⁷ who undertook a thorough study of the Protokolle of the city of Nürnberg, comes to the conclusion, p. 153: "Bezüglich der Fastnachtspiele lässt sich wahrnehmen, dass seit dem Jahre 1550 die Anrede an Wirt und Gäste zu Anfang oder zum Schluss der Stücke und andere deutliche Anspielungen oder direkte Benennungen des Schauplatzes seltener werden und wir dürfen daraus wohl schliessen, dass von nun an auch diese Spiele häufiger als zuvor in einem eigens dazu bestimmten Raum agiert worden sind. Ausser der Marthakirche wird als Lokal für die dramatischen Aufführungen in den Ratsprotokollen besonders häufig das Predigerkloster namhaft gemacht, wo im Rebenter gespielt zu werden pflegte. 1567 erscheint daneben zum erstenmal der "Heilsbronnerhof", ein im Kloster Heilbronn (zwischen Nürnberg und Augsburg) gehöriges Anwesen, an der Stelle, wo heute die königliche Bank steht. Indessen scheinen die Theater- und sonstigen Aufführungen daselbst zunächst nicht öffentlich oder wenigstens nicht mit obrigkeitlicher Genehmigung stattgefunden zu haben denn in den angezogenen Ratsverlässen ist deutlich der Unwille zu spüren, mit dem sich der Rat die von Ambrosius Oesterreicher im Heilsbronnerhof gespielten 'Gedichte und Komödien' herauffordern lässt."

Devrient⁸ says, p. 64: "Dass man mit den Fastnachtspielen nicht mehr in den Wohnhäusern umherzog, geht aus den Anfangs- und Schlussreden der Herolde hervor; sie reden den Wirt nicht mehr an, empfehlen sich nicht mehr zur guten Nacht. Nur einige der frühesten Fastnachtspiele des Hans Sachs machen davon eine Ausnahme, die Veränderung ist also wohl in Mitte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts geschehen.

Nun wurde in Wirtshäusern und Gewerksherbergen (Zeche genannt) die rohe Bühne aufgeschlagen, ein blosses auf Bänken

⁷ Th. Hampe, *Die Entwicklung des Theaterwesens in Nürnberg*, Nürnberg, 1900.

⁸ Devrient: *Geschichte der deutschen Schauspielkunst*, Berlin, 1905.

und Fässern gebautes erhöhtes Podium, höchstens im Hintergrunde mit Teppichen behangen, welche Ein- und Ausgang zuliessen.

Diese Einrichtung zeigte sich aber nicht würdig genug zur Aufführung der Tragödien und geistlichen Comödien, und man entschloss sich einen eigenen Schauplatz zu errichten; ein Beweis, wie ernst die Bürger es mit ihren Comödien meinten, welch festen Grund der Antheil dafür gefasst hatte.

Dies Erste Deutsche Schauspielhaus wurde in Nürnberg im Jahre 1550 von der Zunft der Meistersänger erbaut; ein Beispiel, welches man bald darauf in Augsburg nachahmte. . . .

An Decorationen und sonstigen Apparaten scheint dagegen diese Bühne nichts besessen zu haben. Aus den Tragödien und Comödien, welche dort aufgeführt worden sind, geht die grösste Dürftigkeit der Einrichtung hervor."

He seems to be of the opinion that only Tragedies and Comedies were performed on this stage. The Fastnachtspiele were still relegated to the Wirtshäuser and Gewerksherberge.

Meyers Konversationslexikon seems to imply that the Fastnachtspiele were performed on this stage: "Die weltlichen Spiele waren auf Schulsäle, Scheunen (Stadeln), unbedeckte Hofräume mit Gerüsten und Emporen (Brücken, Zinnen), mit Teppichen umhangene Räume, später auf schlichte 'Spielhäuser' angewiesen, deren erstes 1550 in Nürnberg durch die Meistersingerzunft errichtet wurde".

The most recent treatise on the subject is the one by Peltzer which was mentioned above. Peltzer says, P. 16: "Wir hatten im II. Kapitel gesehen, dass die Fastnachtspiele nicht auf der Meistersingerbühne gespielt sind. Und im III. kamen wir zu der Überzeugung, dass die Spiele irgendwo in einem Raum stattfanden, der nicht eigens zu diesem Zweck geschaffen und hergerichtet war. Wo das nun war, werden die folgenden Abschnitte lehren müssen." He then proceeds to divide the Fastnachtspiele into six groups. p. 17:

"Die *Erste Gruppe* umfasst solche Spiele, die in Gasthäusern vor der breiten Oeffentlichkeit gespielt wurden. . . .

Die *Zweite Gruppe* unterscheidet sich von der ersten dadurch, dass nicht die Bürgerschaft insgemein zuschaut, sondern ein bestimmter, abgegrenzter Teil von ihr, und dass der Spielort

nicht ein Gasthaus ist, sondern das grosse Zimmer eines Nürnberger Stadthauses. . . .

Eine *Dritte Gruppe* bilden Spiele, die eine bestimmte Bühne zur Aufführung voraussetzen, behelfsmässig genug, doch wenigstens mit vorbereitetem Hintergrund und einigen Versatzstücken. . . .⁹

Einer vierten Gruppe gehört Spiel 28 an, in dem der Spielort, der Schauplatz durchaus unklar und die Szenentrennung völlig ungenügend durchgeführt ist. . . .

Eine *Weitere Gruppe* von Spielen bilden solche, in denen der Schauplatz nicht unklar wird durch allzu schnellen Szenewechsel, sondern wo wir überhaupt keine Andeutung eines Schauplatzes herauslesen können, wie z. B. Spiel 21.

Zuletzt finden wir dann im Generalregister auch *Eine Reihe* von solchen Spielen, die keine Fastnachtspiele sind, sondern Komödien oder nur lange, dialogisierende Kampfgespräche. . . . ”

From the further discussion it proceeds that he believes that some of the plays were performed outside, p. 22, while some like *Der Kremerskorb* were played partly outside and partly inside p. 23-24.

As stated above in a note it is not clear whether Peltzer does or does not assume a stage for these plays.

The preceding review must have made it clear that there is nothing like conformity or uniformity of opinion among critics regarding either the grouping of Hans Sachs' Fastnachtspiele or the place of their performance. And the reason for this is that all of the critics have considered these two questions as distinct and separate questions, which have no relation to each other. In the present paper the opposite course shall be pursued: an attempt shall be made to show that there is a distinct relation between the *structure* of Hans Sachs' Fastnachtspiele and their *place of performance*. In order to do this we must:

⁹ It is not clear whether Peltzer believes that these plays were performed on a stage or not. On p. 22 where he discusses *Der Kampf der Armut Mit Frau Glück*, which belongs to this group he says: "Aber es stehen einige Wendungen darin, die darauf schliessen lassen, dass es auf einer Bühne aufgeführt wurde." Below however he says of the same play: "Eine Bühne erscheint überflüssig, da sich nur an zwei bis drei Stellen eine Abweichung von dem Herkömmlichen zeigt."

1. Group the plays according to their structure; and
2. Determine by whatever evidence we may glean (either internal evidence or by comparison with other plays) where the plays of each group were performed.

Before starting attention must be called to two things. First, only such plays shall be treated as are actually called *Fastnachtspiele* in the Keller-Goetze edition of Hans Sachs' works. These will offer enough material to warrant conclusions. If, then, there are other plays, which some one would like to consider *Fastnachtspiele*, it will be easy to insert them into one or the other of our groups.

Second, the *Protokolle* (Hampe) are too meagre to offer much assistance. According to them we cannot determine whether all or none or which of the *Fastnachtspiele* were performed on the so-called *Meistersingerbühne*.

In order now to ascertain whether there is a relation between the *structure* of Hans Sachs' *Fastnachtspiele* and their *place of performance*, it is necessary to become clear on the question as to the *method* in which the poet-cobbler composed his plays.

The *Fastnachtspiele* are sufficient evidence in themselves to prove that he did not write them with any knowledge of the internal structure of a play. If he had, there would be more evidence of a steady progress to perfection. This is, however, by no means the case. Hampe is probably correct when he says, p. 153: "Unter solchen Verhältnissen war es für Hans Sachs von vorneherein unmöglich, zu einem richtigen Verständnis des Wesens der dramatischen Dichtkunst durchzudringen. *Ihm genügte es zum Aufbau eines Dramas vollkommen, wenn er einen Stoff, anstatt ihn als Meistergesang strophisch oder in Spruchform zu behandeln, gleichsam in die Form eines erweiterten Dialogs kleidete* und über die Technik des Dramas hat der wackere Meister schwerlich jemals tiefer nachgedacht.— Von einer eigentlichen Theatertechnik kann für jene Zeit in Deutschland noch nicht die Rede sein, und dass ihr gänzlichliches Fehlen, so gut wie ihr späteres gelegentliches Überwuchern keinen günstigen Einfluss auf die Qualität der dramatischen Produktion ausüben konnte, leuchtet ohne weiteres ein."

It is clear, therefore, that the inner technique is not the determining factor in establishing the *method* in which Hans Sachs wrote his *Fastnachtspiele*. Kaulfusz-Diesch, quoting

Hampe, says p. 15: "Hans Sachs schrieb seine Stücke stets für die Aufführung, wenn auch, seinem eigenen Zeugnisse nach, nicht alle seine Dramen wirklich aufgeführt worden sind. Auf dem Titelblatt des dritten Buches der Gesamtausgabe heisst es: Welch spil auch nit allein gut, nutzlich und kurtzweilig zu lesen sindt, sonder auch leichtlich aus diesem buch spilweis anzurichten, weil es so ordentlich alle person, gebärden, wort und werck, auszugeng aufs verstendigst anzeigt."

The above statements show us the *method* in which Hans Sachs wrote his plays. In writing a play, Hans Sachs considered two factors: first the *form* and then the fact that they were to be performed. But were all of his plays intended for one and the same kind of stage? Apparently not, as shall be shown below. Just as playwrights in all ages had to write for the particular stage in vogue at their time, so Hans Sachs had to write his plays with an eye on the particular place—or as the case may be—on the particular occasion, for which they were composed.

Bearing this in mind we shall now proceed to group Hans Sachs' Fastnachtspiele. According to their *structure (form)* Hans Sachs' Fastnachtspiele may be divided into three great groups.

Group I consists of plays which open and close with a short *informal address to the spectators*. The following plays belong to this group:

- 1) 1517 *Das Hoffgsindt Veneris* XIV, 3
- 2) 1518 *Von Der Eygenschaft Der Lieb* XIV, 12
- 3) 1533 *Von Einem Bösen Weib* V, 47
- 4) 1535 *Die Sechs Klagenden* IX, 3
- 5) 1536 *Die Rockenstuben* XIV, 26
- 6) 1537 (1557!) *Das Narren-Schneiden* V, 3
- 7) 1539 *Die Holen Den Bachen im Teutschen Hoff* V, 31
- 8) 1540 *Die Holen Krapffen* V, 18
- 9) 1544 *Der Schwanger Pauer* IX, 23
- 10) 1544 *Die Laster-Artzney* XIV, 35
- 11) 1545 *Der Teuffel Mit Dem Alten Weib* IX, 35
- 12) 1550 *Der Gesellen Fasznacht* IX, 47
- 13) 1550 *Fraw Warheyt Will Niemandt Herbergen* XIV, 99
- 14) 1551 *Der Bösz Rauch* IX, 108

Group II is the largest of all the groups. The plays of this group open and close with a soliloquy or a dialogue. The following plays belong here:

- 15) 1550 *Der Pawr Mit Dem Kuedieb* XIV, 111¹⁰
- 16) 1551 *Der Unerseelich Geitzhunger* XIV, 154
- 17) 1551 *Der Farend Schuler Mit Dem Teuffel-Pannen* IX, 72
- 18) 1552 *Der Pawr Inn Dem Fegfewer* XIV, 233
- 19) 1552 *Die Listig Bulerin* XVII, 17
- 20) 1552 *Der Parteckensack* XVII, 3
- 21) 1553 *Das Weib Im Brunnen* IX, 96
- 22) 1553 *Der Grosz Eysferer & XVII, 29*
- 23) 1553 *Der Eulenspiegel Mit Der Pfaffenkellerin & XVII* 80
- 24) 1553 *Die Alt Verschlagen Kuplerin & XVII, 65*
- 25) 1554 *Der Tot Mann* XIV, 320
- 26) 1559 *Der Schwanger Bawer Mit Dem Fül* XXI, 62

- 27) 1550 *Der Farendt Schuler Im Paradeisz* XIV, 72
- 28) 1550 *Das Wildbad* XXI, 3*
- 29) 1550 *Der Jung Kauffman Nicola Mit Seiner Sophia* XIV, 84*
- 30) 1551 *Die Späch Bulerey* XIV, 184
- 31) 1551 *Das Kelberbruten* XIV, 170
- 32) 1551 *Das Heisz Eysen* IX, 85
- 33) 1551 *Der Pawren Knecht Wil Zwo Frawen Haben* IX, 60
- 34) 1553 *Der Ketzermeister Mit Den Vil Kessel-Suppen* XIV, 304
- 35) 1553 *Ewlenspiegel Mit Den Blinden* XIV, 288
- 36) 1553 *Der Verdorben Edelman & XIV, 276*
- 37) 1553 *Das Bosz Weyb Mit Den Worten & XIV, 262**
- 38) 1553 *Der Bawer Mit Dem Plerr* XVII, 42
- 39) 1553 *Die Burgerin Mit Dem Thumbherrn* XVII, 52
- 40) 1553 *Der Krämerskorb* XVII, 170
- 41) 1554 *Der Alt Buler Mit Der Zauberey* IX, 120

¹⁰ The arrangement of the Plays of Group II is for convenience of the subsequent discussion.

* The plays marked * are transitional plays. They belong to Group II, but they contain remarks addressed to the spectators.

- 42) 1554 *Die Wunderlichen Mänder und Unheuszlichen Weiber* & XVII, 126
- 43) 1554 *Der Losz Mann Mit Dem Muncteten Weib* XVII, 141
- 44) 1556 *Eulenspiegel Mit Dem Beltzwaschen zu Nügstellen* XXI, 116*
- 45) 1556 *Die Kupelt Schwieger Mit Dem Alten Kaufmann* XXIII, 86
- 46) 1557 *Eulenspiegel Mit Dem Blawen Hosztuch und Dem Bawern* XXI, 49
- 47) 1558 *Der Bawer Mit Dem Saffran* XXI, 35
- 48) 1549 *Der Teuffel Mit Dem Kauffman und Den Alten Weibern* XIV, 47*
- 49) 1550 *Der Nasen-Tanz* XIV, 60*
- 50) 1550 *Von Joseph Unnd Melisso, Auch König Salomon* XIV, 124
- 51) 1551 *Zwischen Dem Gott Apoline und Dem Römer Fabio* XIV, 139
- 52) 1552 *Der Gestolen Pachen* XIV, 220
- 53) 1553 *Der Blind Messner* & XVII, 183
- 54) 1553 *Der Tyrann Dionisius Mit Damone* & XIV, 251
- 55) 1553 *Der Roszdieb zu Fünsing* & XVII, 97
- 56) 1554 *Das Weynent Hündlein* XVII, 112
- 57) 1554 *Der Pfarrherr Mit Sein Ehbrecher-Bawren* XVII, 156
- 58) 1557 *Den Wucher und Ander Peschwerd Petreffent* XXIII, 136
- 59) 1559 *Der Doctor Mit Der Grossen Nasen* XXI, 103*
- 60) 1559 *Der Verspill Reuter* XXI, 76
- 61) 1559 *Die Zwen Gfattern Mit Dem Zorn* XXI, 91
- 62) 1559 *Die Fünff Armen Wanderer* IX, 12

Group III is the smallest. The plays of this group open with a formal prologue and close with a formal epilogue. The following three plays belong here:

- 63) 1552 *Von Der Unglückhafften, Verschwatzten Bulschaft* XIV, 198
- 64) 1557 *Der Teuffel Nam Ein Alt Weib Zu Der Ehe* XXI, 17

65) 1557 *Der Neydhart Mit Dem Feyhel XVII*, 198

Chronologically these groups by no means run parallel to each other. Before 1550 we find only plays of Group I. (Except 1549 Kaufmann.) Plays of Group II and Group III occur only after 1550 and those of Group II are clearly most numerous. Those of Group I are clearly on the wane after 1550. Hence the year 1550 seems to mark a division line and we shall therefore treat the plays before 1550 first and then those after 1550.

Before 1550

Before 1550 Hans Sachs wrote eleven Fastnachtspiele, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 of the plays enumerated above, and all of these belong to Group I. They open with an *informal address to the spectators*. The actor enters, greets the assembled people with "*guten abend*" and then if he happens to be the host or his representative he bids them welcome, or if he happens to be an intruder he offers an apology or an explanation for his coming. Then follows the play. In conclusion an informal speech is appended giving the moral of the play. In *Formal Structure* these plays are all alike.

As to *Dramatic Technique* these plays may be divided into two classes. To the first class belong Nos 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 11 of the plays enumerated above. These plays are *spontaneous*¹¹ in nature. They make no attempt at creating a theatrical illusion as far as place is concerned. Their *Setting* and *Place of Performance* are identical. As a consequence all of them have but one scene, with the exception of No. 11 and here it is not a question of change of place, but merely of time. (IX, 37, 13; 44, 31.)

To the second class belong Nos. 1, 5, 9, 10 of the plays enumerated above. These plays endeavor to create a theatrical illusion as to place, though in most cases it is only a straddling attempt at best. The *Setting* of these plays and their *Place of Performance* are straddled or blended one into the other. No. 1 might have been placed in a class for itself, since no *Setting* or *Place* is indicated. However, since it is not spontaneous as those of class one, it was placed here. Of the remaining three plays Nos. 5 and 10 have only one scene; while No. 9

¹¹ V, 29, 25 unger.—XIV, 12, 8, unberuffen &.

has more than one. And change of scene here implies a change of place.

We must now elucidate what is meant by the term *Straddling* as used above. The four plays under consideration here open with a "guten abent" to the spectators and close with a direct address to them, which fact, of course, counteracts any theatrical illusion and makes the spectators think of the actual place of performance. In the course of the play, however, Hans Sachs soon effects a transition from the place of performance to the setting of the play. In No. 5 we are told XIV, 26, 7 *Heindt werdt Hinnen die Rockenstuben*, which, of course, means that the spectator is to imagine that the room in which he happens to be, or that part of the room in which the actors happen to be is for the time being the *rockenstuben*. No. 10 offers some difficulties. It is not clear whether it should be grouped with the plays of class one or with those of class two. However, the general character of it seems to indicate that a theatrical illusion is implied. In the introductory speech the *artzet* bids the guests welcome and says that he has advertised. Hence we are probably to infer that the spectators are to believe that they have come to the *artzet*. Furthermore, at the end of the play he leads the patients away and concludes with the following remarks to the spectators:

XIV, 45, 35 *Und ob noch einer Hinnen wehr,
Der auch meinr ertzeney beger,
Der zeig sich ahn, eh ich Geh Ausz&&*

Hinnen and *geh ausz* undoubtedly refer to the actual place of performance and the spectators must have thought of this and not of the presumed setting of the play, which was supposed to be the office of the *artzet*. Hence, in general, a theatrical illusion is probably meant here, though it is at best a very straddling attempt.

No. 9 is the first Fastnachtspiel that attempts a change of place in scene. The play opens as follows:

IX, 23, 1 *Ein guten Abent, ir erbarn leull
Ich bin Herein beschieden heut.
Ich solt mein Nachtpawrn suchen Hinnen.
Wiewol ich ir noch kein thu sinnen &&*

There is no theatrical illusion here. *Herein* and *hinnen* clearly refer to the actual place of performance, in which the spectators happen to be. There is no ground for assuming anything else.

On p. 27, 5 however, we suddenly find the characters, without leaving the scene of action *outside* (in the street 28, 27) on the *following day*.

IX, 27, 5 *Mich dunckt, der Rath könn je nicht felen*
Schau dort geht der Kargas rausz,
Ytz eben gleich ausz seinem Hausz.
Ich wil die sach gleich fahen an.
Thut ir zwen hinder den Stadel stan!

This change of time and place is naively bridged over by Hans' speech from p. 26, 19 to P. 27, 3. The change of scene from the street to Kargas' home is very easily effected. p. 28, *Sie Füren und Setzen in Auf Ein Sessel Nieder*. On p. 32, 16 we have a change of scene indicated by the technical device of vacating the scene of action, though it is not clear why Kargas, too, should leave. There is merely a change of time, and a very brief one at that. However, the stage directions read: *Sie Gehen Ab. Der Kranck Geht Ein An Eim Stecken &c.* Apparently Kargas left the scene only in order to return and resume his seat on the *sessel* (p. 32, 32 *steh auff!*).

On p. 33 the *artzet* concludes with a speech to the spectators, which of course brings us back to the actual place of performance. This play clearly passes back and forth between the actual place of performance and the setting of the play, and thus straddles the place of performance and the setting of the play.

The *Place of Performance* of some of these plays can be pretty definitely determined on the basis of evidence contained in them. The following two were probably performed in a *private home*:

No. 4 *Die sechs klagenden.*

IX, 3, 1 *Seyt mir willkon in Meinem Hausz*
 10, 4 *Der Hausherr Spricht*

11, 12 *Wolauff, wolauff, last uns hinaus!*
Den frommen Herren raumbt das Haus!
Der uns hat geben gute lehr,
Uns auch beweisen Zucht und Ehr
Mit warmer Stuben, Speisz und Tranck!
Des sagen wir im grossen danck.

No. 8 *Die holen krapffen*V, 18, 4 *Der Burger Geht in die Stuben*

18, 5–12 (Introductory speech)

20, 18 *Sich Tölpen Fritzl was thust du hinnen?**Kanst auff dem Dorff kein Wirtshausz finnen,**Das du zu den Burgern einkerst?*

However, it is possible that this play may have been performed in an inn.

The following plays were undoubtedly performed in an *inn*.

No. 3 *Von einem bösen weib.*V, 60, 19 *Wie das ich dich so zornig find**Mit allem deynem haussgesindt**Inn dem wirtshausz auff diesen abend.*No. 7 *Die holen den bachen im deutschen hoff*

V, 35, 5—32, 6 (Introductory speech)

Deutsches Haus 32, 5; 33, 33; 40, 1. (Whether or not this was the actual name of the inn in which this play was given makes no material difference for the purpose of this investigation.)

No. 1 *Das hofgesindt Veneris* and No. 2 *Von der eygenschaft der liebe* very probably also belong to this group.

In case of the remaining plays Nos. 5, 6, 9, 10, 11 it is impossible to determine just where they were given. That they were performed *inside* can be established.

No. 5 XIV, 26, 7 *Heindt werdt hinnen die rockenstuben*No. 6 V, 17, 1 *Nun hort! ob indert einer wer**Der dieser artzney beger.*No. 9 IX, 23, 5 *Ich bin herein beschieden heut &*No. 10 XIV, 45, 35 *Und ob noch einer hinnen wehr,**Der auch meiner ertzney beger**Der zeig sich ahn, eh ich geh aussz.*No. 11 IX, 35, 5 *Verargt mirs nicht, und das ich hewt**Zu euch rein kom.*

Two of these plays clearly imply that they were not performed in an inn.

No. 9 IX, 26, 16 *Im wirtshausz findt man euch viel speter.*No. 10 XIV, 45, 37 *Der zeig sich ahn, eh ich geh aussz**Oder such mich in dem gasthausz**Das man nendt zu der gulden gans.*

Whether we are to infer the same for No. 6:

V, 17, 3 *Der such uns inn der herberg hie*
Bey eym der haist ich waiss nit wie.

is not clear. The fact that V, 4, 5 reads: *Gott gseng den Wirt mit seinen gessen*—would not necessarily contradict this, since the word *Wirt* might be loosely used for host.

It must not be concluded now that these two (or possibly three) plays were therefore given in a private home, since they were not performed in an inn. There may have been some other room available for Hans Sachs.

The question now arises: Was there a stage for these plays? Of the seven plays that are spontaneous in nature, six (Nos. 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 11) preclude any possibility of a stage, since the Setting of the play and the Place of Performance are identical and all local references refer to the Place of Performance.¹²

No. 6 must be considered especially, for it offers certain difficulties. In the first place, there is a disagreement among critics as to the date of this play. Some place it in 1557, others in 1537. As to content it is undoubtedly the best one of all the Fastnachtspiele. It represents the *Zeitgeist* of the XVIth century as one of the critics puts it and in this respect it might be considered a *Faust* of the XVIth century. Considering it from this point of view, we must grant that it is infinitely superior to the rest of the Fastnachtspiele written before 1550.

¹² No. 2 is clear. Compare also XIV, 23, 23, *Der Edelknab gehet zum tisch & nimbt ein geschier &*. This refers to one of the tables in the inn.

No. 3. V, 52, 14, *Das bos weib tritt in die stubn* clearly the place of performance.

60, 12, *Der nachbaur thut die stubn-thur auff unnd laufft hinnein* clearly the door of the place of performance and the place of performance are referred to here (C. f. 65, 1).

No. 4 is also clear. IX, 3, 1, *Seyt mir willkom in meinem haus!*

11, 2 *Wolauß, wolauß last uns hinaus!*
Den frommen herren raumbt das haus &

No. 7. V, 32, 7, *Die pawren klopfen an*. They are knocking at the door of the inn. All other references are also to be understood as pertaining to the actual place of performance.

No. 8. V, 18, 13, *Der bawer tritt in die stuben*, i.e., the actual place of performance.

No. 11. IX, 39, 26, *Das weib laufft auss, schlecht die thür ungestum einn*
 This refers to the actual place of performance. (41, 17, *Stubenthür*.)

But it is also far superior to the four plays that were written in 1557 (Eulenspiegel mit dem blawen hosztuch und dem bawern—Der teuffel nam ein alt weib zu der ehe—Den wucher und ander peschwerd petreffent—Der Neydhart mit dem feyhel).

Apparently the content will not help us in solving this problem. We must therefore approach the matter from another point of view. As to *Form* this play belongs to Group I and the tabulation given above shows that this form was not employed by Hans Sachs after 1551. This does not prove, however, that it must necessarily have been written before 1551, for a reversion to type is just as possible in literature as in nature. Furthermore, it is the purpose of this investigation to prove that all of the plays of Group II were probably intended for performance on a stage and that the plays of Group I were intended for performance in private circles and in places that were not equipped with a stage. Hence, if Hans Sachs had for some reason or other conceived the idea of writing this play for private performance in 1557, he naturally would have used this form.

Nevertheless, we have decided in favor of the date 1537 for the following reason. If we examine Hans Sachs' Fastnachtspiele we see that after 1550 he becomes more concrete, objective and realistic in the treatment of his subject matter. He is decidedly interested in sociological problems. He treats definite types of characters or classes of characters and points out their weaknesses and foibles or their relation to their fellowmen. Before 1550 he is more abstract and subjective. Many of his plays are almost allegorical, probably under the influence of the allegorical poetry which prevailed in the XVth and the early part of the XVIth century. Such plays are: *Hofgesindt*, *Eygenhaft*, *Lasterarzney*. They remind us very much of Brant's *Narrenschiff* (1494) and Murner's *Vom grossen lutherischen Narren* (1522). And the play in question cannot deny its kinship to these plays. Furthermore, this play very closely resembles the play *Lasterarzney* in conception. Still we do not claim that the question as to the date of this play has now been settled; and indeed this has no direct bearing on our problem. It was merely necessary to make this digression

here in order to explain why we dated this play 1537 and not 1557.

The question that is of immediate interest to us here is whether this play was intended to be performed on a stage or not. Two remarks:

V, 3, 25 *Sicht ir die leut nicht sitzen dort?* and

V, 17, 1 *Der Knecht Schrayt Ausz*, would seem to imply that the spectators were seated at some distance from the actors. The actors might therefore be thought of as being on a platform. This would seem to be supported by the stage direction V, 17, 1 *Er Geht Ab*. However, we must not take this stage direction too literally. Hans Sachs uses it as a technical term. In No. 11, for example, where there certainly was no platform, since the characters slam the *Stuben-Thür*, Hans Sachs also says: IX, 37, 13 *Sie Gehen Beide Ab*.

Hence in the absence of all convincing evidence for a stage, we must assume that the characters were stationed in some vacant place in the room and that the spectators were seated at some distance from this. This conception is more in keeping with the spontaneous introductory remarks: *Ich bin dort nieden &*.

Of the four plays that endeavor to create a theatrical illusion, we can assume that No. 1 was not performed on a stage, since it was written as early as 1517. No. 5 was clearly not intended for performance on a stage, since all local references refer to the actual place of performance. (XIV, 31, 6.)

No. 10 offers no evidence one way or another. Hence we must assume that like the rest of the plays of this kind it was intended to be performed without a stage or a platform.

No. 9 must be considered in particular, since it has a change of scene implying a change of place. From the discussion of this play offered above, it must have become clear that its dramatic structure is very poor. It taxes the imagination of the spectators to follow the changes of place. The only evidence that can possibly be gleaned from this play for or against a stage is the place on P. 32, 16 where all of the characters leave the scene of action. If we decide that all of the characters leave by the same exit, then we must conclude that there was no stage. If, on the other hand, we decide that Kargas leaves by one entrance and the rest of the characters by another, then

we must conclude that there was a stage. The former seems to be more in keeping with the general dramatic structure of the play. Hence we must assume that there was no stage. However, very likely the rest of the characters left first and then Kargas followed.

It remains to say a word about the relation of the structure of these plays to their place of performance. All of the Fastnachtspiele of Hans Sachs that were written before 1550 were clearly meant to be performed in inns or private homes or other places that were not equipped with a stage. There is as a consequence no direct line of demarcation between the actors and the spectators on the one hand nor the setting of the play and the place of performance on the other. The introductory speech served the purpose of getting the attention of the chance spectators or of giving the purpose and setting of the play or both. The concluding speech served to bid the spectators farewell. Hence it is clear that the formal structure of these plays was not merely a matter of dead tradition, but that it served a very practical purpose.

After 1550

The first decade in the second half of the century marks the climax in Hans Sachs' activity as a writer of Fastnachtspiele. In this period we find all three groups represented. But since Group II is by far the largest we shall treat this first.

Group II comprises in all forty-eight plays. And these plays differ from those of Group I in *Formal Structure* and in *Dramatic Technique*.

In *Formal Structure* these plays do not show the informal introductory and closing speeches, which we found in Group I. Instead they open and close with a soliloquy or a dialogue.

As to *Dramatic Technique* these plays are not spontaneous as those of Group I, nor do they create a straddling illusion. The *Setting* of these plays and the *Place of Performance* are distinctly separated. The actors and the spectators are strictly segregated. In other words they create a perfect theatrical illusion. (Except of course the few transitional plays.) As to scenes they range from one to nine.

Concerning the *Place of Performance* there is no evidence that these plays were performed *outside*. Peltzer's view that

the first part of *Kremerskorb* XVII, 170 was performed outside across the street and the rest of the play in an inn does not seem very plausible. The spectators would certainly encounter a great deal of difficulty both in hearing what was being said across the street, and in seeing what was going on, since they would have to crowd into one or two small windows. Furthermore, the action of the first part would halt, since the *Kremer* would have to wait until the spectators had gotten all set before he could begin his argument with his wife. The simpler view is to assume that the entire play took place inside.

In case anyone should conclude that *Der Pawr Mit Dem Kuedieb* (XIV, 111) must have been played outside, because a cow occurs in the scene, we would say that this was no real cow but merely an actor or two disguised as a cow by wearing a cow-hide. That a cow-hide constituted a part of the stage paraphernalia can be assumed. In the play *Der Farend Schuler Mit Dem Teuffel-Pannen* we find a horse-hide (IX, 80, 31). In the play *Der Tot Mann* we meet with a *Sewhauft* XIV, 327, 11.

Moreover, since none of the plays before 1550 were performed outside (and this was certainly more likely to happen before 1550 than after 1550), there is no reason for assuming that any of the plays after 1550 were performed outside, especially since many of them bear evidence that they were given inside.

Before taking up a detailed discussion of the *Place of Performance*, however, we must pass on to a consideration of the question of the stage. If we examine the plays in which an *inside* and *outside* setting are presented at the same time, we find that the characters that are supposed to be in the *inside* are clearly on a higher elevation than those that are supposed to be on the *outside*. Only one play need be considered here in support of this statement. The little play *Das Weib im Brunnen* (IX, 96) has been chosen. When the husband is in the house and his wife outside threatens to commit suicide by drowning herself, and throws a stone into the well, he says (101, 27) *Ich wil bald Nab lauffen und schawen*. Apparently he is on a higher elevation than his wife who is on the outside. Reversely when he is on the outside and his wife is inside he says (105, 28) *Kom ich Hinauff &c.*

Two possibilities suggest themselves here as an explanation. The first is to assume that Hans Sachs had at his disposal a stage with a three story arrangement like that of the Mystery stage. In that case the characters on the outside would be on the middle stage, the characters inside on the upper stage and the "Brunnen" would be a hole in the stage. Koester assumes such a hole for his *Meistersingerbühne* before the entrance A and says that it is a relic of the lower stage of the Mystery stage (p. 36). This view may be safely discarded, however. It would require a room fifteen feet high, if we assume three feet from the floor of the room to the top of the stage, and six feet from the top of the stage to the upper stage and six feet from the upper stage to the ceiling of the room.

A simpler view is to assume that the characters on the outside were on the floor of the room in which the stage was located, and that the characters on the inside were on the stage. The "Brunnen," which occurs only in the play: *Das Weib im Brunnen*, and is incidentally mentioned in *Der Parteckensack* (XVII, 11, 11) could easily be represented by a box placed on the floor. The objection that it is improbable that some of the characters would be playing off the stage on the floor of the room in which the stage was erected, might be met with the rejoinder that in the plays of Group I there was no stage at all; and that in the Tragedies and Comedies there were processions around the room. Hence it cannot have seemed so strange to the people of the XVIth century to see some of the actors off the stage and some of them on it.

Now let us see what evidence can be gathered for the structure of this stage. In the play *Der Parteckensack* (XVII, 12, 31) we read:

*ich muss finsterlich
Euch hinauff-bringen drey stiegen.*

Three steps therefore lead up to the stage and these were very steep.

XVII, 13, 17 *Die stiegen sind güch undersich.*¹³

From this we can conclude that the stage was about three feet high, if we allow about 12 inches for each of these "güch stiegen."

¹³ For further references to the steps see XVII, 23, 6; 23, 17-26; 23, 30 and especially 24, 11-24 &&&.

Furthermore, the room in which this stage was erected must have been narrow, or there would not have been any need of such steep steps. And finally, it is safe to conclude that the stage could not have been very large in area, since they had to build steep steps in order to get as much space as possible for the stage.

This does not exhaust our material, however. The play *Das Weib im Brunnen* (IX, 96) mentions a *door* and a *window*. And we must now try to locate this *door* and *window*. It is impossible to assume that these plays were performed in an inn or a home and that the *window* and *door* used were the actual *window* and *door* of these respective places. In the first place, the play mentioned above was intended to be performed on a stage about three feet high; hence the window of the home or inn would have been too low. In the second place, if we assume that the actual door and window of the place of performance were used, then the greater part of this play would have been performed *outside* and could not have been seen by the spectators. The same holds true of other plays. Compare for example *Der Parteckensack* (XVII, 3). We must, therefore, assume that the *door* and *window* referred to are stage requisites, and not the actual door and window of the place of performance. And from the epic descriptions given in some of the plays and from the action in others, we can get a pretty good idea where these were located.

In the play *Die Listig Bulerin* (XVII, 24, 11) there is an epic description, which gives us a good idea where the *door* was located with reference to the stage.

*Unser mayd unten war am tennen
 Und gab zu essen unsern hennen
 Und hett die hauss thür lassen offen-
 Urbring kumpt die steig rauff-geloffen
 Ein jungling, west nit, wer er war
 Erschrocken und erschluchtzet gar,
 Und sprach: Gnad frau, verberget mich!
 Wo nicht, so wird erwurget ich.
 Als ich in sah in solchem jammer,
 War eben offen unser kammer,
 Derein hiess ich in lauffn und schmiegen.
 Im suszstapffen kumpt rauff die stiegen
 Herr Lamprecht mit eim blossen schwert,*

*Den jüdling zu erwürgen gert,
Den ich doch mit gütigen worten
Ableydet an disen orten,
Bat in, mein darinn zuverschonen,
Thet deiner freundschaft in ermonen,
So wurd stillschweigent ich gewert,
Kehrt sich umb und mit blossem schwert
Die stiegen ab, mit solchen worten,
Wie ir gehört habt an den orten.
Also ward diser handel gahn.*

From this description it is clear that the *door* is parterre, i.e., on a level with the floor of the room in which the stage was erected. And it is near the steps leading up to the stage. This is verified by the action of other plays. In the play *Der Par-teckensack* we find the following situation: XVII, 11, 36 *Die Meyd Geht Zur Thür und Spricht*

*Ziss! Ziss!
Junckherr, junckherr, kommet herein!
Schweigt nur, ir müst gar stille seyn,
Auff dass euch niemand hör im hausz,
Es würd sonst nichts gutes drausz.
Bleibt da am thennen stille stahn!
Ich wils der frawen zeygen an.*

She leaves to inform her mistress of the arrival of her presumed lover and returns.

12, 29, *Anna, die meyd, kombt wider und spricht:*
Junckherr, kombt und halt euch an mich!
Stost euch nil! ich musz finsterlich
Euch hinauff-bringen hoch drey stiegen,
Da werd ir sanfft gebettet ligen
In susser lieb, mit schimpyff und scherts,
Wie lang begert hat ewer herts.
Die meyd führet den pachanten hinauff.

The door is clearly parterre and the steps lead up to the stage. Hence the door was located at the foot of the steps leading up to the stage. For further proof compare the following: IX, 77, 11-14; XIV, 239, 20-24; XVII, 38, 5-7. In the play *Der Gross Eyferer* we meet the following:

XVII, 35, 33 *Versperr wol umberal das hausz,*
Dass niemand ein mög oder ausz
Dergleichen die thür an der stiegen.

- 37, *Nun wil ich nab, sammer bots jammer!
Am thennen stehn in die holtskammer
Und auff den pfaßn haben mein spür.
Sperrt er auff, schleicht rein durch die thür (rein)
Ich wil in schlagen auff sein platten.*

And that the *door* was not placed across the foot of the steps, but in a direct line with the front of the stage, as shown in the illustration below, can be inferred from the following facts. The space between the end of the stage and the wall of the room must have been very small, since as has been pointed out above, the steps had to be very steep. Hence a transverse position of the *door* would be very awkward for certain plays. For example in the play *Das Weib im Brunnen* the actors on the *outside* would not only be very much crowded for room, but they would also be invisible to the spectators on the opposite side of the room. On the other hand the advantage of our arrangement is apparent. In the play *Der Pawr Mit Dem Kuedieb* XIV, 112, 26, the daughter goes down to admit the stranger and does not reappear on the stage until 113, 31. If we take our position of the *door* for granted, it will be seen how easy it was for her to slip behind the stage. When she returns she tells us that she has been busy with her work. A similar situation is found in XVII, 10, 36; 11, 1. To be sure we do not insist that the position must have been just this way for all the plays. The partition in which the *door* was located was portable and might easily have been shifted into different positions to meet the demands of the action.

No attempt shall be made here to locate the *window* definitely. That there was one used is clear from the action of the plays. The following passages will give some idea of its approximate location.

Geitzhungler XIV, 159, 18

*Simplicius klopfst ahn reichenburger spricht
Schaw wer thut an der thur anschlitsen
Die frau schaudt und spricht
Bots leichnam angst es ist der man
Reichenburger spricht
Lauff, mach auff, lasz in einher gahn. (See also 165, 3 ff.)*

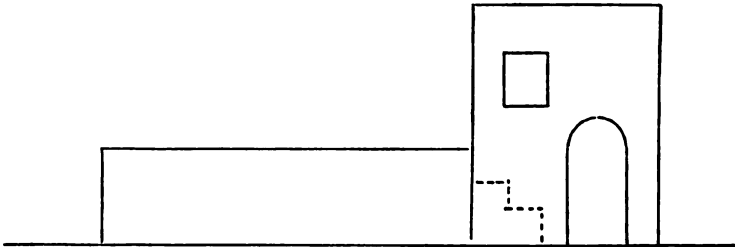
Der Pawr Inn Dem Fegfewer XIV, 235, 1

*Hört, hört, geht, secht, wer klopfet ahn
Im kloster an der fürdern thür.
Herr Ulrich schawdt nauss, spricht
Es steht ein Pewerin dafür, &
Der Abt spricht:
So geht hin und lasset sie ein,
Last hören, was ir klag wirt sein.
Herr Ulrich bringet die Pewerin.*

Der Eulenspiegel Mit Der Pfaffenkellerin und Dem Pferd

*Der Pfaff spricht:
Schaw wer am pfarrhof klopfet an
Die Kellerin schawt nauss und spricht:
Es wird der Eulenspiegel sein.
Der Pfaff spricht:
Geh lieber so lass ihn herein!
Kellerin geht und spricht:
Wie habt ir nur den narrn so gern?
Euch wird einmal dess nerrn wern.*

From these passages (and others could be added) it would seem that the *window* was not located in the *door*, but that it was located nearer to the stage than the *door* was, or reversely, that the *door* was farther removed from the stage than the



window was. Just where it was located, however, we shall not try to determine. In the play *Das Weib im Brunnen* we read the following: (The husband says) IX, 99, 7 *Mich stellen in eim laden Nieder*. If the word *nieder* is not used merely for rhythmic reasons here, we must infer that it was necessary to go *down* in order to reach the window. Later on, however, he says 101, 27 *Ich wil nab lauffen*. Hence it was necessary to go down when one was looking out of the window and wanted to go to the door. This might seem to imply that the arrangement was such that a person standing on one of the three *güch stiegen* could con-

veniently look out of the window. Still we prefer to leave this question open.¹⁴

That this partition in which the door was located was not permanent but portable can be inferred from plays which do not require the door, but the entrance at which the partition was situated. (*Wildbad* XXI, 3.) That this stage was equipped with a curtain is clear from the fact that many of the plays require curtain entrances and that "*die vier ort*" are mentioned in one of them (XIV, 242, 19).

Having thus established on the basis of evidence within the plays themselves that there must have been a stage at Hans Sachs' disposal, which was equipped with a *door* and a *window* and a *curtain*, it now remains to determine how many of the plays of this group were intended to be performed on this stage. There can be no question regarding the following ones:

- 15) 1550 *Der Pawr Mit Dem Kuedieb* XIV, 111
- 16) 1551 *Der Unerstlich Geitzhung* XIV, 154
- 17) 1551 *Der Farend Schuler Mit Dem Teuffel-Pannen* IX,
72
- 18) 1552 *Der Pawr Inn Dem Fegfower* XIV, 233
- 19) 1552 *Die Listig Bulerin* XVII, 17
- 20) 1552 *Der Parteckensack* XVII, 3
- 21) 1553 *Das Weib Im Brunnen* IX, 96
- 22) 1553 *Der Grosz Eysferer &* XVII, 29
- 23) 1553 *Der Eulenspiegel Mit Der Pfaffenkellerin &* XVII,
80
- 24) 1553 *Die Alt Verschlagen Kuplerin &* XVII, 65
- 25) 1554 *Der Tot Mann* XIV, 320
- 26) 1559 *Der Schwanger Bawer Mit Dem Fül* XXI, 72

All of these plays except four (Nos. 17, 24, 25, 26) were used above in establishing the existence and the nature of the stage. That these four plays were also intended for the stage and that the door referred to in them was not the door of the place of performance, nor a curtain entrance but the *door* established above may be safely assumed, since they have the same *form* as the other plays and the *door* could be used (IX, 76, 13-17; 23; XVII, 76, 12 ff.; XIV, 325, 22-328, 8; XXI, 66, 28).

¹⁴ Of course we do not assume that everywhere where a door or a window is mentioned, this particular door or window was used.

As further evidence that all of these twelve plays were intended to be performed on a stage, the following facts might be added. All of these plays except No. 25 require more than one entrance. Furthermore, one of them No. 18 mentions *die vier ort* (XIV, 242, 19); and finally No. 26 mentions *Spielteut* (XXI, 75, 17) which would seem to suggest the existence of a theater and a stage.

The remaining plays of this group do not require a *door* or a *window*. Still we have positive evidence in the case of some of them that they must have been intended for performance on the stage. The fact that these plays have the same external structure as the plays which require the *door* or the *window*, might give rise to a suspicion that they were intended for performance under similar circumstances; but we cannot consider this fact in itself as a proof that they actually were. A more cogent proof that they were intended for performance on the stage is the fact that they demand two or more entrances or exits. Situations arise in these plays which show clearly that the characters enter upon or leave the stage by different entrances or exits. It is hardly probable that an inn or a private home would have had two or more doors conveniently located for plays like this. Hence, we must assume that they were intended for the stage reconstructed above. The following plays come into consideration here.¹⁵

- 27) 1550 *Der Farendt Schuler im Paradeisz*¹⁶
 (XIV, 78, 26 ff. Schuler enters at one entrance. He is coming from the home of the peasant. 79, 13 Pawr enters at same entrance. 80, 6 Pawr leaves stage at opposite side; he is going to overtake the presumed thief. 80, 30 Schuler leaves stage, probably at a third opening.)
- 28) 1550 *Das Wildbad* XXI, 3 (Discussed below)

¹⁵ We have included only those plays here which absolutely require two or more entrances or exits. Plays which would possibly be played with one entrance or exit, even though they would be performed to greater advantage with more than one were disregarded; though it certainly would have been justifiable to include them since we have established a stage.

¹⁶ As a rule only one reference is given to prove that more than one door was used. Others could be added but our space is limited.

- 29) 1550 *Der Jung Kauffman Nicola Mit Seiner Sophia.*
(XIV, 88, 27 Metz enters at one entrance, probably from some room in the house. 89, 11 Nicola comes to outside door. 89, 20 Nicola leaves at outside door. 89, 27 Metz leaves by some other exit.)
- 30) 1551 *Die Spüch Bulerey*
(XIV, 192, 31 Sophranis retires to bedroom. Juncker Frantz enters at outside door.)&&
- 31) 1551 *Das Kelberbruten*
(XIV, 170, 3 Pwyrin enters at one entrance. 170, 23 Pawr enters from bedroom. 172, 8 Pawr goes to bedroom; 172, 12 returns from bedroom and then goes to kitchen 172, 21 ff. &&
172, 21 Pwyrin enters at one entrance—she is coming from home and leaves at opposite side of stage—she is going to town.)
- 32) 1551 *Das Heisz Eysen*
(IX, 86, 25 Die alt gefatterin leaves by one door, der Mann enters at another—Die gefatter says 86, 23:
Ytzund geht Gleich herein dein man
Ich wil hin gehn; fah mit im an!
If she had left by the same door, she would have met the husband. Besides, since we know that there was a stage it is probable that this scene was thought of as being enacted with two entrances.)
- 33) 1551 *Der Pawren Knecht Wil Zwo Frawen Haben*
(IX, 63, 12–14 Fritz leaves by one exit, Hermann and Heintz by another.)
- 34) 1553 *Der Ketzermeister Mit Den Vil Kessel-Suppen*
(XIV, 304, 3–9 Herman and Simon come from opposite directions.)
- 35) 1553 *Ewlenspiegel Mit Den Blinden*
(XIV, 288, 11–13 Eulensp. and the blind beggars come from opposite directions; 290–291 the Wirt and his wife enter at one door, the blind beggars at another.)

- 36) 1553 *Der Verdorben Edelman &*
(XIV, 278, 25 Superbus leaves at one door, Avarus enters at another. There may have been several doors used in the first scene; one leading into the kitchen and one into the dining room and one by which Superbus entered.)
- 37) 1553 *Das Bösz Weyb Mit Den Worten &*
(XIV, 270, 28 wife enters at one door; husband at other 271, 7—he comes from the outside—269, 4 wife comes from kitchen—269, 11; husband comes from outside 269, 22.)
- 38) 1553 *Der Bawer Mit Dem Plerr*
(XVII, 44, 6 Nachbewrin enters at outside door—46, 33 both women repair to kitchen.)
- 39) 1553 *Die Burgerin Mit Dem Thumbherrn*
(XVII, 52, 1–5 Mother and daughter come from opposite directions.)
- 40) 1553 *Der Krämerskorb*
(XVII, 175, 5 *Der Herr und Sein Fraw Gent Beyde Ein*, they come from some other room in the house.
175, 24 *Knecht Heintz Kombt*—He comes from the outside; his master and mistress see him coming 175, 22–23.
179, 16 *Die Köchin Kombt Mit Dem Kochlöffel*—she probably comes from the kitchen.)
- 41) 1554 *Der Alt Buler Mit Der Zauberey*
(IX, 127, 15 Wirtin leaves by “hinter thür”—Dildap enters at other entrance.)
- 42) 1554 *Die Wunderlichen Mänder und Unheusslichen Weiber &*
(XVII, 126, 1 Mann enters at one entrance.
127, 7 Fraw enters at other—she comes from town.
129, 17 Fraw goes into house (other entrance).
—, 30 Mann goes into house also.
130, 4 Unholdt enters at one entrance.
131, 11 Fraw enters at other entrance—*Thut Auff!**

* The door may have been used.

- 43) 1554 *Der Losz Mann Mit Dem Muncketen Weib*
(XVII, 154, 13—18 Zechgesel leaves by "hinder thür"; mother-in-law and daughter enter at front door.)
- 44) 1556 *Eulenspiegel Mit Dem Beltzwaschen Zu Nügstetten*
(XXI, 116, 1 Wirtin enters from some other room in house.
117, 10 Eulenspiegel enters from outside.
122, 3 Wirtin goes into other room to get "beltz."
122, 24 Nachbawrin comes from outside.)
- 45) 1556 *Die Kupelt Schwieger Mit Dem Alten Kaufmann*
(XXIII, 88, 34:
*Ge dw in keller, bring zu drincken;
Ich wil gen naus und wil im wincken
Dort get er eben unden füer,
Ich wil gen öffnen die hinter-thüer.*
Sie Gent Paid Aus—They probably left by different exits—90, 15—haustüer; 19—door to *Kamer*.)
- 46) 1557 *Eulenspiegel Mit Dem Blawen Hosstuch und Dem Bawern*
(XXI, 49 Eulensp. goes across stage; he is going to Oltzen.
52 Clas Wurffel is going to Oltzen and meets Eulensp. who is just coming from there.)
- 47) 1558 *Der Bawer Mit Dem Saffran*
(Heintz Hederlein and Fritz Hermann meet coming from opposite directions.
XXI, 35, 20 *Dort komt gen mir im wald ein mann.*)

Before we can determine whether the rest of the plays of this group which require only one entrance were also intended for performance on a stage, we must consider the plays of group I which were written after 1550. There are three of them, Nos. 12, 13, 14. Of these Nos. 12, 13 belong to class one of Group I. They are spontaneous in nature.

That these plays were performed in an Inn is clear from the following internal evidence:

- No. 12. IX, 47, 2 *Ich muss hie suchen in der dafern*
58, 25 *Wir müssen uns all beid ir schemen,*
Ich wil von lewten urlaub nemen.

The actor in question then addresses the people in the inn.

No. 13. XIV, 99.2 *Ich kumb zu euch in die taffern*

That there was no stage for these plays is also evident. The *setting of the play* and the *place of performance* are identical. In No. 12 the tavern remains the scene of action throughout, and all local references to entrances and exits refer to this. At the end of the play Hermann Grampas says:

IX, 58, 24 *Thu das unziffer auszihin treiben*

Wir müssen uns all beid ir schemen.

Ich wil von leuten urlaub nemen (the people in the inn)

Heinz lotsch treibt die werber vor im hinaus.

He drives them out of the inn.

In No. 13 the situation is the same as in No. 12. The characters enter and leave by the door of the inn.

Hence these plays were written to be performed under the same conditions as the plays of group I, which were written before 1550. The *relation between the external structure and the place of performance* is therefore clear.

No. 14 must be considered separately. According to *external structure* and *dramatic technique* it clearly belongs to class two of Group I. The *setting of the play* and the *place of performance* are straddled. The opening speech of the *ehman* is addressed to the spectators, and there is no theatrical illusion as to place. However later on it turns out that the scene of action is the house of the *ehman*:

IX, 113, 1 *Du sollt mir in dem haust nicht bleiben*

113, 8 *Nun ich die bruch gewonnen han,*

Und auszihin bitten meinen man,

Der sitzt da unden vor dem hausz,

Ich wil gehn in die kuchen nausz &

In the concluding speech the first five lines are addressed to the actors and the place of action is, of course, the *setting* of the play, i.e., the house. The remaining lines are addressed to the spectators and therefore refer to the actual *place of performance*.

Still it cannot be overlooked that this play shows a decided advance over the rest of the plays of Group I. It has four scenes and the divisions occur at the proper places and the change in

scene is indicated by vacating the scene of action. Furthermore we have a direct parallel to this play in No. 37 (XIV, 262) which we assume was performed on a stage. And it cannot be denied that this play No. 14 could be performed to greater advantage on a stage equipped with more than one entrance. Finally we find the following:

IX, 114, 29 *Der Nachtpaur geht ab, spricht*
Alde, alde ich scheid mit wissen:
Der böss rausch hat mich auch nauß pissen,
Ich mein, ich hab sein auch entpfunden.
Er geht auss.

One is tempted to take these stage directions literally, interpreting *geht ab* to mean *er geht von der buhne ab*, and *er geht auss* as meaning that he left the scene of performance by some exit and went behind the stage.

Are we to assume now that this play though it has the *form* of the plays of Group I was intended nevertheless for performance on a stage like those of Group II? There is no direct evidence for this assumption. The fact that this play shows a decided advance in technique over the rest of the plays of Group I does not prove that it was intended for the stage, but merely that Hans Sachs advanced in his knowledge of technique in general. Furthermore, the fact that this play could be performed to better advantage on a stage does not prove that it was necessarily intended for performance there. And finally, as far as the stage directions given above are concerned, it is very probable that they are not to be taken in the sense stated above. We find a direct parallel to this in No. 43.

XVII, 143, 7 *Er geht ab. das muncket weib spricht:*
 14 *Der loss mann kehret umb und zuckt die faust und spricht:*
 19 *Er geht ab.*

The first *geht ab* clearly means *he begins to leave* and the last *he actually leaves*. In support of this compare:

XVII, 147, 7 *Sie Gent ab. Die mutter ret in gen*
 12 *Sie gent bayd ab.*

Moreover there is evidence that this play was not intended for the stage. We have seen that Hans Sachs differentiates very distinctly in *form* between the plays that were not intended for

the stage and those that were. In the first place, all the rest of the plays of Group I, even those written after 1550, were clearly not intended for a stage, while all those of Group II thus far discussed, were clearly intended for the stage. In the second place, the very fact that we have a direct parallel to this play in No. 37 shows that Hans Sachs differentiated consciously between the plays that were intended for the stage and those that were not. Finally, the fact that this play opens with *ein guten tag* (the only instance where this occurs—all the others have *guten abend*) proves that Hans Sachs had a definite occasion in mind.

We are now ready to consider the remaining plays of Group II, namely:

- 48) 1549 *Der Teuffel Mit Dem Kauffman und Den Alten Weibern* (XIV, 47).
- 49) 1550 *Der Nasen-Tantz* (XIV, 60)
- 50) 1550 *Von Joseph Unnd Melisso, Auch König Salomon* (XIV, 124)
- 51) 1551 *Zwischen Dem Gott Apoline und Dem Römer Fabio* (XIV, 139)
- 52) 1552 *Der Gestolen Pachen* (XIV, 220)
- 53) 1553 *Der Blind Messner &* (XVII, 183)
- 54) 1553 *Der Tyrann Dionisius Mit Damone &* (XIV, 251)
- 55) 1553 *Der Roszdieb Zu Fünsing &* (XVII, 97)
- 56) 1554 *Das Weynent Hündlein* (XVII, 112)
- 57) 1554 *Der Pfarrherr Mit Sein Ehbrecher-Bawren* (XVII, 156)
- 58) 1557 *Den Wucher und Ander Peschwerd Petreffent* (XXIII, 136)
- 59) 1559 *Der Doctor Mit Der Grossen Nasen* (XXI, 103)
- 60) 1559 *Der Verspill Reuter* (XXI, 76)
- 61) 1559 *Die Zwen Gfattern Mit Dem Zorn* (XXI, 91)
- 62) 1559 *Die Fünff Armen Wanderer* (IX, 12)

These plays require only one entrance and chronologically they range from 1549 to 1559. The question therefore arises whether Hans Sachs used this form for plays that were not intended for the stage, especially after 1551 when *form I* does not occur any more, or whether they were also intended for the stage.

We may safely say that the latter was the case. Some of these plays could be performed to greater advantage with more than one entrance or exit, and could therefore have been grouped with the plays in the preceding list. However, we have placed them here since they do not absolutely demand more than one entrance or exit and could be performed with but one. Furthermore, the fact that Hans Sachs differentiates consciously in *form* between the plays that were intended for the stage and those that were not in the years 1550–1551 when both forms occurred would lend support to this view. The fact that *form* I does not occur after 1551 does not prove that Hans Sachs now used *form* II for plays that were not intended for the stage, but that he now ceased writing plays for private performances and centered his interest on plays that were intended for the stage. A comparison between two parallel plays will probably show the difference: IX, 3, *Die Sechs Klagenden* and IX, 12 *Die Fünff Armen Wanderer*. Both of these plays are written in the so-called *revueform*. The first one was composed in 1535; the second one in 1559. As to dramatic technique they are both strongly epic in nature and therefore poor as plays. However, there is a difference in their technique: the first play clearly belongs to class one of Group I. It is spontaneous in nature. The second play clearly belongs to the plays of Group II and the opening speech is very much similar to No. 35 *Ewlenspiegel Mit Den Blinden* XIV, 288. The first play was clearly written to be performed under the same condition as the other plays of class one, Group I; the second play was clearly written to be performed under the same condition as the other plays of Group II.

It remains to say a word about the relation of the structure of these plays to their place of performance. *In general* these plays mark a decided advance over the plays of Group I in technique. There is a clear line of demarcation between the actors and the spectators, and all of them (except of course the transitional ones: Nos. 28, 29, 37, 44, 48, 49, 59) create a perfect theatrical illusion. Nevertheless it is clear that their structure was developed out of the structure of the plays of Group I. It required but a slight change in the introductory speech of *Der Bösz Rauch* IX, 108 to make it a soliloquy like that in *Das Weib Im Brunnen* IX, 96. Furthermore, the fact

that we find, in the transitional plays, remarks directed by the actors directly to the spectators, the same as in the plays of Group I, shows that Group II was closely related in technique to the plays of Group I.

Now to what are we to attribute this change of structure? Many reasons could be given. But this change in form is too abrupt and too simultaneous with the evidence we have for the performance of the Fastnachtspiele of Group II on the stage not to bring the two into connection with each other. Both of them fall in the year 1550. With the existence of a stage a clear line of demarcation was established between the actors and the spectators, as well as between the setting of the play and the place of performance. There was no need now (as in case of the plays of Group I) of getting the attention of the spectators with a loud "guten abend." They have come to the theater and are waiting for the performance to begin. The use of the *spontaneous* technique of the plays of class one of Group I was now self-evidently precluded and the *straddling* technique of the plays of class two of Group I was made unnecessary. The plays of Group II create a perfect theatrical illusion. Hence the structure of the plays of Group II must be attributed primarily to the fact that a stage was at Hans Sachs' disposal.¹⁷

Group III is the smallest of all the groups. It comprises only three plays:

63) 1552 *Von Der Unglückhaften Verschwatzten Bulschaft* XIV, 198

64) 1557 *Der Teuffel Nam Ein Alt Weib Zu Der Ehe* XXI, 17

65) 1557 *Der Neydhart Mit Dem Feyel* XVII, 198.

These three plays resemble the Tragedies and Comedies very much in structure. They open with a prologue and close with an epilogue. One of them (Neydhart) is even divided into acts.

¹⁷ It must be emphasized at this point that we do not claim that all of Hans Sachs' Fastnachtspiele were indeed performed. Hans Sachs himself says as we stated above that not all of his plays were performed. All we are trying to prove is that Hans Sachs, since he wrote all of his plays with the intention of having them performed, must have had some particular place or occasion in mind, where he intended to have them performed. As a consequence, we were constrained to conclude that all of the plays of Group II were intended to be performed on a stage.

That Hans Sachs did not intend them to be Tragedies or Comedies, however, is seen from the fact that he does not have the *herold* speak the prologue and the epilogue. In the first of these plays, the superscription merely reads *Prologus Spricht*, and the epilogue is spoken by one of the characters. In the second, the prologue and the epilogue are each spoken by one of the characters. In the last, the prologue and the epilogue are spoken by the *Narr*. And if we examine these plays carefully we see that they differ in *tone* from the Tragedies and Comedies. The Tragedies and Comedies are *serious, refined and not popular* (not *volkstümlich*). The three plays in question here are all *volkstümlich* in tone, and the second and third are humorous and the last vulgar besides. Hence it is quite clear that they were intended to be Fastnachtspiele.

The relation of the structure of these plays to their place of performance shall be discussed below. That they were intended to be performed on a stage we shall simply assert for the time being.

Thus far we have established that the plays of Group I were not intended to be performed on a stage, and that the plays of Group II were, while in the case of the plays of Group III we have merely assumed that they were. It now remains to determine whether the plays of Group II and those of Group III, if indeed they were intended for the stage, were meant to be performed on the Meistersingerbühne or not.

Critics entertain divergent views here. Koester (see above) seems to think that all of them or at least some of them, were. Herrmann (see above) says that they were not. Peltzer has the view (p. 11-12) that none of the Fastnachtspiele were composed on a large enough scale to fill the stage, and that the characters were too few in number, and that therefore none of them could have been performed on the Meistersingerbühne. *Neydhart*, indeed, he does not believe to have been intended for presentation at all on account of its vulgar content. A. Glock¹⁸ has the following to say: "Die Stätte der grösseren Dramen konnte nicht ihre (i.e., Fastnachtspiele) sein, da der strenge Zensur übende Rat die wenigsten hätte passieren lassen. Hat er ja doch 1551 die Aufführung vom 'Abt im Wildbad,' gewiss

¹⁸ A. Glock *Die Bühne des Hans Sachs* Passau 1903 (Diss).

einem der harmlosesten untersagt. Auch konnten sie nicht mehr, wie früher, im Herumziehen gegeben werden, da seit mindestens 1552 auch hierfür die Erlaubnis des Rates unbedingt einzuholen gewesen wäre. Als Ort für ihre Darstellung müssen demnach wohl ganz intime Veranstaltungen, etwa die 'Bursen' der Zünfte oder den 'Zechen' ähnliche gefordert werden. Doch mehr als ein Wahrscheinlichkeitsbeweis lässt sich für deren Verwendung nicht erbringen. Die älteren Fastnachtspiele dagegen enthalten unzweideutige Hinweise auf die Wiedergabe in Wirts- und Privathaus, sowohl in Texten als auch in Bühnenanweisungen. Und selbst der Umstand, dass in den meisten früheren Spielen das Wirtshaus als 'Ort der Handlung' erscheint mag hier ins Gewicht fallen, besonders wenn man die Stücke des Hans Sachs mit seinen Vorbildern, wie sie ein Rosenpluet und ein Folz verfasste, in Vergleich bringt. Seit den fünfziger Jahren aber verschwinden alle derartigen Anspielungen und es fehlen somit Anhaltspunkte für die Kenntnis des Aufführungsortes von Fastnachtspielen."

From what has been said here and in the introduction of this paper, it is clear that critics are far from agreeing where Hans Sachs' Fastnachtspiele were performed. It is necessary therefore for us to proceed independently and to draw our own conclusions.

The first thing to do, of course, would be to consult the *protokolle*. But unfortunately these leave us in the lurch. They are too meager and too indefinite. They use the term *spiel* to mean any play, or in contrast to Comedy in the sense of Tragedy or vice versa. They do not even make it clear whether the *council* had jurisdiction over all the plays that were given in the city or only over those that were performed on the Meistersingerbühne.

As a consequence, we are dependent for our information primarily upon the evidence within the plays themselves. And we shall now proceed to a consideration of the plays of Group III.

Peltzer's objection that the Fastnachtspiele were not composed on a large enough scale to fill the stage and that they did not employ enough characters, to be presented on the Meistersingerbühne can easily be met by referring to the Comedy *Der Mephisboset* (IX, 308). This comedy is only ten pages long and

is certainly not composed on a larger scale than the three plays in question here and it requires only four characters.

If we examine the Tragedies and Comedies of Hans Sachs which by common agreement among the critics were all intended to be performed on the Meistersingerbühne, we find that they are *formal* in structure and that their general *tone* is *serious, refined and not popular* (volkstümlich). They fit in very well with the *pseudo-classical* tradition established in the churches by the Meistersinger-contests conducted there. The Meisterlieder recited on these occasions by the Meistersinger were also *formal* in structure and *serious, refined and not popular* in tone. And the Tragedies and Comedies show that they are a direct offspring of the *Geistliche Spiele* of the middle ages, and the Latin Tragedies and Comedies, all of which have a prologue and an epilogue.

Now we have seen above that the *formal structure* of a play is a very safe criterion for determining the place of its performance, and in this respect the three plays in question conform strictly with the Tragedies and Comedies. They have the same kind of a Prologue and Epilogue. As to *tone* No. 63 is serious, refined and not popular; No. 64 is humorous (burlesque), less refined, and rather popular; No. 65 is humorous (burlesque), vulgar and popular.

Thus No. 63 would conform with the standards of the plays performed on the Meistersingerbühne in Form and Tone. Nos. 64 and 65 while meeting the Formal requirements, do not measure up to the standards of Tone. However, this fact would not necessarily disqualify the last two plays for performance on the Meistersingerbühne, since the Council did not concern itself with esthetic or artistic questions but with civic questions, questions which concerned public peace and welfare. Hence there is nothing that would indicate that these three plays could not have been performed on the Meistersingerbühne.

In addition to the matter of form, there is still another fact which would seem to indicate that these plays were indeed performed on the Meistersingerbühne. Herrmann and Koester both point out that the *door* as requisite occurs with increasing frequency after 1556 in the Tragedies and Comedies. (Koester, p. 73.) In the Fastnachtspiele of Group II we have seen above that the *door* is used as early as 1550. Now, in the first play

mentioned above, *Von Der Unglückhaften Verschwatzten Ehe*, we find an inside and an outside scene on p. 208, but the *door* is *not* used. The stage directions read:

208 9 *Hans Klopft mit dem fuss auff die erdt.*

Hence it would seem that this play (and as a consequence the other two also) was not intended to be performed on the same stage as the plays of Group II. The most logical one to assume for them is the Meistersingerbühne.

The question now arises: Where were the plays of Group II performed? Is it possible that they were intended to be performed on the Meistersingerbühne? In order to answer this question we must compare the stage reconstructed by us above and the ones reconstructed by Hermann and Koester.

The difference between the stage reconstructed by Koester and the one reconstructed by us is apparent. His stage is two meters high and has ten steps leading up to the stage. (p. 69.) Doors were erected half way up the stairs. (p. 73.) "Auf halber Höhe der beiden Treppen T and U waren nun an der Stelle, wo sie in das Podium einmünden, sehr leicht ein paar Türen mit Torbogen einzusetzen, wie dergleichen in den Spielen des Hans Sachs seit 1556 oft gebraucht werden."

The stage reconstructed by Herrmann agrees with ours. His stage is one meter high and in his illustration p. 56 he has three steps leading up to it. This agrees with our stage. The location of his portable door however is different, but this is of no particular consequence, since the position of it could be changed to meet the demands of the individual plays. He located the *window* in the door.

Let us put this to the test by analyzing one of the Fastnachtspiele of Group II. We choose the play *Das Wildbad* (XXI, 3) which we know from the *Protokolle* was actually performed on a stage. Under date of Jan. 19, 1551, the following record is found:

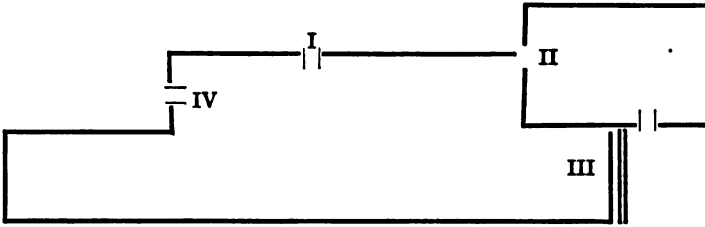
Hans Sachsen auf die beschehen erkundigung sein spil vom abt und ainem edelman, der in gefangen, weils daussen allerlai nachred gepern und den herrn zu nachtail kumen möcht, weiter zi treiben mit guten worten ablainen.

Sci. 1 (P3 ff.)

Edelman and Knechte enter at III—P. 3, l. 1 (C f 8, 12 *Keht umb*)

P. 6, 6 *Neben der strass thut euch verstecken* (Edelman and one Knecht retire towards I)

- P. 6, 12 *Da steh ich auff der hinder-burg*
Dasz er uns nicht entrinn zu-rück. (Wursthans stations himself near II)
- P. 6, 17 Abt and Knecht enter at III.
 (8, 12 *Kehrt umb ir müst mit mir alldo*
Heimsfaren jetzt auff mein berghauss.
 *6, 12 *Der weg ist tief* & might refer to steps.
- P. 9, 17 Exit all at III.



Why did Hans Sachs employ this technique of *Kehrt umb*? The Abt must have passed the castle of the Edelman on his way to the place where the Edelman was lying in lurk for him. From a military point of view, the proper thing for the Edelman would have been to have another detachment of men stationed at his castle to cut off the retreat of the Abt. Hans Sachs did not think of this, however, for he says p. 6, 13 *Dasz er uns nicht entrinn zu-rück*. Hence there must have been some technical reason for it. The probability is that there were no steps leading off the stage at the opposite side; or even if there were, there was no proper place to which the actors could retire. Thus the simplest device was to have them make their exit at III and retire to the vestry.

- Sc. 2 P. 9, 18 Edelman and Wursthans enter at I.
 Edelman exit at II (*in die thurnitz*—) near the highway
 Wursthans exit at IV (to the Abt).
- Sc. 3 Enter and exit Heintz at IV, P. 10, 6–19.
- Sc. 4 Wursthans and Schrammfritz enter at I, P. 10, 20.
 Edelman enter at II (from *thurnitz*—, P. 11, 23.
 Edelman exit at II.
 Wursthans and Schrammfritz exit at III (to highway)
- Sc. 5 Enter Edelman at II, P. 12, 12.
 Enter Heintz at IV, P. 12, 21.
 Enter Wursthans and Schrammfritz at III, P. 13, 21.
 Enter Heintz and Abt at IVP 13, 28.
 Exit Heintz at III *nab in stal* (P. 14, 28).
 Exit Edelman and Abt at I (*in saal*, P. 14, 26).

Enter Edelman at I.

Exit Wursthans and Schrammfritz at II.

Exit Edelmänn at I.¹⁹

The analysis of this play, especially if our interpretation of XXI, 8, 12 *Kehrt umb* is correct, would seem to indicate that Hans Sachs had the very stage reconstructed by Herrmann in mind for this play. Still we must be cautious and not infer from the fact that this play could be performed on the Meistersingerbühne, that it and all the rest of the plays of Group II were indeed intended to be performed on this stage. We must weigh our evidence.

On the one hand we know that *Das Wildbad* was actually performed on a stage (*Protokolle*). Furthermore, this play and all the rest of the plays of Group II could be performed on the Meistersingerbühne as reconstructed by Herrmann. Finally, it is clear from the *Protokolle* that the Council did not object to the *form* of a play but merely to the content. Hence it would not be impossible that these plays were intended by Hans Sachs for performance on the Meistersingerbühne.

On the other hand there seems to be evidence that these plays were not intended for the Meistersingerbühne. In the first place we have no evidence that *Das Wildbad* was actually performed on this stage. From the *Protokolle* it would seem that the Council had direct jurisdiction only over those plays that were given before the public at large: either before the Rathaus (*Prot.* 1517) or in one of the public buildings (*Prot.* Jan. 25, 1557). Other plays seem to have been given without first getting the approval of the Council. In the case of these the Council took action only after it had informed itself of the content of the plays or after complaint had been made. (*Prot.* Jan. 25, 1552.) The *Wildbad* seems to belong to the latter class, for it was being performed (The *Prot.* reads *weiter zi treiben*) and the Council does not forbid the performance of it outright but merely advises against its further performance (*mit guten worten ablainen*). Hence *Das Wildbad* was probably given on another stage, which may, however, have been very much like the Meistersingerbühne in structure.

¹⁹ We do not, of course, claim that all of the entrances and exits were made at the identical places indicated in our analysis. We merely wanted to show that the play could be performed on Herrmann's stage.

Furthermore, we have seen that the *form* of a play is a very good criterion for determining the place of its performance. The year 1550 marks a turning point in the technique of Hans Sachs' Fastnachtspiele. The first plays of Group II were written in this year and we have shown above that they were intended to be performed on a stage. Now suppose Hans Sachs had decided in the year 1550 to write Fastnachtspiele for the Meistersingerbühne. Which would have been the most natural course for him to pursue: to conform with the established tradition of the Meistersingerbühne and convert the informal address of the Fastnachtspiele into a formal prologue and epilogue (which by the way would have been a very simple matter); or to strike out in a new direction and drop the informal address and develop the Fastnachtspiele along its own lines? Certainly the former. The fact, however, that he did not do so, but pursued the latter course, would seem to show that there must have been some other stage available to him on which the Fastnachtspiele could be developed freely and unhampered by tradition.

Further evidence that there must have been another stage available to Hans Sachs is the fact that he continued to write Fastnachtspiele which were of even more objectionable content than *Das Wildbad* to the Council. If he had intended them for performance on the Meistersingerbühne he would have had to submit them to the Council first and there would have been no prospect of having them performed. On a private stage, however, he could hope to have them performed at least until complaint had been raised against them or until the Council took action.

Finally, we have a piece of concrete evidence that there must have been a different stage for the Fastnachtspiele of Group II, and that is the *door*. We have said above that the *door* as requisite was not used on the Meistersingerbühne until 1556. In the Fastnachtspiele of Group II we have found, however, that it was used as early as 1550.

Hence all this cumulative evidence would seem to indicate that there was a separate stage available to Hans Sachs for his Fastnachtspiele of Group II.

We have intimated above that this stage was erected in 1550. It remains now to determine this date definitely. In the first

place we have no evidence that this stage was in existence before 1550. In fact all the Fastnachtspiele that were written before this time show clearly that they were not performed on a stage at all. In the second place the *form* of the plays of Group II was used for the first time in 1550 and the very first ones of these plays give evidence that they were intended for a stage that was equipped with a *door* and a *window*. Finally, the little play, *Der Teuffel Mit Dem Kauffmann Und Den Alten Weibern* (XIV, 47), would seem to indicate that this stage was used for the first time in 1550. This play resembles the plays of Group II in every respect with the exception of the conclusion which runs as follows:

XIV, 58, 20 *Mit euch fahr alles unglück auss
Und kumb nit mehr in dieses haus!*

*Ir erbern herrn und zuchling frawen
Und all, so hie dem spiel zuschawen,
Auch bit wer den herrn sambt den gesten,
Uns auff zu nemen in dem besten
Unser kurtzweil und fastnachtspiel &&.*

If this play concluded with the word *hausz*, it would belong strictly to the plays of Group II. However, a concluding speech is added like that of the plays of Group I. This play was written in Nov. 1549, and was, therefore, probably intended to be performed in the following year. It is not known, as far as I can ascertain, whom this *herrn sambt den gesten* refers to. But the temptation lies near to assume that Hans Sachs wrote this play in anticipation of the dedication of this stage and that the gentlemen in question are the Burgermaster and some of the city fathers. If this assumption is correct, then this stage was erected or used for the first time in 1550.

We shall not attempt to state where this stage was located. However, the fact that we meet with such frequent references to *wein*, would suggest that it was not too remotely removed from some inn.

XIV, 54, 20 *Kumb wir wollen zum süssen wein* (1549).

XIV, 68, 14 *Er wirt uns führen allesander*

Ins wirtshausz zu dem kulen wein & (1550).

(Compare also 68, 7 *Mit urlab vor den wirt und gesten*)

IX, 65, 7 *Nun wöll wir ins wirtshausz zum wein* (1551).

- XIV, 331, 31 *Drumb wöl wir weiber weibr lasn sein
Und mit einander gehn zum wein (1554).*
 XVII, 163, 8 *Zsamb komb wir darnach im wirtshauss,
Da kosen wir weiter darausz (1554).*
 168, 27 *Ey nicks, mein herr, last es gut sein!
Wir wölln euch fuhren zu dem wein.*
 169, 12 *Nun weyl ihr mich zum wein thut laden &
XXI, 102, 7 Nun kommet beid mit mir zum wein.*

Furthermore the *straddling* use of *unden* and *nieder* and *nab* in some of the plays would seem to suggest that the stage was located upstairs somewhere. However, we do not wish to enter into an investigation of the exact location of this stage.

In conclusion we would say that in the present investigation we have tried to show the relation between the structure of Hans Sachs' Fastnachtspiele and their place of performance. Accordingly, we have divided them into three groups. The plays of the first group open and close with an informal speech. The plays of the second group open and close with a dialogue or a soliloquy. This form was clearly developed from the plays of Group I. The plays of the last group open with a formal prologue and close with a formal epilogue, just as the Tragedies and the Comedies.

The plays of the first group were with few exceptions written before 1550 and were not intended to be performed on a stage. The plays of Group II were all written after 1550 (*Der Teuffel Nam Ein Alt Weib* &—1549!) and were intended to be performed on some private stage. The plays of Group III were probably intended to be performed on the Meistersingerbühne.

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ERASMUS ROTERODAMUS IN HIS RELATION TO LUTHER AND MELANCHTHON

Erasmus, Luther, Melanchthon! It will be difficult to think of three men more different in character than the aristocratic Erasmus, the King of the Humanists, the gentle and unassuming Melanchthon, the Praeceptor Germaniae, and the fearless Martin Luther, the great German Reformer. While we admire Luther and love Melanchthon, we feel irritated by Erasmus, for he disappoints us again and again. He was a scholar no doubt, but he seems to lack everything that is manly in man; he is not a man of character, and that may explain why his greatest admirers turn away from him, first Ulrich von Hutten, then Luther, and finally even Melanchthon. His latest biographer, J. Huizinga, in his book on Erasmus in the series, *Great Hollanders*, edited by E. Bok, in the chapter on Erasmus' character expresses himself in this way about his hero and it expresses my own estimate of Erasmus so well that I will quote it: "His character was not on a level with the elevation of his mind. Erasmus' powerful mind met with a great response in the heart of his contemporaries, but one of the heroes of history he cannot be called."¹

Luther's life has been ably written by Koestlin. Ellinger has just published a new biography of Melanchthon; a complete and satisfactory life of Erasmus however still remains to be written, even after the appearance of Preserved Smith's book on Erasmus, 1923. It is not an easy task, for his life is full of strange incongruities. "At every stage of the study of Erasmus, says Emerton, one has to ask first what he believed himself to be doing, then, what he wishes others to believe he was doing,

¹ While this article was being printed there appeared a new life of Erasmus by Joseph Mangan under the title: *The Life, Character and Influence of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam*, in two volumes, published by the Mac-Millan Company. Mangan supports the traditional judgment of Erasmus by both Catholic and Protestant historians: "A great scholar but a weak character." Compare; however, W. K. Ferguson's review of the book in the *Nation*, of August 10, 1927. This critic does not agree with Mr. Mangan and thinks that he is very evidently biased against Erasmus. I have not had a chance to study Mangan's new life of Erasmus and must withhold my judgment.

then what others did think he was doing, and finally what the man *was* actually doing. And besides, the biographer of Erasmus will have to be a thorough student of the classic literatures, a theologian familiar with every form of Christian speculation, a historian, to whom the complicated movement of the Reformation is altogether intelligible, an educator, a moralist, and a man of humor. Only to such a person could the writing of this life be a wholly congenial task."

The subject has been approached by different writers from all the points of view indicated, after Emerton by Preserved Smith in 1923 and J. Huizinga in 1924, but no biography has yet shown the whole range or value of Erasmus' varied activities. This paper is not the announcement of a new life of Erasmus. It is limited to Erasmus in his relations to Luther and Melanchthon as shown by their letters to each other and to their friends.

At a time when Erasmus was already ruling supreme as the recognized king of the humanists, both Luther and Melanchthon were hardly known to the world. When Luther wrote his first letter to Erasmus in 1519 he was 36 years of age, Melanchthon only 22, while Erasmus was 52, if not 53 years old. Through his former attitude Erasmus was looked upon as an advocate of Reform. He had severely criticized existing conditions in church and state and no doubt Luther was hoping that this great scholar might join hands with him in a common cause.

This first letter of Luther's is full of respect for the great master whom he has worshipped so long in silence. Who is there, he is asking, whose inmost being is not filled by Erasmus? Who is not being taught by Erasmus? In whom does not Erasmus reign? But here am I, clumsy fellow, approaching you thus familiarly with unwashed hands and without formal phrases of reverence and honor, as one unknown person might address another. I beg you by your kind nature, lay this to the account of my affection or my inexperience. In truth, I, whose life has been passed among the schoolmen, have not so much as learned how to address a truly learned man by letter. Otherwise, how I would have wearied you already with epistles! I would not have suffered you alone to speak to me all this time in my study.

Now, since I have learned from Fabricius Capito that my name is known to you, I am compelled to acknowledge, even though in barbarous style, your noble spirit, which enriches me and all men.—And so, my dear and amiable Erasmus, if you shall see fit, recognize this younger brother in Christ, indeed a most devoted admirer of yours, but worthy in his ignorance, only to be buried in his corner and to be unknown to the same sky and sun with you. . . .

Erasmus' answer to this letter which he sent to Luther in May 1519, two months later, is characteristic of the whole man. It was a most polite reply. He tells Luther that his letter was most acceptable. He also speaks about the excitement that Luther's works have created at Louvain, and that everybody thinks that he himself, Erasmus, has written them, and that he is the standard-bearer of this faction as they call it.—“I have said, he writes, that you were totally unknown to me, that I had not yet read your books, and therefore that I neither approved nor disapproved anything in them. I only advised them not to keep bawling out so hatefully to the people about your books, which they had not yet read, but to await the judgment of those whose opinion ought to have most weight.”

And then he adds: “But I keep myself, so far as I can, *integrum* (one is tempted to translate it by: uncompromised) in order that I may the better serve the *reviving cause of letters*.” And this seems to be the keynote of the whole letter, stating the reason why he does not care to be mixed up in this fight of the theologians, as Erasmus saw it. *The revival of letters first and last*. Furthermore, he talks in this letter to Luther a great deal about moderation and gentleness. “We ought to keep an even temper, lest it be spoiled by anger, hatred, or *vainglory*; for in the very midst of a zeal for religion these things are apt to be lying in wait for us. I am not urging you to do all this, but just to keep on as you are doing.” And to point out that Luther's contributions to scholarship do concern him more than anything else, Erasmus concludes: “I have glanced over your commentaries on the Psalms. They appeal to me greatly and I hope they will be of great value. . . .”

This letter of Erasmus must have had a rather disheartening effect upon Luther who no doubt had been looking for something entirely different. Instead of bread, Erasmus offered him a stone.

Friends of Luther interpreted it to the best advantage of the cause that they were advocating. A letter that Luther addressed to Erasmus in the following year (1520) would no doubt be interesting reading; it is lost, however. During the following years silence reigns on both sides. Luther is kept busy by his opponents, Eck, Emser, Murner and King Henry VIII of England. Referring to the controversy between Luther and the King of England it may be of interest to know that Murner, who did not only translate into German Luther's *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae*, in order to show the dangerous teachings of the Wittenberg monk, also translated the defense of Henry VIII of England, the *Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum*. This translation was published by Grieninger of Strassburg in 1522; however, in order to add weight to the book, Murner gives at the end of it two letters of Erasmus in a German translation. One of the letters is addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury (1521), Lord Warham, the other to Lord Mountjoy. We cannot dwell here at length on this controversy between Luther, King Henry, and Murner, which was kept up until 1527. The letters of Erasmus show plainly where he stands and should have opened the eyes of any one who was still doubtful about his attitude towards the Reform.

No doubt Erasmus meant to be an onlooker in this strife, but he was forced into it against his will. In 1523 he was very severely attacked by Ulrich von Hutten in his "*Expostulatio Hutteni*." Up to this time Erasmus had been advising everybody to keep cool and to conduct the controversy in a dignified way. But in his reply to Hutten's attack, "*Spongia Erasmi*," he does by no means live up to his preachings, he does not control his language any better than his opponent.

No letters are exchanged between Luther and Erasmus from 1520 up to 1524. How Luther and Melanchthon felt towards Erasmus we can only judge from their letters to their friends. Melanchthon was too gentle a nature to provoke any one, especially a man whose learning and scholarship had gained for him universal admiration. Luther had made up his mind, as we see from his letters, not to attack Erasmus if he would not publicly attack him. This is plainly shown by a letter, written in Latin originally, in 1522, but published in German in the

following year together with a German translation of Melancthon's *Judicium de Erasmo* and a letter of Luther to Capito in Strassburg. These letters are most significant, the one by Melancthon to an unknown friend especially. It is to my mind one of the most precise comparisons between Luther and Erasmus, Luther the exponent of *Fides* and *Charitas*, Erasmus may have *Charitas*, but he has not *Fides* and on that account he is classed by Melancthon with the ancient philosophers although he surpasses them in Philip's estimation.

After a silence of several years Luther writes again to Erasmus in April, 1524. The tone of the letter is entirely different from the one in 1519; he tries to dissuade him from publishing anything against him. At this time Erasmus was already working on his book on the Free Will, which he issued in September, 1524, to satisfy his friends of the old Faith and their demands for an attack upon the Reformer. Erasmus replied to Luther's letter in May, 1524, resenting the offending tone of Luther's epistle. In December, 1525, Luther published his "The Servitude of the Will."

Once more they exchange letters in 1526. Luther's letter to Erasmus is lost; we have only the answer to this letter by Erasmus of 1526. This letter shows plainly that the break had become irreparable.

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EARLY AMERICAN TRAVELERS TO ENGLAND

The history of the political relations between Great Britain and the United States is constantly being rewritten, but the general reciprocal attitudes of Englishmen and Americans have been but little dealt with; and the even more fascinating aspects of the impact of Americans upon things English have never until now been adequately treated. This form of social history Robert E. Spiller attempts in his book, *The American in England*,¹ and his treatment of his subject is both unique and revealing.

Of the Englishman in America books have been written before. As early as 1864 there was Tuckerman's *America and Her Commentators*, and a few years ago appeared *The English Traveler in America, 1785-1835* by J. L. Mesick, in which the views of English visitors regarding American life and character are interestingly summarized.² This critical attention is indicative of the general public interest throughout the nineteenth century in what Englishmen have had to say about our national manners and institutions, an interest focused on numerous travel-books from Captain Hall and Mrs. Trollope down to the recent sketches of Rebecca West. It is somewhat surprising, in the light of this concern, that the corresponding phase of American comment on things English has not before now challenged the attention of students of American history and literature.

In his attempt to give a picture of the impressions of these travelers until 1835 Spiller has supplied a companion piece to the work of Mesick and made a significant contribution to the

¹ Robert E. Spiller, *The American In England During the First Half Century of Independence*, New York, 1926. Henry Holt and Company.

² Tuckerman not only reviews and correlates more than fifty volumes of English travelers but goes on to summarize the current English abuse of America and to analyze the causes for such alienation. Works of similar character were made available in 1904-07 with the appearance of the thirty-two volumes of Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, a series of annotated reprints of Travels six of them English in origin. Since this work appeared there have been three other treatments of the subject: J. G. Brook, *As Others See Us* (1908); Lane Cooper, "Early Travelers," in *Cambridge History of American Literature, Book II*; Allan Nevins, *American Social History as Recorded by British Travelers* (1923).

study of Anglo-American relations. But by no means the least valuable part of his study, however, is the first-hand bibliography of Americans in England, compiled from obscure extant sources. Further students of the period, especially of literary relationships, will find his list of travel-books a great convenience, for the absence of such convenient reference has embarrassed more than one worker in the field. The bibliography of American Travelers to England is fairly complete, though there are five or six other titles that warrant inclusion. There is the *Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain*, by Louis Simond, a Frenchman who by a residence of twenty years in the United States merits inclusion in a study of this character, especially after his avowal that the journal was written with American readers specifically in mind, a bias which the prompt notice in the *North American Review* recognizes. Then there is the *Life of Joseph Green Cogswell, as Sketched in his Letters*,³ which warrants inclusion by virtue of Cogswell's visit to England in 1819, besides the adventitious interest in the man responsible for the founding of Astor Library. There should be included also the name of Sumner Lincoln Fairfield, an aspiring American poet who sailed to England in December 1825 and there found inspiration and encouragement for a literary career. The joy that he felt upon his first London literary success was intensified by conversation with Wordsworth and Campbell whom he sought out. Traces of his reverence for England may be found in his *Westminster Abbey* (composed while residing at Versailles). His impressions of English institutions he contributed in a series of letters to the *New York Literary Gazette*, edited by James G. Brooks.⁴

Of other illustrious names one misses from the bibliographical list only that of Hugh Swinton Legaré, one of the most accomplished of Southern Gentlemen before the Civil War, who spent his student days at the University of Edinburgh, and who left some record of the interests he felt in England and Scotland in his *Writings*, Charleston, 1845.⁵ Names of other

³ Cambridge, 1874.

⁴ See also biographical notes in *The Life of S. L. Fairfield* by Jane Fairfield. New York, 1844.

⁵ See especially his essays on Lord Byron; also, W. C. Preston, *Eulogy of Hugh Swinton Legaré*, Charleston, 1843.

distinguished men are missing from the list of recording travelers but only because of their belated tours or the unexpansive character of their impressions. One of the disheartening aspects of a research of this character is the large number of noted men who left scanty records of their English impressions before 1835. Poe, Bancroft, Holmes, Drake, and Halleck were there but almost silent about things of interest. Bryant, Fay, James, and Tuckerman made the tour but like Longfellow confined their early travel books to the continent. The same was true of Theodore Lyman, whose volume of travel in Italy was one of the outstanding prose contributions of the period. And as for Alexander Everett, Robert Coffin, Gulian C. Verplanck, John Pierpont, Charles Williams, all of whom sojourned for a time in England, there are no English journals and no extended biographical notice.

Physical difficulties, always formidable to the investigator, are sometimes increased by the non-publication of much that might contain valuable copy. Manuscript material thus difficult of access I may indicate in the case of Caleb Cushing, one time attorney general, statesman and diplomatic counsellor for nearly a quarter of a century, whose papers are still largely in the possession of the family. Towards things English he maintained an aggressive Americanism, a kind of "obstinacy which kept him from admitting that any good could come out of Albion." His views on this subject, intensified during his visit to England, beginning on May 2, 1830, and continuing throughout that summer, are fully described in "The Note Books of My Travels in Europe," the English section of which is still unpublished.

The bibliographical value of Spiller's work, abundant as it is in titles of rare volumes, might have been even more serviceable had fuller references to the periodical sources been indicated. It is true that many of these were later collected in book form, but there are comparable accounts in old periodicals, now hopelessly scattered but not altogether valueless in a study of this character. *The New York Observer* is rich in such forgotten letters, there appearing a series from Europe in 1831 prior to those of J. Codman, indicated by Spiller, and thereafter a variety of foreign communications, of which might be instanced the European travels of George B. Cheever in the

numbers for 1837. There appeared two series of English letters in the *New England Galaxy* for 1827 and eight years later a reprint of Brook's *Letters* originally contributed to the *Portland Advertiser*. The *New York Mirror* for 1835 recounted certain English reminiscences of John Inman, brother of Henry Inman, an artist of the coterie of Leslie and Newton. The *American Monthly Magazine*, in an early number of 1833, included a first hand description of the Scottish border; and the *Select Journal*, in an article on the death of Walter Scott, drew upon the experiences of Andrews Norton on his Scottish tour. The Episcopal Watchman (Hartford) (1824) published the journal of a churchman under the title of *Notes of a Traveler in England*. Equal in length and pertinancy are the *Observations of an American in England* (c. 1825) constituting sections from a journal sufficient in length to fill a stout volume had the author seen fit to republish it. This travel piece was contributed to the eighth volume of the *Christian Spectator*. But these references are merely indicative of the tendency on the part of the average American literary or religious journal to cater to the demand for travel sketches, a type of journalistic adventuring which Spiller describes in his last chapter.

For convenience in reference the bibliography is arranged in alphabetical order, and thus gives the reader little idea of the steady increase of travel to England after 1814. Perhaps it is impossible thus late in the day to form an estimate of the amount of this travel, for records are few. It is obvious from the author's account of the establishment of regular packet service about 1816 that the amount of travel prior to this date could not have been very great, especially as compared with the thousands who went to England in the years that followed. And though the author ventures no estimate of such travel, it is possible to find testimonies of its increase. If one may judge by the published accounts, this became marked about 1825. In the *Memoir* of Tuthill, wherein a trip to England is described, it is noted that "the incidents of the voyage comprised nothing particularly worthy of detail, especially since the crossing of the Atlantic has become so common." In the same year, N. S. Wheaton hinted that voyages to Europe had become so frequent and "performed with so much celerity in the regular packets" that a journal of occurrences could arouse no interest

not excited by private friendship. By 1835, the date adopted for a limit in the work under consideration, the reckless passion for going abroad had reached the pivotal point where it swung to the detriment of America; at least so thought Orville Dewey, who felt impelled to raise his voice against it. Indeed, a research into the biographies of the time, as this volume offers, clearly indicates a swell in passenger traffic after the War of 1812 and points to widespread commercial and cultural contact with the Old World.

Thus early in the nineteenth century, if not before, began that restlessness of Americans which displays itself in love of travel; and though early passages were undertaken with difficulties as tested by modern standards, to the American of those decades facilities for travel to Europe seemed rapid, reliable and comfortable withal. "For all purposes of civilization," once declared George Eggleston, "remoteness is properly measured, not by miles, but by difficulty of travel and intercourse." In harmony with this sentiment, there is ample evidence that soon after the turn of the century England was hailed as a region of venerable ruins which it was now possible to make the objective of summer tours. Thus out of these American regions of "myth and practicality" there poured into the better lighted sections of the world a steady and increasing stream of ardently curious travelers.

To an analysis of the causes for this new travel urge the author has devoted no separate section of the work, but even a cursory glance at the table of contents indicates that his classification has been made exclusively on the basis of motives, for here are to be found chapters on Students, Artists, Envoys, Practical Tourists, Philanthropic Travelers, Journalist Adventurers, and Literary Wanderers.⁶ Thus it is apparent that an analysis of motives for travel is the outstanding object of his research. And while the approach to this object is mostly

⁶ In summing up the varied outlook the author remarks:

"The philanthropically inclined were interested in religion and social conditions, the commercial travelers sought out the ugliest and most industrious quarters of the Island, the Diplomats were forced into society whether they would or not, and the literary men were interested in literary characters, but all alike, when they had spare time for travel, sought out the places of natural beauty and antique sentiment, and all alike were the victims of guide books, stereotyped raptures, and guides."

indirect, yet factors stimulating transatlantic voyages are singled out: the fact of English stock; the large number of English born residing in America; American literary dependence on England, from which there resulted an interest in literary personages and shrines⁷; and practical instruction, the urge of a younger civilization to learn from an older, especially one in which material progress was marked.

There was a great diversity, of course, in the motives which lured Americans to England. Some, like Silliman, possessed an almost exclusive concern with things of intellectual interest, and held themselves steadily to them. Others, like John Quincey Adams, were playing the precarious and sensational role of American representatives at the British Court, democrats coping with pretentious ceremonies in an aristocratic Court. American art of the time was established on a British basis, and thus around masters like Benjamin West there was attracted a group of American artists. There were philanthropic visitors, touring to keep in touch with their own religious establishments, for apostolic consecration, or to raise endowment funds for struggling religious or educational institutions. Pioneer agents and students of material progress there were, too, sedulously devoted to mercantile concerns, or to practical observation of industrial and benevolent establishments. There were those, on the contrary, like Irving and Willis, or Bayard Taylor after them, who traveled in England for the sake of travel alone, and who succeeded in maintaining the utterly detached attitude requisite in those who have submerged more material aims to this dilettante course. Most potent of all motives, for even the most serious of industrial tourists were not without interest in the beauty of the land and the gaiety of its life, was the longing for a romantic order—the interest in antiquity. Green, for example, testifies:

I here first distinctly realized what is meant by ivied walls, dilapidated towers, stones discolored and grey with time, and mouldering ruins exposed for ages to the weather.

Even more romantically Dewey answers the query "What is

⁷ One of the distinctive features of the volume is the glimpse it gives us of the English literary horizon. Thus there are sunny descriptions of Scott's hospitality, sympathetic glimpses of the cosmopolitan spirit of Southey and Campbell, records of charming breakfasts at the poet Rogers. But the author has made his own synthesis of the material in *Studies in Philology*, XXIII, 1-15.

the charm about this old world?" by declaring: "If I wished to generalize the answer, I should say, *it is antiquity*—antiquity in its castles, its towns, its cathedrals."

The romantic sensibility instinct in this utterance is representative of that voiced by more than one American traveler, for the dynamic urge for antiquity was only partly satisfied in nineteenth century America. In the Indian our forefathers saw, it is true, the representative of human antiquity, a pathetic remnant of a vanishing people, but they sought grander evidences of antiquity, a longing which no mere imaginative presentment could satisfy. They hungered for splendors more fancy-stirring than Fanuel or Carpenter's Hall or the weather-beaten slabs of a New England hillside recording the span of life of other generations. For the satisfaction of these cravings it was only natural that the American should look eastward to a land teeming with people closely related to him, to regions whence even the beauties of his own drawing room and library had been imported, and to places made sacred by the lines and lives of those since canonized as literary saints. There was a kind of romantic nostalgia, which one traveler quoted clearly voiced:

England to the American is not foreign; it is only the land of his ancestry; the institutions, the virtue, and the piety which have made his country were transplanted from this soil. Landing upon these shores, he comes to salute that which it would be unnatural to esteem—not to revere. He cannot feel that he is abroad; he is at home.

While not all Americans were so romantically inclined, nor so intensely moved by poetical associations, yet curiosity was in a sense at the root of all longing, or was an absorbing impulse once both feet were planted on British soil.⁸

⁸ There is little mention of the American pedestrian, of him who preferred the footpath tour of Great Britain to the most comfortable of coach travel. There were few, in fact, who attempted the pilgrimage to literary shrines in that fashion until the appearance of the indefatigable Bayard Taylor who with scrip and strap made his way around the world. But occasionally there was one or two, for foot travelers prefer it *à deux*, who went over the stiles and crossed highroads here and there, or followed along gentle streams in an endeavor to see the true England or to search out the peasant of the real English country. Such an one was Irving and the companions he attracted along with him on his numerous walking tours across England and up into the Highlands of Scotland, or in his excursions into regions of England where the life of the land moved in quiet eddies. What the author finds significant in the travel sketches of Irving is his philosophic neutrality of viewpoint, his sense of literary

One of the dominant strains in the travel books of the first quarter of the century was what might be termed "within the family" controversy.⁹ Touring America were Tory detractors, measuring everything by English standards of excellence, and in reply to them self-appointed defenders of American liberties vindicating republican principles and character before the world. There was at the time a consistent attitude of superiority on the part of Englishmen, an unquestioning belief in the superiority of English character and institutions. The historical imagination of the average Englishman was at least a century behind the development of America. It was difficult for the most alert of them to believe that the streets of New York were not stalked by Indians and that the sound of the tomahawk was not rife east of the Alleghenies. Few Englishmen had the opportunity or leisure to cross the Atlantic to see for themselves; their reliance was on the printed page or upon those who spoke, usually from self-interest or prejudice. Thus there was little intelligent evaluation of American ideals, a failing to which Jared Sparks adverted: "the chief thing which is now wanting in England to promote a proper feeling in regard to America is knowledge."

Adverse criticism and a certain condescension, soon interpreted as national egotism, led to American prejudice and to controversial retorts. Witness to such feeling is not rare in the records, though it rarely sharpened into acrimony. The average American traveler maintained his amicableness even when charged with bumpiousness and crudity. Some Americans even went so far as to explain, in part, the causes for the

detachment, his reminiscent romanticism, his weaving into the tapestry of his observations the idealized England that never was. Such comment is moderate and true but one must be on guard against regarding Irving as an isolated traveler for the literary wanderer that is envisaged for us is the center of a very interesting circle of Americans,—a man on terms of intimacy with great English literary men, and in general a veritable "Ambassador at Large from the New World to the Old."

⁹ This subject Spiller takes up in a chapter called "Critics and Controversy," in which anti-British prejudices are interestingly described. This, as the author indicates took at least three forms: counter analyses of condition in England with a view of singling out British faults and short-comings, as in Colton, Stewart, Hoah, and Slidell; outspoken replies in the periodical press; and satirical accounts or fictitious travels. In addition the author glances at the theme in various other chapters, through which it runs like a ruby thread.

English attitude; such for instance was the burden of selected passages in Silliman, Irving, Cooper, and Neal. On the other hand, even the most sympathetic of American authors testified to a definite prejudice on the part of Englishmen, which ranged from a qualified judgment—such as the tailed qualifying praise, “considering that he is an American”—to the baldest antipathy.

Save on the part of a few enlightened spirits, such as Sir James Mackintosh, Thomas Campbell, and Sir Walter Scott, this attitude of prejudice was habitual on the part of Englishmen and Scotchmen of the time. Almost all American travelers who examine the matter at all refer to this inimical sentiment in England against America. Cooper avowed that it was utterly futile to disaffirm it: “It might as well be denied that the sun appears in the east, and sets in the west. The feeling is as apparent as the day; it mingles with every thought, colors every concession, and even tempers the charities. Every American established in the country asserts it, all travelers believe it, even Captain Hall and other writers confess it, and four out of five, on the spot, when circumstances induce frankness admit it.” The same sentiment recurred frequently in his work, and in the mildest of his references the positiveness of his utterance is no whit abated: “I presume the history of the world cannot offer another instance of prejudice in one nation against another, that is as strong and as general as that which, at this moment, exists in England against America; the community of language and the art of printing having been the means of provoking rather than of mitigating the failing.” N. P. Willis, who adverted to a phrase he heard a hundred times—“the unsafeness of Americans in society”—was no less positive in his assurance about such an undercurrent of prejudice. “Heaven knows,” he exclaimed, “I have no prejudice against the Scotch, or any other nation—but it is extraordinary how universal the feeling seems to be against America.” Dewey, too, than whom no traveler to England was more supine in his reverence of things English, joins others in labeling the censure of America as the same which Tory critics level at all republics, namely, that “they have no manners,” and that even though property could be secured, “yet the graceful amenities of life, the beautiful ties created by mutual protection and dependence, all these will be trampled under feet by the multitude.” Irving, in a passage

quoted from his *English Writers on America*, remarked: "there is no people concerning whom the great mass of British public have less pure information and entertain more numerous prejudices." Even more striking testimony is afforded by Hawthorne as late as fifteen years later: "It is wonderful how every American, whatever class of the English he mingles with, is conscious of this feeling." Another time he recorded a conjecture raised one evening at a dinner at Rathbone's that "if an Englishman were individually acquainted with all our twenty-five millions of Americans, and liked every one of them and believed each man of those millions was a Christian, honest, upright, and kind, he would doubt, despise and hate them in the aggregate however he might love and honor the individuals." This is strong language for one so evenly tempered as Hawthorne, and merely serves to illustrate the fairness of the rest who ingeminated with him the charges of prejudice against Americans.

This is the atmosphere of prejudice in which the average American made his way about England. It is surprising in the face of it with what uniform good will and reverence he viewed English people and affairs. Had Englishmen in general been more considerate, and had England kept at home her violent Tories, men of small intellect and imagination bent on misrepresentation, the controversy might never have arisen and the recriminatory attacks been negligible.

But in James Fenimore Cooper one finds the great defender of American institutions and character and the enemy of hereditary rank as exhibited in English politics. The body of Cooper's sketches and European novels has been rather generally neglected in critical works from Lounsbury on down. They were seized upon as controversial writings by his European critics and strangely enough have never been fairly considered in any other light. But even from the standpoint of controversy they have rarely been considered with sympathy, certainly not with the understanding which the sensitivity of the man, natural under his conditions, seems to warrant.

But while Spiller analyzes the European works of Cooper from the controversial standpoint, he is frank to recognize his travel sketches on their own merit. As travel literature they are placed second to Irving's alone, though in this evaluation

one feels that more might have been said about their chatty flavor and their unflinching good sense. I incline to the view that they have been unduly neglected: the attention here devoted to them, meager as it is, is a step in the revaluation of works almost lost sight of.

In his very brief glance at Cooper's European novels Spiller has been somewhat less fortunate, regarding them solely as controversial documents and nothing more. Granted that they are less interesting, less deserving of attention than his *Leather-Stocking Tales* or the best of his *Sea Tales*, yet *The Bravo*, *The Heidenmauer*, *The Headsman* are something more than polemical tracts, and the narrative of the first is not to be lightly dismissed as "heavy and dull." In fact, it has excellent novelistic skill, and like Scott's *Bride of Lammermoor* describes a steady movement toward an impending tragedy. The last of the series fully illustrates the rigidity of social distinctions and the tyranny of custom in aristocratic society, and by a current of insinuation lauds American institutions as models in which the best results of government can be seen. But if the purpose was partly didactic, his novels were not purely polemical documents nor to be readily condemned as such. The choice of subject matter and the attitude of the author towards it are part of his art, and the democratic outlook no more mars the European novels of Cooper, as works of art, than does the reverence for feudal distinctions and decayed forms of society destroy the appeal of Scott's novels. Moreover, the passages in which Cooper's didactic purpose is most fully illustrated are clearly interlarded, possibly added in the heat of the moment when stung by foreign condescension. They may easily be bracketed. From the standpoint of his technique, too much has been made of the political aspect of his work. Cooper, like the other popular novelists of the day, was writing for the amusement of the public as he expressly stated in *The Heidenmauer*.

It needs to be said in extenuation, however, that the author of *The American in England* has restricted himself exclusively to incidental passages in order to show the author's transition "from pure fiction to political and social propaganda," and from this point of view his method is not only warrantable but justified. The full picture of Cooper's tactlessness and his harsh criticisms is to be found in the *Notions of the Americans*, picked

up by a *Traveling Bachelor*, in *Democracy*, and *A Letter to his Countrymen*, and in his satirical novel of the human race, *The Monikins*, all of which are ingeniously worked out though without humor, and with an almost belligerent Americanism attempting to raise a jihad for American rights in international circles. But the defense of America and her principles did not secure Cooper a home following, and disappointed by his reception, he wrote *Home As Found*, and left off criticism of European life.

To turn from personal views to a final glance at Spiller's volume, attention may very appropriately be called to the skill with which he has succeeded in giving a coherent and colorful account of what American travelers found most beglamored in English life: industrial processes, literary life and personages, cultural and religious establishments, social and economic conditions, antiquarian monuments. His selection has been no less happy. A mass of travels of the number here treated is necessarily confusing and uneven in character, and likely to afflict the reader with dullness by the constantly recurring flights of fancy and the infinitely iterated details. Numerous wanderers bulged their accounts with transcripts from the guide books or with minute budgetings of their time. Many people whom they met, moreover, of importance in their day, are now forgotten, and events to which they alluded no longer loom large. In the survey Spiller has ably submerged these dreary details. Duplicating comments have been spared, and the account, at once lucid and colorful, has been devoted to distinctive and fascinating portions of the volumes without losing the balance which historical ethics demands. The aim of the author has been to correlate and review travel writings, in which he succeeds, for from the mass of material examined there emerges a very interesting record, instinct with human meaning, free from prosiness and indiscriminate exuberance. And features of a more positive character, a liveliness of treatment, a careful evaluation of motives, a happy selection of interesting anecdotes, a chatty account of English fashionable life, a sympathetic revelation of American attitudes all combine to give this account an intrinsic value. Thus the book has interest not only for the student of literary, religious, and commercial history of England, but is a sizable and racy volume suitable for the

confirmed Cunarder and the stay-at-home traveler, for the anglophobe, and the unclassified and nameless lover of sketches of interesting places and lovable personalities, English and American.

GEORGE H. ORIANS

University of Illinois

REVIEWS

MILTON'S SEMITIC STUDIES AND SOME MANIFESTATIONS OF THEM IN HIS POETRY. By Harris Francis Fletcher. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago: 1926. Pp. x+155. \$3.00.

The present reviewer feels obliged to own at the outset that he is not able to deal adequately with this volume because he is without knowledge of Semitic languages. His apology for undertaking it must be that most other students of Milton are similarly disqualified. Obviously thoroughness requires from the student of Milton ability to reconstruct all parts of the poet's mental environment, but there are not many able to bend the bow of learning that Milton wielded with ease. It is even said to be true, for example, that few professed students of Hebrew would easily and pleasantly begin their day by listening for half an hour to the reading of the Hebrew Bible. But if we are unable to follow Milton in his Semitic reading, we have the more reason to thank Professor Fletcher for assisting us.

The second chapter presents matter of a kind which has hitherto been not indeed inaccessible, but hidden away from most students of Milton in such places as the appendix of Watson's *English Grammar Schools to 1660*, one of the works listed in the bibliography. The study of Semitic languages was actually carried on in English schools in the time of Milton. For example, Charles Hoole, who taught in London from 1642 until 1651, regularly required Hebrew in the sixth form. In other words, Milton's theory of Hebrew study, as presented in his tractate *Of Education*, and his practice, as set forth by Edward Philips, were such as to make his school unusual, but not an anomaly. There seems no longer to be any excuse for the circulation of Dr. Johnson's remark, comforting to mediocrity, that Milton planned a school for young Miltons, if the words are to be taken in the derogatory sense usually assigned to them. If they mean merely that the schoolmaster required boys of more than usual ability who were willing to study hard, they are quite true, and reinforced by the volume under review.

In the next section, and in one entitled *The Cambridge Semitic Succession*, is presented a short history of Semitic studies at Cambridge. The chief names are those of men of whom Milton wrote with respect, such as Martin Bucer and Tremellius. Selden also appears among those whose influence would have encouraged Milton's Semitic studies. Certain of Selden's works have Semitic characters on every page, as for example the fifth book of his *De Jure Naturali et Gentium juxta Disciplinam Ebraeorum*; marginal notes supply references to

rabbinical and other sources. Out of consideration for the less learned, however, he furnishes Latin renderings of his Semitic quotations. A Continental Semitic scholar with whom Milton came into contact was John Diodati, mentioned by Professor Fletcher as the translator of the Scriptures into Italian. Diodati was so proficient in languages that he was made professor of Hebrew at Geneva when only twenty-one years of age. It is an attractive inference that Milton's belief in the value of instruction in Biblical languages was encouraged by him. At any rate Milton visited the famous theologian in the summer of 1639 and began teaching in the following winter.

The next chapter deals with Milton's Semitic equipment. His knowledge of Hebrew is obvious. For Chaldee Professor Fletcher presents not merely the statement of Edward Philips that Milton instructed him in that tongue, but also a passage in the *Apology for Smectymnuus* in which Milton follows the Targum. The language of the Masorah and Syriac are similarly treated. A list of the pertinent passages in Milton's writings would have been welcome at this point. The evidence for Milton's knowledge of Ethiopic and Arabic is also discussed, without any decision. An obvious source for the Biblical texts in those languages would be the Polyglot Bible of Walton, but no proof that Milton used it was available for the volume under review. Professor Fletcher has, however, recently found a passage in Milton's *De Doctrina Christiana* which apparently can be interpreted only as a reference to Walton (*Modern Language Notes* XLII (1927), 84-87).

The last chapter is given to the subject to which the earlier topics are subsidiary, the appearance of Semitic material in Milton's poetry. No attempt is made at a complete study, but representative portions are treated. Of the nine Psalms which Milton translated from the original "in the very words of the text," the eighty-second is taken for comparison with the Hebrew original and with a number of translations, including that of Diodati into Italian. The conclusion is that Milton's departures from the original are not the result of difficulties with the language, but of the influence of other translations and of his attempt to produce a serviceable version. Perhaps theological belief may also be used to explain why Milton used "kings and lordly states" to translate the Hebrew commonly rendered "gods." In his discussion of the Trinity he remarks: "Dei nomen, Dei Patris voluntate atque concessione, etiam angelis, etiam hominibus . . . haud raro impertiri" (*De Doctrina Christiana* l. 5, p. 77). This is also the opinion of Aquinas, who in discussing the unity of God writes: "Quae quidem consuetudo loquendi etiam in sacra Scriptura invenitur, dum sancti Angeli aut etiam homines, vel iudices dii nominantur" (*Summa contra Gentiles* l. 42). Aquinas is sometimes quoted by

zealous Protestant theologians whose works were known to Milton.

The next section deals with the Muse invoked in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* and with the story of the Fall in the ninth book of *Paradise Lost*. Both are illuminating and, I believe, sound, though the second gives the effect of a clearer case than the first. The discussion is a blow at the not uncommon idea that Milton is a Biblical poet in the simple sense of having read a Biblical story and proceeded to expand it according to his own artistic or sociological notions. As the present study indicates, nothing could be farther from the truth. Rather we may feel that there is no original matter in the ninth book or any other part of *Paradise Lost*; the poet's originality consists in his combination and above all in his vivifying of matter. What came to Milton as erudition issued from him as poetry. But it is erudition not of his own developing. As poet his function is to assimilate so thoroughly the learning of other men that he can handle it freely and shape it without difficulty to his artistic ends. If at any point the matter appears as erudition the poem ceases to be poetical. Professor Fletcher's work indicates that at least Milton had made a thorough synthesis of his matter; otherwise it would be easier than it is to sift out the rabbinical and other elements. Milton as a scholar probably could have supplied footnotes on the sources of his poem, but as artist he worked with material so familiar to him that the books from which he drew were not present in his consciousness.

Though Milton's medium may be considered as the whole intellectual life of Europe in his age, an important part of it is the religious intellectual life. As Dante may be called the poet of united Christendom, Milton is the poet of Protestantism. The great age of Protestant theology lives in his poetry. He still breathed the atmosphere of Luther, Calvin, and Arminius, though the time of those giants had already passed. Protestantism had decided the road on which it was to travel for three hundred years, until the present day. Indeed the Protestantism of the masses is still that of the time of Milton, though without its intellectual power and its iron faith. Among the more learned the rise of the historical method of Biblical study and still more the present apologetic of the pragmatists have produced a Protestantism without the rigorously argued and deeply rooted certainty of the early seventeenth century. If it represents new life, rather than further decay, it is hardly Protestant and hardly great.

The value of Professor Fletcher's work lies in its contribution to the understanding of Milton's artistic presentation of Protestantism at its highest. For the sixteenth and seventeenth century theologians Jewish thought is not a curiosity but one of

their own bright tools. If Milton had not been a Semitic student he could not have caught as he did the spirit of intellectual Protestantism.

In such a work as the present it is inevitable that the author, even though guarding himself against it (pp. 113 f.), will seem to attribute to the matter he is considering a disproportionate influence on the poet in question. No one accustomed to such work will object to this appearance. Hence it is not with censure that I suggest that if the author had written a further chapter it might well have dealt with the indirect Semitic influences on Milton. This indirectness, in fact, is one reason why Milton so thoroughly assimilated what seem to be Semitic elements, and the wide diffusion of Semitic ideas is what required Milton as the representative of Protestantism to employ them. The suggestion, for example, of the divine jealousy of the advantage Adam and Eve might obtain from the eating of the forbidden fruit is found in the commentary on Genesis of the theologian Paraeus, often mentioned by Milton, in the commentary of Diodati, and in the scholia of Tremellius and Junius accompanying their Latin text of Genesis, that used by Milton. But such facts make all the more useful the stimulus to go to the sources of such interpretations supplied by the present volume.

ALLAN H. GILBERT

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THE ABBEY OF ST. GALL AS A CENTRE OF LITERATURE AND ART. By J. M. Clark. Cambridge University Press, 1926. vi+322 pp.

Somewhat rarely in these times of specialized knowledge does a young scholar have the patience to learn so many kinds of thing in the course of his first piece of research as Dr. Clark has mastered while studying the records of St. Gall. He has had the courage to attempt nothing less than an account of "the contribution of St. Gall to European civilization," which is a larger subject than might appear at first sight, since it involves every activity that went on within the walls of the great abbey. The art and the music developed there are not neglected, for example, because the author happens to be, primarily, a student of language and literature—so it would appear. As he says in his preface: "There are many scattered articles and monographs on different aspects of the subject, but no comprehensive treatment of it as a whole." This lack he has supplied in a book that is both notably sound and delightfully free from the myopia of scholarship. It would have been far easier for him to write a history of Benedictine ground-plans, or of the development of church music in the eighth and

ninth centuries, than to complete this work, which embodies close investigation in several fields.

Just there lies the great value of the book. We have brought together for us in a single volume the history of the abbey, with the history of all its achievements in the arts and sciences. It is a comprehensive study of the monastic establishment from the rude beginnings through the period of magnificence and the subsequent ages of decay. The contributions of the abbey to literature, to learning, to music, to the making of manuscripts, are separately assessed. In short, Dr. Clark's book is a compendium of all that has been written about one of the most famous monasteries in Europe, but it is a critical compendium by a scholar who has taken pains to learn thoroughly each of the subjects with which he has to deal. Of necessity he records much that he owes to the diverse investigations which have preceded his own, yet he has discovered so many things for himself and has so illuminated facts already known that his work cannot be said to lack originality.

In one respect only does the author show his lack of experience as a maker of books: he is a little over-anxious to set down the information he has acquired, whether or no the matters have importance in the scheme of the volume. For example, space is unnecessarily devoted to events since the Reformation, which distracts the reader and in no way helps to build up the picture of St. Gall as a centre of mediaeval culture. It was scarcely worth while, moreover, for Dr. Clark to tell the story of the *Waltharius*, since he was writing for scholars not unacquainted with that poem. Still more curious is his brief chapter, "St. Gall in Romance," which is a pleasant little essay but quite out of place in a study of this kind. In a word, the substance of the book is less closely knit than one could wish: it straggles a bit and occasionally makes one regret that the writer did not keep more closely in mind the synthesis he had as his objective.

In spite of this clumsiness, however, the purpose of the volume is accomplished: the reader gets a clear impression of the part played by the monks of St. Gall in the centuries before the universities took up the torch of learning. Dr. Clark successfully summarizes the activities of the brothers in education, in music, in building, in the pictorial arts, and in literature. Probably no more complete study of a monastic establishment has ever been made. With admirable acumen the author examines such difficult questions as the part played by the Irish in the development of St. Gall and the contributions of the house to liturgical drama. His judgment, indeed, is seldom at fault. It is an excellent feature of the work that his enthusiasm for the Swabian monastery does not prevent him from seeing it in proper relationship to the other institutions that were like-

wise centres of light and leading, such as Reichenau and Fulda. There is no tendency to glorify St. Gall at their expense, but rather a constant effort to show why and how they worked together to a common end.

Altogether, the book is one that should be read by students of the Middle Ages, whatever their primary interests may happen to be. No one can fail to find it instructive and stimulating, precisely because it is what the author intended it to be, a "synthesis." Completely satisfactory in presentation it is not, but it was better worth doing than would have been a profounder study of some one phase of the monastery's activities. We need many more such works on European centres of cult and culture, for the time has come to review the information gathered by specialists in one and another field of inquiry, and to see whether the historian cannot help the philologist, and the student of literature throw light on matters that seem dark to the political historian. Perhaps we need local histories and regional histories more than almost anything else for our further enlightenment about the Middle Ages. Dr. Clark deserves our gratitude for the important contribution he has made to this end.

GORDON HALL GEROULD

Princeton University

NORSE MYTHOLOGY. LEGENDS OF GODS AND HEROES. By Peter Andreas Munch. In the Revision of Magnus Olsen. Translated from the Norwegian by Sigurd Bernhard Hustvedt. New York, 1926. Pp. xvii+392.

Munch's book, which bore the title: *Norrøne Gude-og Hellesagn. Ordnet og fremstillet af P. A. Munch*, was first published in 1840. Probably no other work on Norse mythology, or any other of the Indo-European mythologies written so long ago, would have for us today anything but historical interest. Not so with Munch. His book has now for nearly ninety years continued to enjoy great popularity as a standard work on the subject, since 1880 in the revision of A. Kjær, and since 1922 in the new third edition by Magnus Olsen. The reason for the continued usefulness of this book is suggested in the sub-title, *Ordnet og fremstillet*, which told us that the volume claimed to be nothing more than a re-arrangement and a re-telling of the myths and the legends of the Eddas. It was not planned or intended as a critical treatise; it was intended as a book of instruction, which should supply information about the content of those old source-books in Northern mythology. Critical material was relegated wholly to the Notes, and there was at first but little of these. And so it happens that even today an

English edition of Munch's work is published, with the very extensive critical and bibliographical apparatus of Magnus Olsen in the Notes, in the hope that it may be found useful also to English readers. I am sure that students of English literature and the student of early European literature in general *will* find this book useful, and will welcome it.

The 3rd edition by Professor Olsen of Oslo University was prepared in response to a rather urgent demand for a new general work on the subject. But to be wholly up to date such a book would have to take full account of a mass of investigations in recent years in the field of Old Norse literature, and other early Germanic literatures, in early Scandinavian and Germanic religion, and of numerous researches in folk-lore and primitive culture. Possibly some day we may hope to have such a work; but it would only come as the fruit of extensive investigation and years of study on the part of its author. Professor Olsen intended to undertake such a work, but gave it up, at any rate for the present. He decided that, instead of an original work, he would prepare a new edition of Munch's book, bringing it in line with the present state of the science by corrections, amplifications, statements of theories and present views, etc., in notes which were to be incorporated into the text itself under the successive numbered topics, but set in smaller type and in a separate paragraph.¹ This was so excellent a plan that we do not hesitate to predict that in this form the Munch mythology will be found quite serviceable in Norway for many years to come, as a text-book in schools and as a book to be turned to by the general reader.

Olsen, however, advises his reader in his preface not to forget that he has before him a book from the days of "The Norwegian Historical School." This the user of the English edition must also do: he must remember that the book is not a treatise on the subject of Norse mythology at this stage of the scientific study of it; but that the text of the book, written by the great historian of the middle of the last century, is a re-telling of the myths and legends, as they appear in the ON texts; that in the Notes, however, he may find a considerable body of critical material. Since this is important the arrangement in the Munch-Olsen edition is much better than in the translation; for in the latter all the Olsen annotations have been relegated to a Notes section following the text (pp. 283-261). And there are no note numbers in the text, calling the readers attention to the fact that there is in the Notes a correction or a discussion that should be read at this point. It will be ad-

¹ It should be said that Professor Kjær had made many minor changes in the edition of 1880, especially in rewriting the Notes, and in adding several new sections, as the ones on Orvar-Odd, Norna-Gest, and Ragnar Lodbrog and his sons.

visible for the reader who is reading not merely for entertainment but for study to go through his copy first and insert in his text the necessary numbers.

Regarding the translation itself it may be said that it has been very well done; it shows throughout a fine appreciation of the sense of the original, and is nearly always happy in the rendering of that sense into modern English. Of the content of the Munch-Olsen edition all the text and the notes have been translated; the Olsen Preface (on his method) and the appendix on Norwegian place-names have been omitted (I would have liked to see the former included). The bibliography is also retained (p. 279), but a few titles that may be of special interest to the English reader are sometimes added. I think that it is a defect that the critical literature has not been brought down to date better. The translator has adopted the principle of retaining the ON form of the names, and not translating or even part-anglicising them.³ This is perhaps the best. The anglicising method gives us such monstrosities often, and the translation method often produces utterly misleading names. But when the English reader gets the ON names only, he not having any feeling for their meaning, will always leave the passage with some loss of meaning, as compared with the Norwegian reader of the Munch-Olsen edition. It seems to me that perhaps a satisfactory solution of this difficulty would have been to have in the case of many of the chief names explanatory notes, possibly with references sometimes to where the particular name discussed has been especially happily rendered in English.

I shall add here some comments on points in the first part of the text.

P. 3. *Manigarm*. This form is apparently due to the modern Norwegian form *Månegarm* in Munch. But the translator usually restores the ON form (so *Mimir*, not *Mime*; *Nifheim*, not *Nivheim*, *Roptatyr*, not *Roptaty*, etc.). Hence it ought to be here *Managarm*.

P. 7. *Baleyg*. The M-O rendering *han med de flammende øine* is translated "One with Flaming Eyes," which seems to me not very good. Say rather "He of the Flaming Eyes."

P. 8. "Just as Odin himself hung upon a gallows, wounded with the thrust of a spear, and devoted to himself, so," etc. Better: "and consecrated to himself, so," etc.

P. 11. *Tanngrisni*. But the ON was *Tanngrísni*, and in other names of this type the *-ir* is retained, as *Bilskirnir*, *Andhrimnir*, *Aurgelmir*, *Bergelmir*, *Fjolsnir*, *Brimir*, etc.

³ However, some names are translated, as Cliff-Ettins, p. 84, or part translated, as Bridge of Gjoll, p. 85.

E.g., on p. 82, "Now Loki went away, tore up the mistletoe, and," etc., better, would be "pulled up the mistletoe," for *slet Mistlelein op* in the original.

P. 12. *Tor er brålyndt og hastig* of the original is rendered "Thor was hot and hasty of temper," which sounds like a stylistic lapse. But evidently the element *-lyndt* of the Norwegian word *brålyndt* has been rendered "of temper"; it would have been (also stylistically) better, therefore to say "Thor is hot-tempered and hasty."

P. 14. Under Njord the words: *ulvenes tuting var sæl i sammenligning med svanenes sang* is not well-rendered by "the howling of the wolves seemed to him most lugubrious as compared with the singing of the swans."

P. 17. Under Tyr the words: *Høvdinger og fyrster kalles efter ham Tys frender* is translated "Captains and princes are designated after him, Kinsmen of Tyr." We had better keep "Chieftains" for *Høvdinger*.

Many other passages might call for comment; but I do not wish to seem to find fault with a translation that has in general been so well done. Translations from Old Norse are as a rule anything but well done.

I have not noticed many misprints; there is *Nerþuz* on p. 13, which, of course, should be *Nerþus*; also on p. 35, *Hræsvelgr* should be *Hræsvelgr*; and on p. 283 the reference to page xviii should be to page xvii. The volume is excellently printed and beautifully bound, as are all the publications of The American Scandinavian Foundation by whom it is published. And finally it must be added that there is a very good Index.

GEORGE T. FLOM

VOR FOLKEGRUPPE GOTTJOD af Gudmund Schütte.
Første Bind. Pp. 299. Kjøbenhavn, Aschehoug, 1926.

In his *fortale* Dr. Schütte tells us that for 25 years he has been working in the field of which the present work gives us a survey. We may therefore expect mastery of the subject and ripeness of judgment. And we are not disappointed. The first volume is indeed extraordinarily useful to anyone who works in the Germanic field (or, as the author would say, the Gottonic field). Anglicist, Germanist, Icelandicist alike will profit by Dr. Schütte's labors. The author writes, it is true, as an ethnologist rather than as a philologist. But the two subjects can hardly be separated; of this the work under review is an admirable illustration. Certainly it could never have been written had not its author been so well at home in philology.

Dr. Schütte's work promises to be of monumental character. His first volume lays a sound foundation. After a short introductory section on the Indo-Europeans, he devotes the rest of the volume to *Gottonerne, Almindelig Del*. By *Gottoner* he means the various tribes which the historians of the early Middle Ages group under the name *Germans* (following the usage of Tacitus

and other classical writers). *Gottoner* thus includes English, Germans, Danes, Icelanders and all other branches of the common stock; it is by no means confined to the Goths. To us the term sounds strange, and an English *Gottons* is distinctly unsatisfactory, although for different reasons the term *Germans* in the same sense does not suit us either. If I continue to use *German* and *Germanic* in the broader sense, it will be, not because I am fond of the words, but because they are, on the whole, not so bad as the substitutes which have been proposed. Indeed, I see no great objection to either *German* or *Germanic* in languages which have a different term for the Germans of today. The Dane, for instance, can make a neat distinction between *Tysker* and *Germaner* impossible in English, where the one word *Germans* has to do for both. But discussion of this point remains futile; current practice has decided the case, and we shall have to put up with the inconveniences of our terminology until a truly happy term is proposed (and even then, I fear, it will be hard to make any change, so much is the so-called scientist the creature of habit).

In his *almindelig del* or general part the author discusses his *Gottoner* as such. Succeeding volumes will presumably deal with the various subdivisions of the *folkegruppe*. All Anglicists, certainly, will hope that he devotes a special volume to the English. The discussion of the *Gottoner* proceeds under eight rubrics, to which the author rightly attaches great importance. They are as follows: names, subdivisions, ethnic place, environment, primitive home, speech, civilization, history. The development under each rubric is highly systematic. Thus, under "names" we have first an alphabetic list of the 24 different names which have been applied to the race. Then follows a detailed and precise account of the history of each name. The whole takes up pp. 24 to 47. The discussion is most illuminating. The author then proceeds to *inddeling* or subdivisions, his second rubric. He discusses historically the learned subdivisions into North, East, and West Germanic and the like, as also the traditional divisions found in Tacitus and Pliny. From this he proceeds to an examination of "dates of birth" of the various nationalities within the folk-group. He puts the Frisians as the first to develop into a true nationality. Here, I think, he speaks with too great confidence, in view of the extremely meager character of the evidence. Next come the Goths, who became a true nationality in the fourth century. "The Anglo-Saxons," he continues, "are No. 3. Their settlement in Britain gives the isolation which almost at once blends the hitherto distinct Angles and Saxons into a national unity. The establishment of the Anglican church *circa* 595 crowns the work and brings forth at once an English literary language. The unity-name *Anglo-Saxon* turns up in the eighth century." I quote this in

full, as an example of Dr. Schütte at his worst, and hasten to add that it is not a fair sample of the work as a whole. Every now and then we find a passage which bears on its face the evidence of hasty and superficial composition. This is one of the passages! One can only refer the author to Hoops's article *Angelsachsen* in the *Reallexikon*, where he will discover that the "unity-name" adopted by the islanders was not *Anglo-Saxon* but *English*. As Hoops makes clear, *Anglo-Saxon* was a learned term, invented by Continental scholars to distinguish the Saxons of England from those of Germany. The term has no more relation to the national name than *Dacia* has to *Denmark*. One may say with confidence that the word *Anglo-Saxon* has not belonged to popular speech much more than a hundred years. It is distinctly in the language now, of course, and serves a useful purpose when one wishes a name which will include Englishmen, Americans and Colonials. Likewise, when one does not wish to distinguish between the American and English varieties of the common language, *Anglo-Saxon* is pressed into service as the name for that language. But to carry this very modern usage back into the Middle Ages is to be ignorant of or to ignore the evidence. In future editions of his book, then, the author would do well to stop talking about the Anglo-Saxons and to begin talking about the English.—The other nationalities discussed are the Germans, Danes, Swedes (who might have headed the list as well as the Frisians), Norwegians, Icelanders, Dutch, Færoese and Yiddish-speaking Jews (these last are compared to the English-speaking negroes of America—i.e., though speaking a Gottonic language they have a racial if not nationalistic consciousness which is non-Gottonic).

The author's third rubric is *etnisk stilling* or ethnic place. Under this head he discusses the place of the Gottons in the Indo-European ethnic group (on the assumption that such a group existed). The author believes that the Germanic sound-shift was due to tendencies inherent in the dialect; he takes no stock in the theory that it was due to the imposition on a non-Indo-European population of an Indo-European dialect. He says nothing of the phonetic difficulties involved in such shifts as *d* to *t* in intervocalic position. Under his fourth rubric, *synskres* or environment, we get a long, learned and important discussion of the influence of neighboring peoples upon the Gottons. Some of his conclusions, of course, are open to challenge. Thus, the names or name-elements *Finn* and *Hun* (p. 70) probably have nothing to do with the Finns or Huns; the equation *Kotys*=*Höðr* (p. 78) is more than doubtful; the relation of *Borussia* to *Prussia* ought to be explained (p. 79). But the whole discussion is illuminating and valuable. Under the fifth rubric, *gammelt hjem* or old home, the author gives us a discussion leading to the conclusion that Scandinavia was

the primitive home of the Gottons (a conclusion offered with due reserves, be it added). Under the sixth rubric, *sprog* or speech, comes a discussion especially valuable for its utilization of the evidence afforded by proper names. Under the seventh rubric, *kultur* or civilization, we learn something of Gottonic manners and customs, and a good deal of Gottonic religion. The last rubric, *historie* or history, naturally falls into phases: West-European, Finnish, East-European, continental Celtic, Roman, Hunnish, Slavic, British (or Viking), West-Slavic. The analysis is interesting and valuable. The author sketches the course of events very briefly, of course, but with great vividness none the less. There follow an admirable index and some valuable maps with other figures.

KEMP MALONE

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DEUTSCHE VOLKSKUNDE INSBESONDERE ZU GEBRAUCH DER VOLKSSCHULLEHRER IM AUSTRAGE DES VERBANDES DEUTSCHER VEREINE FÜR VOLKSKUNDE HERAUSGEGEBEN von John Meier, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1926. ii, 334 pp.

Not long ago German school regulations were altered by adding the requirement of instruction calculated to awaken love and understanding of the pupil's home and district. Such instruction, which comprehends of course much more than folk-lore, involves both texts and handbooks. The present volume is intended to remedy the deficiency in guides for the teacher which was evident from the beginning so far as folk-lore was concerned. *Deutsche Volkskunde* is therefore a descriptive handbook of such folkloristic materials and concepts as might be useful to the Volksschullehrer. Although it makes no pretensions to being a handbook for the scholar, it is certainly the most satisfactory introduction to the study of folk-lore in existence.

There has never been an even partially satisfactory introduction to folk-lore studies. G. W. Cox's *Introduction to the science of comparative mythology and folk-lore* (1881), which supplied a sufficient exemplification of solar mythology for that age or any other, gave no discussion of ways and means, no bibliography, and no survey of the field. G. L. Gomme's *Handbook of folk-lore* (1890), a useful guide for the ethnologist and collector, showed little understanding or knowledge of the problems of folk-lore studies. Nor did the second edition (1914) in the competent hands of Miss Charlotte S. Burne, although greatly enlarged and improved in other respects, show any improvement in the treatment of the problems. Gomme's *Handbook* in Miss Burne's revision is likely to remain the most

generally useful and best organized list of materials to be searched for, but it offers little help in their study. Perhaps the latest handbook of this sort is C. W. von Sydow's excellent *Våra folkminnen* (Lund, 1919). Marion R. Cox's *Introduction to folk-lore* (1895) is an exposition of the ethnological theory of märchen origins which was so energetically championed by Andrew Lang. Similar books may be cited from other countries, e.g., K. Knortz, *Was ist Volkskunde und wie studiert man dieselbe?* (Jena, 1906), which, although it attained to a third edition and included a very miscellaneous assortment of materials, answered neither of the two questions its title raised.

A useful group of folk-lore handbooks is divorced from ethnological interests and authors. The first of these is perhaps Karl Reuschel's *Volkskundliche Streifzüge* (Dresden, 1903), which is primarily concerned with the *Volkslied* and only for the sake of completeness adds chapters on *Märchen* and *Sage*. It is probably the first general treatise in which folk-lore materials are examined from the philologist's point of view. Paul Sébillot's excellent volume, *Le folklore* (1913), provides a survey of the available materials and a notion of their nature, but it makes scant mention of problems and means of solution. In *Die Volkskunde; ihre Bedeutung, ihre Ziele und ihre Methode mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihres Verhältnisses zu den historischen Wissenschaften* (1903), R. F. Kaindl supplied an altogether admirable introduction. Although the book is little known because it is buried in a geographical series (*Die Erdkunde, eine Darstellung ihrer Wissensgebiete*, 17) it deserves a wider circulation than it appears to have obtained. Notwithstanding its age it is not yet superseded. In some ways the historical survey in Kaindl's treatise may be compared with the elaborate, but regrettably inaccurate, survey in Alejandro Guichot y Sierra, *Noticia histórica de folklore: origenes en todos los paises hasta 1890, desarrollo en España hasta 1921* (Sevilla, 1922). Under the head of "method" Kaindl understands "method of explanation" rather than "method of study," and consequently the book contains little or nothing of a truly methodological sort.

The latest handbooks supplement one another admirably: K. Reuschel, *Deutsche Volkskunde*, I (1920), II (1924) is written from the point of view of the philologist and literary scholar and suggests problems and methods of solution; H. Naumann, *Grundzüge der deutschen Volkskunde* (1922) and A. van Gennep, *Le folklore* (La culture moderne, 11, 1924) concern themselves with the principles of folk-lore as a discipline; M. Haberlandt, *Einführung in die Volkskunde* (Vienna, 1924), deals most skillfully with *sachliche Volkskunde*. Of some further works I have a favorable opinion, although I have not had an opportunity to examine them: R. Corso, *Folklore: Storia, obbietto, metodo*,

bibliografia, Rome, 1923; R. Th. Christiansen, *Norske Folkeminne* (Norsk Folkeminnelag, 12, Oslo, 1925); and Σ. Π. Κυριακίδης, *Ἑλληνική Λαογραφία*, I (Athens: Sakellarios, 1923).¹

With so much by way of review of previous attempts at providing a general survey of folklore, only a few words are needed to place *Deutsche Volkskunde* properly. Its immediate predecessor and model is E. H. Meyer, *Deutsche Volkskunde* (Strassburg, 1898, and reprinted Berlin, 1921), which is followed in choice of subjects and general arrangement. The present book consists of nine chapters (1, Dorf, Haus und Hof; 2, Pflanzen; 3, Sitte und Brauch; 4, Aberglaube; 5, Namen; 6, Rede des Volkes; 7, Sage; 8, Märchen; 9, Volkslied),² an introduction, and a bibliographical appendix. As might be expected in a work by various hands, the different portions are of unequal merit. Friedrich Ranke's essay, "Sage," for example, may be justly termed brilliant, and Seemann's study of the "Volkslied" is on as high a level. One general assertion is true regarding practically every section: the point of view of the Volksschullehrer is held with such tenacity and clarity that nothing which might fall without it is admitted. This limitation on a wider usefulness can hardly be regarded as a fault in a book which possesses so sharply defined a circle of readers and users as this one. This restriction of scope is responsible for the exclusion of books in languages other than German, of mention of unsolved problems (except in very vague and general terms), and of the technique of investigation. It brings a bibliography in which every German province is represented. For the purposes of the book such a bibliography is extremely useful, but the bibliography is far from being the best working list for an American library. The task which *Deutsche Volkskunde* set out to do has been admirably done, and beyond serving the Volksschullehrer for whom it was written, it is the best existing handbook of folklore.

ARCHER TAYLOR

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MANKIND, NATION AND INDIVIDUAL FROM A LINGUISTIC POINT OF VIEW. By Otto Jespersen. Institutet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning. Oslo, 1925 (Harvard University Press).

The gist of this recent book by Professor Jespersen can be briefly stated. It is an investigation of the tendencies and factors in language which are common to all mankind, and its pervasive

¹ See the review of this last by H. Hepding, *Hess. Bl. f. Volksk.*, XXII (1924), 109 f.

² Note the omission of the proverb and the riddle. The bibliography repairs it to some extent.

motif is the notion of a world language to be created on the basis of our understanding of these common factors. Owing to inevitable uniformities in the workings of the mind among all human beings, certain grammatical features must have a kind of universal existence, and this, combined with the large number of words which are now current in all civilized languages is sufficient ground, according to Professor Jespersen, for believing in the practicability of an international language—"not a world-language," he is careful to say,

standing in a hostile attitude toward the existing national languages and intended to supplant them, but an auxiliary language to help out the national languages on all occasions when they come short, that is, in meetings of people who speak different languages by birth and cannot make themselves mutually understood. . . . The conscientious work done in the last few decades for this end has already brought us so far towards the goal, that an auxiliary language, which will be extremely serviceable both scientifically and practically, is now in sight. Its adoption will be of immeasurable advantage to all humanity.

The realization of this generous wish may be farther off than Professor Jespersen thinks, but there can be no question about the validity of his chief contention, that the forces, namely, which are at work in modern life are mainly unifying forces. In opposition to the view of those philologists who emphasize the tendency of language to differentiate itself indefinitely—which is unquestionably the natural tendency of speech where it is unhindered by other circumstances—he calls attention to all the influences, too familiar to need repetition, which make for a greater and greater degree of uniformity. Against the fact that where there was once only a single Germanic language there are now half a dozen or more large national derivatives, he observes that while the original Germanic may have been spoken by a million persons within limited geographical boundaries, a single one of its offshoots, English, is now spoken by more than a hundred and fifty millions scattered over the entire globe. It is, of course, true that local and individual peculiarities will continue to arise, but under the conditions of civilized life as they now are, they are never likely to develop an independent dialectal existence.

Consistently with this general view, Professor Jespersen shows scant sympathy for those persons (and there are plenty of philologists among them) who cherish a sentimental partiality for existing local dialects and labor for their preservation. He probably would have no objection to the activity of those poets who wish to enrich the expressive powers of standard speech by the importation of racy and picturesque words into its vocabulary, but the deliberate preservation of an entire dialect where standard speech is available to the community would affect him as a piece of misguided idealism and a wilful interference with the beneficent course of things. In the first place it means that many people are compelled to learn two languages,

which results in waste and ineffectiveness, and in the second place dialect is so much less expressive than the common language! "The common-speech," says Professor Jespersen, boldly turning its own guns against the opposition,

is in itself richer in colour and opens wider vistas, and there is plenty of room in it for that picturesque variety which in the opinion of many people can only be retained by the preservation of dialects. If we think out logically and bravely what is for the good of society, our view of language will lead us to the conclusion that it is our duty to work in the direction which natural evolution has already taken, i.e., toward the diffusion of the common language at the cost of local dialects.

This is characteristic of the attitude and spirit of Professor Jespersen's discussion as a whole. It is critical and it keeps firmly in mind the social function of language. It does not stop with a recognition of the phenomena as they are, but looks beyond them to an appreciation of values and suggests the possibilities of control and direction. In this he displays his superiority to the more familiar type of linguistic student to whom "whatever is" in language is not only "right" but even sacred. Thus we are given an illuminating discussion of what constitutes *correct* speech. Professor Jespersen reviews the various criteria that have been offered for determining the standard of correctness and finds them all rather short of adequacy. His own definition of correct speech as "that which is demanded by the particular linguistic community to which one belongs" is sufficiently general, but in its emphasis on the *particular community* and in the allowance it makes for departure by the individual from a fixed norm, it escapes both the slackness and the rigidity of some of the other definitions. It is not, however, this definition that is of special interest, but Professor Jespersen's holding to the idea that, quite independent of the standard of correctness, there is possible a valuation of language by reference to a linguistic ideal, that there is *good* speech as well as *correct* speech. It is a distinction which will clarify a great deal of the prevailing discussion of this subject, whether or not we cordially accept Professor Jespersen's own definition of the best language as that "which at every single point is easiest to the greatest possible number of human beings."

The main trend of the book is to trace "the linguistic cross-play of the individual and of the community to which he belongs," and so we have pertinent discussions of the relation of *la parole* to *la langue*, of the influence of the individual upon the speech of the community, of the relation of dialect to common language, all marked by excellent sense and clarity of judgment. In a number of the chapters, such as those dealing with stratification of language, slang, taboo and noa words, and concealed languages, Professor Jespersen has nothing new

to say. He seems to be reviewing familiar matter, the bearing of which on his subject does not become apparent till his summing up. His object in this review, he tells us, is to demonstrate, by gathering illustrations from widely scattered and unrelated languages, that the tendencies at work are everywhere the same. With the wealth of his unhackneyed examples and with his unsurpassed gift of lucid exposition, Professor Jespersen can make even a thrice-told tale entertaining and charming.

JACOB ZEITLIN

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MARTIAL AND THE ENGLISH EPIGRAM, FROM SIR THOMAS WYATT TO BEN JONSON. T. K. Whipple, University of California Publications in Modern Philology vol. 10, no. 4, pp. 279-414, Berkeley, California, 1925.

It is generally recognized that a basic difficulty confronts the discussion of any literary type as such, the uncertainty of border cases always operating as a negative factor. Only by means of elaborate processes which set limits, at once rigorous and inclusive, may the difficulty be overcome; and perhaps in the manipulation of these processes lies the chief merit of this monograph.

Professor Whipple's study may be said to give a very good account of the English epigram of the period he has selected, professing, as it does, only to deal with "the relation between the English epigram of the Renaissance and the work of Martial" (p. 280). As such, his work should be of importance to many Elizabethan students, some of whom may be unaware of the extent to which this particular literary type was then employed. Professor Whipple's careful delimitation of his subject disarms much criticism, taking as he does the conception of the epigram as set forth in the *New English Dictionary* to the effect that an epigram is "a short poem ending in a witty or ingenious turn of thought, to which the rest of the composition is intended to lead up." It is certain that no more awkward statement of the conception than this could have been found, whatever other merits it may contain.

The opening discussion of the characteristics of both form and subject-matter of Martial's epigrams is adequate; but a brief summary of the major points in this discussion would have been welcome at the end of the second part of the introductory chapter.

The problem set up early in the second chapter, that of keeping the work of Martial separate as an influence from that of the medieval hord of epigrammatists, results, it seems to me,

in a distinction without a difference. Professor Whipple later confesses (p. 302) "one can never be sure that an English epigrammatist is borrowing directly from the Anthology or from a medieval work, for he may be taking at second hand what a neo-Latin writer has borrowed from the original source." By the same token, it never becomes clear, throughout the paper, just how borrowings from Martial may be determined to have been direct and not to have been adapted from some neo-Latin epigrammatist who redressed him. The difficulty here seems to lie in the almost total neglect of the Latin epigrams of Beza, J. Secundus, Parkhurst, and, particularly for England, Buchanan. For instance, it is not clear (pp. 357-360) as to what part of the work of Weever was direct adaptation or translation from Martial, and what part was in the same respects indebted to the more nearly contemporary Latin work of Buchanan. It is always dangerous, it seems to me, to align an author, without avowed indication on his part, with a more remote rather than with a more immediate source. For this reason, the treatment in the third chapter of the English epigrammatists loses much of its force, although the discussion here of the epigrams of Sir John Davies is in many ways the most valuable accomplishment of the work. But Professor Whipple's statement on page 377 apparently under-cuts much of his work: "If there had been no imitators of Martial, Rowlands (the name of any other English epigrammatist might be substituted) would not have produced his so-called epigrams." Of what supreme importance, therefore, the imitative work of the neo-Latinists!

Jonson's known admiration for Martial and its culmination in what Jonson called "the ripest of my studies" affords an opportunity to Professor Whipple of which he makes the most. But especially in connection with Jonson, one wishes there might have been some discussion of the early and Elizabethan development of the use of the epigram to lighten prose. The frequent employment of epigram in 17th century prose pamphlets was a venerable institution before Milton resorted to it. So, too, the epigram as part of dramatic dialogue, in precisely the sense pointed out by Professor Whipple, has been used by dramatists from Aeschylus to Oscar Wilde.

The chief contribution and importance of Professor Whipple's study is its indication and insistence that, although the English epigram before Jonson, translated or original, was seldom of a high quality of excellence, the popularity of the form was probably second only to that of the sonnet, and that epigrammatists were as ready to borrow from each other as were the sonneteers.

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NOTES

THE THRESHOLD OF ANGLO-SAXON by A. J. Wyatt, Cambridge University Press, 1926, is planned as a quite elementary beginner's book in Old English, the grammar being reduced to the declensions of a few nouns, adjectives, and pronouns, the conjugation of a strong and a weak verb, and the verbs *bēon* (and *wesan*) and *habban* and the listing of a verb for each of the six ablaut series; this is offered as the "indispensable minimum." I am afraid that a great deal that is here omitted is equally indispensable for that "rapid and sure" progress at which the editor aims. There are some good things about the little volume that are to be mentioned: The prose texts have been well chosen; after some easy introductory pieces, including part of the *Colloquium* of Ælfric, come twenty pages from the *Chronicle*, including a number of the more interesting later annals (normalized) as those for 1014, 1016, and 1017 on King Cnut, the long one for 1052 on Edward the Confessor, this in the *C* and the *D* versions both, the one for 1066, Battle of Hastings, and that for 1085, the Doomsday Book; a bit from the *Laws* and the *Leechdoms*, and a *Charter* and a *Charm* make up the rest of the prose. It is well enough also, perhaps, to have something from the *Gnomica* (here *Wyrð byð swyðost*, etc.), and a sample of the *Riddles*, and the *Seafarer* (but in the case of the last rather the whole, than merely the opening 22 lines). However, there are also given selections from the *Genesis* and twenty-four pages from *Beowulf*; surely there is no place for this in such a purely elementary book. The editor has wished to furnish an easy and "interesting" introduction, and to "avoid dullness and difficulty," he says. The book will hardly accomplish the purpose; it is not suitable, of course, for University courses and it is difficult to see how it can be used to advantage either with a class of undergraduates.

GEORGE T. FLOM

RAABE UND DICKENS, EIN BEITRAG ZUR ERKENNTNIS DER GEISTIGEN GESTALT WILHELM RAABES. Von Emil Doernenburg und Wilhelm Fehse. Magdeburg, 1921. Creutzsche Buchhandlung. Pp. 68. This publication rests upon a Master's dissertation presented by Mr. Doernenburg in 1908 to the faculty of Northwestern University. Later, a German, Mr. Wilhelm Fehse, incorporated into it some of the results of his own studies, and the dissertation, thus enlarged, was published with the consent of the original author.

In this little work there is no attempt to prove that Raabe has been influenced by Dickens. It is quite apparent that Raabe

has read Dickens. The work is devoted entirely to comparisons between the two writers. It rests upon a careful reading of the two novelists. The warmth of tone in the treatment of Raabe is characteristic of a large number of recent publications dealing with different phases of Raabe's work. There has been for a decade or more a deep and wide revival of interest in this German writer. The descriptions of Raabe's work in this little publication call to the reviewer's mind his first reading of Raabe. The joy of those hours will never be forgotten. After reading Raabe no serious person is exactly the same as before. He is richer by many new views of life and new impulses. The reviewer enjoyed the warm treatment of Raabe in this little book. He has only one thing to criticize. Dickens has not been studied with the same sympathy as Raabe. At several points the fine traits of the great English master deserved warmer recognition.

GEORGE O. CURME

THE DRAMATIC TECHNIQUE OF THOMAS MIDDLETON IN HIS COMEDIES OF LONDON LIFE (Chicago doctoral dissertation). By Wilbur Dwight Dunkel. 1925. Pp. 126. Dr. Dunkel's is, so far as I know, the first published dissertation of its kind. Thus it almost necessarily contributes to knowledge, though one still may ask whether the contribution is either true or significant. Dr. Dunkel bases his study on the *Dramatic Technique* of his sometime teacher, Professor G. P. Baker. Under the five headings of treatment of plot, character, devices and conventions, emotional values, and dialogue, he makes numerous sub-divisions. In "order to be absolutely certain of obtaining all the evidence," he fits into this card-catalog carefully, thoroughly, and systematically the more or less appropriate "dramatic elements" from six of Middleton's comedies of London life. Thus would he attain his announced purpose, which is "to ascertain and to analyze the component elements in the dramatic technique." If one limits dramatic technique to what may be called the tactics of a play, then Dr. Dunkel hardly falls far short of obtaining "all the evidence." But if one considers "the somewhat intangible" elements as the more important, then Dr. Dunkel has little to offer him.

Dr. Dunkel hopes his method may be used to settle problems of disputed authorship, claiming *The Puritan* for Middleton on the ground of general coincidence in dramatic technique with that of the six undoubted plays. But, as Dr. Dunkel informs us in Professor Baker's words, dramatic technique is "universal, special and individual." For establishing authorship, only the individual technique of a writer is of service. That Dr. Dunkel has not determined for Middleton—and cannot until he has studied in the same careful way the works of Middleton's con-

temporaries. Presumably, a sufficiently careful and consistent analysis of dramatic technique, however we define the term, would when completed give us still another clue to authorship in disputed plays. Dr. Dunkel has only shown that, so far as his evidence is valid, Middleton may have written *The Puritan*.

Dr. Dunkel's sentence structure is too frequently incorrect, unemphatic, and obscure; and I believe his system of punctuation is mostly his own.¹ The general form, paper, and typography of the work may be considered adequate for a dissertation. But the proofreading is the poorest the writer remembers ever having seen.

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¹ See, for instance, the first paragraph on page 7.

NECROLOGY

WILHELM BRAUNE

In 1926, on the day of November that stands out on our calendars as the birthday of Luther and of Schiller, the eminent scholar who had so long been professor of Germanic philology at Heidelberg passed away. He had lived nearly seven years beyond three-score and ten, but with strength impaired in the few years preceding the stroke that ended his life.

Theodor Wilhelm Braune, like many another gifted man the son of a Protestant clergyman, was born in a village in the remotest corner of the Province of Saxony, out beyond Leipzig. For his advanced studies, begun shortly before the memorable year 1870, he left Prussia and chose the University of Leipzig. There he came in contact with those great philologists, Georg Curtius, Aug. Leskien, Ernst Windisch, Friedrich Zarncke, and Rudolf Hildebrand. It was there, too, that he became associated with the somewhat older Hermann Paul and the slightly younger Eduard Sievers in that most significant triad of the Young Grammarians. But as early as 1871 Sievers left Leipzig for a chair in Jena; three years later Paul was called away to Freiburg, and Braune became a Privat-Dozent in Leipzig. In 1877 Braune was promoted to Extraordinarius, and was called to Giessen as a full professor after another three-year period. In 1888 he succeeded Karl Bartsch in Heidelberg, and stayed there to the end. He was able in Heidelberg to relieve himself of important parts of the whole field of Germanic languages and literatures, Prof. Max von Waldberg and others taking most of the German literature after the sixteenth century, while English and Scandinavian fell to still others.

Professor Braune was a striking figure, broad-shouldered, tall, with the beard of a patriarch.¹ He lived the simple life of a hard-working scholar, rising early and holding to an almost Kantian regularity of daily habits. Those who knew him closely always spoke of music as one of his greatest interests outside of his studies. Perhaps it was Rudolf Hildebrand who helped awaken in him a love for his country's *Volkslieder*—at any rate, several dissertations in that field were done under his guidance.²

Braune was only twenty-two when he planned, with Paul and Sievers, the *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*

¹ A very characteristic portrait of him at home with his books has recently been published in *PBBetr.*, vol. 51; another photograph, *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, vol. 2.

² One by Mary Elizabeth Marriage, in whose edition of Georg Forster's *Teutsche Liedlein* and collection of *Volkslieder aus der badischen Pfalz* Braune took a very active interest.

und Literatur, and he lived to see almost the completion of the fiftieth volume. As early as 1876 he realized in a practical way another great idea in the Halle Reprints (*Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*). Many of the volumes he prepared himself. The series was still being continued at the time of his death; in the half century of his editorship about two hundred and fifty numbers had appeared. Another great undertaking of which Braune was the general editor was the series of grammars, *Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte*, containing those of Anglo-Saxon by Sievers, of Old Norse by Noreen, and of Middle High German by Paul. The collection was started in 1880 with Braune's own Gothic grammar, which in spite of competitors has passed into its ninth edition. Number five of the collection was Braune's famous Old High German grammar, which maintained its position as the standard during the last forty years of its author's life and, in the revision of 1911, it promises to hold its place for many a long year still. Since this detailed descriptive grammar was a bit too complete for the purposes of many students, Braune prepared a 64-page *Abriss* of Old High German grammar which also included the inflections on Middle High German, Old Saxon, and Gothic. This convenient little manual he had his own students use in his course of historical German grammar (*Alteutsche Grammatik*).

Braune's articles and studies, from the dissertation on, were mostly contributed to journals, particularly the *Beiträge* which got an auspicious start with his treatise, *Zur Kenntnis des Fränkischen und zur hochdeutschen Lautverschiebung*.³ From among all these works there stands out his famous investigation of the "Handschriftenverhältnisse des Nibelungenliedes" (*PBBetr.* 25), which definitively established the superiority of MS. B.

A work, which alone would have made its author famous, was the Old High German reader. Braune observed its success and improved its quality in eight editions between 1875 and 1921.

Braune was great, too, as a teacher. In the lecture room he was less brisk in speech and manner than his friend Sievers. But his quiet way, his earnest, yet placid and kindly tone, had about them a great charm. And there was always meat in what he said. It was a dull or sleepy scion of the muses who did not carry away with him many new pages of notes from the day's lecture, so admirable in clearness, in perspective, in emphasis upon the essential, the certain. It was not said of

³ For a complete list of such publications the reader is referred to the necrology of Braune by Sievers in *PBBetr.*, vol. 51, and for an up-to-date critical survey of them to the most recent necrology, by Braune's successor at Heidelberg, Fr. Panzer, *Zs. f. deut. Philol.* 52, 160-162.

Braune as it was of too many German scholars: "Die Disposition war nie seine starke Seite." He would finish the work he planned for the semester, or at least a well-rounded major portion of it—in the lectures on historical grammar, for instance, the end of the term found him, not part way through the *Lautlehre*, but at the very end of inflection of the verbs. He could dwell with conscientious interest on philological minutiae, but he also did not fail to bring out the larger aspects and relations of things. References to his own accomplishments or to his books he hardly made unless unavoidable, and then with the most becoming modesty. He had a fully justifiable pride in his Old High German reader but when, in his course on *Geschichte der althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Literatur*, it became necessary to call attention to it and to announce it as a required companion to the lectures, he looked away through the window and said no more than these words: "Als praktisches Handbuch darf ich hier wohl mein *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch* nennen, das wohl in Ihren Händen sich befinden dürfte. Ich würde Sie bitten, möglichst oft mein Lesebuch mitzubringen." When the opportunity was good—it need not be every day—he would bring in a bit of gentle humor as, when speaking of a sort of cipher in the Old High German interlinear glosses, he suggested it had been done thus "wahrscheinlich auch 'aus pädagogischen Rücksichten'." Once he produced more than a ripple of amusement by aptly quoting a few lines of *Struwwelpeter* in the sing-song manner of children.

In the pro-seminar the young scholars were led on gently but definitely; they were not made to appear as blockheads, not browbeaten, not sneered at or held up to scorn for their mistakes. A member might recite when the spirit moved him; if there was too long a pause after one man had finished, the master would remark in the gentlest way: "Ich bitte die Herren..." and some one would immediately continue. But in the seminar the pace was vastly different. The writer will never forget one on the Vatican fragments of Old Saxon, using Braune's edition which he modestly referred to as the *editio princeps*. A selected group of the members read papers during the semester, while all had at least some lines of the text to interpret. Here absolutely nothing was to be overlooked. Every scholarly opinion expressed in print about any phase of the lines in question had to be examined and criticized. All the time Braune was putting questions, or making comments, disagreeing perhaps and placing the student on the defensive; then other able members had views to present, so that those sessions were remarkable exhibitions of keen, stimulating intellectual competition among brilliant men (with a young woman or two among the most brilliant), directed and corrected by a mind that seemed never to err. The waters there ran not only deep but

exceeding swift. In the doctor's examination things moved even swifter. The pale, or maybe flushed candidate was often allowed to say very little—the instant it became clear that he could explain well what he was asked, a question on a different matter was put to him. In that way *much* ground could be covered in an hour. But back of the uncompromising strictness was that kindly fairness always characteristic of the man. There were no malicious or trick questions, and when a candidate "fell through" he knew he deserved his fate.

Professor Braune welcomed generously and unselfishly the truth wherever he found it, even in the work of scholars of other schools. He did not feel that he should have a new theory of his own on every disputed question which he must put before the world as a settled fact; he did not spread himself noisily before the public on all possible and impossible occasions. Scholars and men of his kind are too rare; it is to be hoped that in the rapidly changing new age they will not become extinct.

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